143162


RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

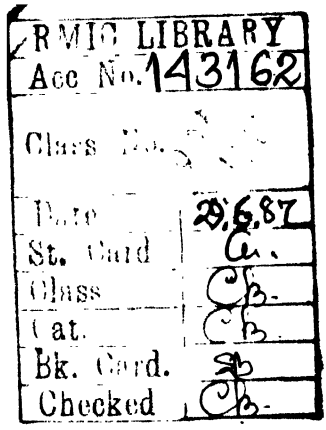
Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW

Vol. XIV



CAXTON

CAXTON PUBLICATIONS


RMIC LIBRARY
Acc No. 143162
Class No.
Date 29.6.87
St. Card
Class
Cat.
Bk. Card.
Checked

First Published 1938

Published by :

CAXTON PUBLICATIONS
B-3/53, Ashok Vihar, Phase-II
Delhi-110052. India
Phone : 7112866

Printed at :

Efficient Offset Press, Dayabasti, Delhi

CONTENTS

Vol. XIV (pp. 906+xxi)

ARTICLES

	Page
Advaitācāryas of the 12th and 13th Centuries	401
By Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.	
Adverbs in *-tarâm, -tarâm*	121
By Dr. L. Renou, Ph.D.	
Army and War in Mediæval Ceylon	511
By Prof. Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph.D.	
Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenue under Akbar ...	705
By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A.	
Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China ...	380
By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.	
Bhulua Chiefs and their Literary Works	737
By Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A.	
Boundaries of Ancient Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka ...	779
By A. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B. Candra-gomin ...	256
By Prof. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D. Litt.	
Causeway of Giants at Angkor Thom	607
By Dr. George Cœdès, Ph. D.	
Chinese-Indian Contacts prior to the latter half of the first Century	486
By Prof. Elmer H. Cutts, M.A., Ph.D.	
Contribution to Bhāsa Question	633
By Dr. Otto Stein, Ph.D.	
Date of Kaumudīmahotsava	582
By Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya, M.A.	
Dates of some Kākatīya Records	340
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.	
Doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism ...	110
Doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism	114, 799
By Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	
Dutch in Bengal after Bedara	536
By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D.	
Early Home of the Imperial Guptas	532
By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D.	
Folk Goddesses of Ancient and Mediæval India	101
By Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A.	

Page

Foreword i
By Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, D. Lit.

From the Great Goddess to Kāla 267
By Prof. Dr. Jean Przyluski, Ph.D.

Gauḍapāda 392
By Prof. Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya

Gilgit Ms. of the Vinaya Piṭaka 409
By Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Glimpses into the Ancient History of Cochin 503
By Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A.

Going Far or Going Beyond? 309
By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A., D. Lit.

Gujarātī or the Western School of Mediæval Indian Sculpture 553
By M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B.

Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela 459
By Prof. Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Lit.

History of Bhāvika in Sanskrit Poetics 787
By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D.

Identification of some Ancient Indian Place-names ... 747
By Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A.

Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras 452
By P. K. Gode, M.A.

Immediate Source of the Kathāsaritsāgara 57
By S. Rangachar, M.A.

Indian Elements in the Coin Devices of the early foreign Rulers of India 293
By Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A.

Indo-Arica 324
By Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

Jambudvipa-prajñapti-saṃgraha of Padmanandi 388
By A. N. Upadhye, M.A.

Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government 366
By Harit Krishna Deb, M.A.

Kulatattvārṇava—a spurious work? 562
By Pramode Lal Paul, M.A.

Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda ... 564
By Rai Bahadur Amar Nath Ray

Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans 327
By Dr. E. J. Thomas, M.A., D.Lit.

Moriz Winternitz ix
By Dr. W. Gampert, Ph.D.

Page.

Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas 314
By Prof. E. H. Johnston, M.A.

Naming a Child or a Person 224
By Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.

Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751) ... 545
By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.

Nirṇayakaustubha or Laghunirṇayakaustubha of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa 345
By Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M.A., Ph. D.

Omniscience 280
By Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A.

Origin and Early History of Caityas 440
By V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, M.A.

Post-Vyāsarāya Commentators 692
By B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, M.A.

Pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujrat 425
By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., D. Lit.

Problems of "Definition" and "Perception" in Śrī Madhva's Epistemology 353
By Prof. P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A.

Professor Winternitz iii
By Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., Ph.D.

Raja Ramnarain 74, 757
By Prof. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.

Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European ... 201
By Prof. Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L.

Saltpetre Industry in India 680
By Prof. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A.

Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess 275
By Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

Struggle for Supremacy in the Deccan 613
By Sant Lal Katare, M.A.

Sūrjanacarita of Candraśekhara 570
By Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., Ph. D.

Symbolism of the Dome 1
By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc.

Title Daśavaikālika Sūtra 432
By A. M. Ghatage, M.A.

Tun-huang Prelude to the Kāraṇḍavyūha 398
By Mlle. Marelle Lalou

Vāmadeva the Śaiva Saint 96
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph. D.

Page

Vāyu Purāṇa 331
By Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra, M.A., Ph. D.

Vēlāḷas in Mohenjo Daro 245
By Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana 261
By Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Widow in Ancient India 661
By Dr. N. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D.

MISCELLANY

Ancient Indian Official Titles Explained 836
By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph. D.

Banerji on Śakas and Kuṣāṇas 137
By Dr. Sten Konow, Ph. D.

Forgotton Moslem Invasion 813
By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph. D.

Hayagrīva 846
By Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao, M.A.

Historical facts from three unnoticed verses of Pṛthvīrājavijaya 844
By Sarit Sekhar Majumdar, M.A.

Jahangir and Nurjahan 817
By Mohammad Yasin, M.A.

King Harṣadeva of Nepal Inscription 841
By Bisweswar Chakravarti

Medieval Indo-Persian Literature relating to Hindu Science and Philosophy, 1000—1800 A. D. 167
By Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph. D.

Minor Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves 158
By Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Lit.

Position of Mother in the Vedic Ritual 822

Significance of the Vedic Rite Puṃsavana 831
By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhury, M.A., Ph. D.

Yāvanaparipāṭi—Anukrama 153
By M. M. Patkar

REVIEWS 182, 847

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 186, 866

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 193, 895

PLATES

		Facing page
Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves	Pl. I ...	... 160
Do	Pl. II. ...	... 162
Inscriptions in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves	Pl. III. ...	... 164
Coins of foreign Rulers of India		... 304
A pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujarat	...	... 425
Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Plates I-VIIa		... 464
Seated Sūrya at Unzā, North Gujrat	...	... 552
Trailokyamohana	...	... ,,
A rare image of Viṣṇu from Gujrat	...	... ,,
A woman with a child (in black granite)	...	... 553
Soma (Moon)	...	... 560

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Askari, Prof. S. H., M.A., B.L.
Raja Ramnarain 74, 757
Banerjea, Jitendra Nath, M.A.
Folk Goddesses of Ancient and Mediæval India ... 101
Identification of some Ancient Indian Place-Names ... 747
Indian Elements in the Coin Devices of the early foreign Rulers of India 293
Barua, Prof. Dr. B. M., M.A., D.Litt.
Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela 459
Minor Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves 158
Bhattacharya, Prof. Mm. Vidhusekhara
Gauḍapāda 392
Bhattacharyya, Prof. Dinesh Chandra, M.A.
Bhulua Chiefs and their Literary Works ... 737
Chakravarti, Bisweswar
King Harṣadeva of Nepal Inscription 841
Chakravarti, Chintaharan, M.A.
Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess 275
Chattopadhyaya, Kshetresa Chandra, M.A.
Date of Kaumudīmahotsava 582
Chaudhury, Dr. Jatindra Bimal, M.A., Ph.D.
Position of Mother in Vedic Ritual 822
Significance of the Vedic Rite Puṃsavana 831
Cœdès, Dr. George, Ph.D.
Causeway of Giants at Angkor Thom 607

Page

Coomaraswamy, Dr. Ananda K., D.Sc.
Symbolism of the Dome 1
Cutts, Prof. Elmer H., M. A., Ph.D.
Chinese-Indian Contacts prior to the latter half of the first Century 486
Datta, Dr. Kalikinkar, M.A., Ph D.
Dutch in Bengal after Bedara 536
Datta, Dr. N. K., M.A., Ph.D.
Widow in Ancient India 661
De, Prof. Dr. S.K., M.A., D.Lit.
Candra-gomin 256
Deb, Harit Krishna, M. A.
Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government ... 366
Dikshitar, V. R. Ramchandra, M.A.
Origin and Early History of Caityas 440
Dutt, Dr. Nalinaksha, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
Doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism . . 110
Doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism 114, 799
Gilgit Ms. of th Vinaya Piṭaka 409
Gampert, Dr. W., P .D.
Moriz Winternitz ix
Ganguly, Dr. D. C., M.A., Ph.D.
A Forgotton Moslem Invasion 813
Geiger, Prof. Dr. Wilh., Ph.D.
Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon 511
Ghatage, A. M., M.A.
Title Daśavaikālika Sūtra 432
Ghoshal, Dr. U. N., M.A., Ph.D.
Ancient Indian Official Titles Explained 836
Gode, P. K., M.A.
Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras 452
Habibullah, Dr. A. B. M., M.A., Ph.D.
Medieval Indo-Persian Literature relating to Hindu Science and Philosophy, 1000—1800 A.D. 167
Hazra, Dr. Rajendra Chandra, M.A., Ph.D.
Vāyu Purāṇa 331
Heras, Rev. Fr. H., S. J., M.A.
Vēlāḷas in Mohenjo Daro 245
Hiriyanna, Prof. M., M.A.
Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana 261
Johnston, Prof. E. H., M.A.
Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas 314

Page

Kane, P. V., M.A., LL.M.
Naming a Child or a Person 224
Karmarkar, A. P., M.A., LL.B.
Boundaries of Ancient Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka ... 779
Katare, Sant Lal, M.A.
Struggle for Supremacy in the Deccan 613
Keith, Prof. Dr. A. Berriedale, M.A., D.C.L.
Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European ... 201
Konow, Dr. Sten, Ph.D.
Dr. Banerji on Śakas and Kuṣāṇas 137
Lalou, Mlle. Marcelle
Tun-huang Prelude to the Karaṇḍavyūha 398
Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., Ph.D.
Professor Winternitz iii
Majmudar, M. R., M.A., LL.B.
Gujarātī or Western School of Mediæval Indian Sculpture 553
Majumdar, Sarit Sekhar, M.A.
Historical facts from three unnoticed verses of Pṛthvīrājavijaya 844
Patkar, M. M.
Yāvanaparipāṭi—Anukrama 153
Paul, Pramode Lal, M.A.
Kulatattvārṇava—a spurious work? 562
Pisharoti, Prof. K. Rama, M.A.
Glimpses into the Ancient History of Cochin 503
Przyluski, Prof. Dr. J., Ph.D.
From the Great Goddess to Kāla 267
Raghavan, Dr. V., M.A., Ph.D.
History of Bhāvika in Sanskrit Poetics 787
Rangachar, S., M.A.
Immediate Source of the Kathāsaritsāgara 57
Rao, Prof. P. Nagaraja, M.A.
Problems of "Definition" and "Perception" in Śrī Madhva's Epistemology 353
Rao, Prof. S. Hanumantha, M.A.
Hayagrīva 846
Ray, Dr. H. C., M.A., Ph.D.
Sūrjanacarita of Candraśekhara 570
Ray, Rai Bahadur Amar Nath
Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda ... 564
Renou, Dr. L., Ph.D.
Adverbs in *-tarám, -tarâm* 121

Page

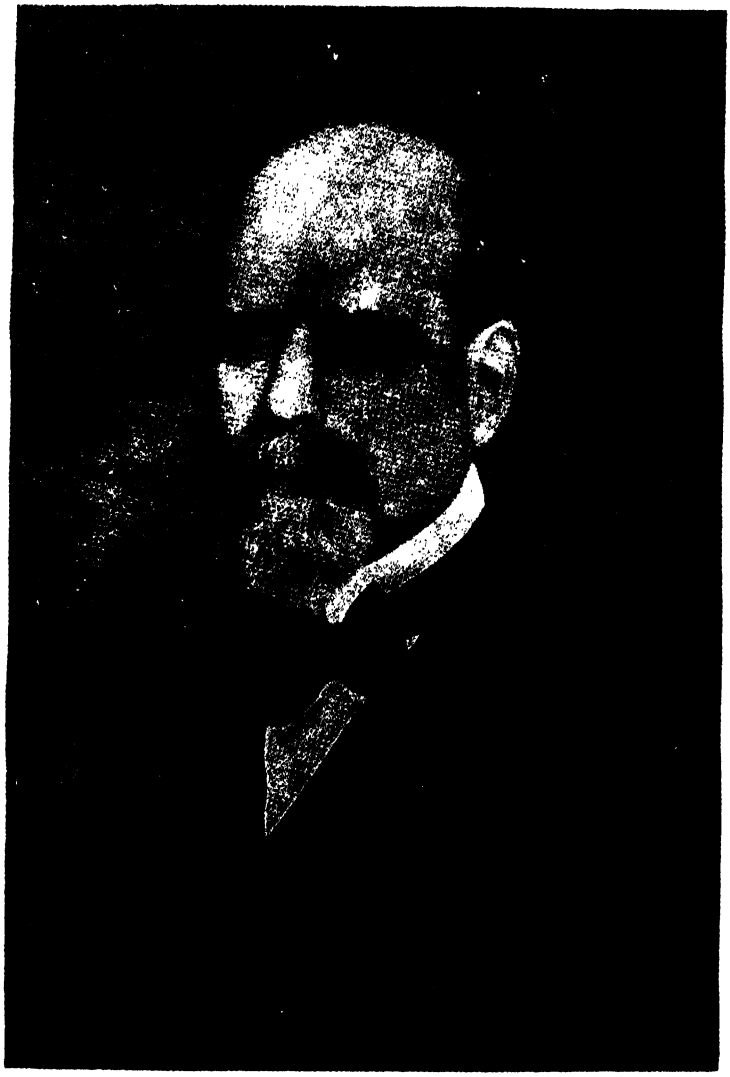
Rhys Davids, Mrs. C. A. F., M.A., D.Lit.
Going Far or Going Beyond? 509
Sarkar, Prof. Jagadish Narayan, M.A.
Saltpetre Industry in India 680
Sarma, B. N. Krishnamurti, M.A.
Post-Vyāsarāya Commentators 692
Sastri, Dr. Hirananda, M.A., D.Lit.
Pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujara 425
Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, M.A.
Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China ... 380
Sastri, Prof. S. Srikantha, M.A.
Advaitācāryas of the 12th and 13th Centuries ... 401
Sastri, Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana, M.A.
Omniscience 280
Sen, Dr. Sukumar, M.A., Ph.D.
Indo-Arica 324
Sharma, Prof. Dr. Har Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.
Nirṇayakaustubha or Laghunirṇayakaustubha of
Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa 345
Sharma, Prof. Sri Ram, M.A.
Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenue under
Akbar 705
Sircar, Dr. Dines Chandra, M.A., Ph.D.
Dates of some Kākatīya Records 340
Vāmadeva the Śaiva Saint 96
Srinivasachari, Prof. C. S., M.A.
Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751) ... 545
Stein, Dr. Otto, Ph.D.
Contribution to Bhāsa Question 633
Tagore, Dr. Rabindra Nath, D.Lit.
Foreword i
Thomas, Dr. E. J., M.A., D.Lit.
Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans 327
Yasin, Mohammad, M.A.
Jahangir and Nurjahan 817

DEDICATED

TO THE REVERED MEMORY

OF

PROF. DR. M. WINTERNITZ, PH. D.



M. Winternitz

I.H.Q., June, 1938

FOREWORD

The news of the sudden passing away of Dr. M. Winternitz were most painful for us, who were used to looking upon him as one of the truest and most respected friends of India in the outer world. During my long life and extensive travels, I never met a savant more worthy of respect than the learned Doctor. His deep and broad humanity, brightened as it was with his amazingly wide scholarship, his devotion to Truth and the courage with which he held fast to his idealism in the midst of a growingly hostile atmosphere in Central Europe, are his claims to our homage. In him I have lost a faithful comrade, India has lost one of its truest Pandits and best friends, and humanity one of its most sincere champions.

The late Professor Winternitz

The death of Professor Moriz Winternitz in January, 1937, has removed from this world a personality that embodied in itself the best traditions of a scholarly mind imbued with an indomitable passion for knowledge and truth. To the students of Indology, it has entailed the loss of a "friend, philosopher and guide." Dr. Winternitz belonged to the small band of Western scholars who devoted a life-time to Sanskritic studies and acted as brilliant exponents of the cultural heritage of India. India will ever remember with gratitude the very eminent services rendered by Dr. Winternitz to her as an interpreter of her ancient civilisation.

One is profoundly struck by the manner in which Professor Winternitz rose superior to the circumstances into which he was born, and all through his scholarly life maintained a unique breadth of vision and generosity of outlook that overcome all bias and prejudices. Born in 1863 in a family with commercial traditions, it was more than an accident that took him off to an entirely new career bearing not even the remotest affinity to the claims of his ancestral avocation. Even his birthplace Horn, a provincial town in Lower Austria, had nothing of the traditions of a seat of learning, and it could not, therefore, have made any tangible contribution to his intellectual make-up. The profound genius of the man early manifesting itself in the promising dawn of his boyhood which developed into a brilliant noon and eventually into a glorious evening was all his own. Yet it is true to say that his latent genius would not perhaps have unfolded itself, at least in the manner it did, had not a combination of very favourable circumstances brought him into intimate contact with some eminent Orientalists that provided the most nourishing soil for a vigorous growth. After finishing his studies at the grammar school of his native town, he entered the University of Vienna in 1880 for higher studies in classical philology

and philosophy. Here for the first time, under the inspiring guidance of Friedrich Müller and George Bühler, he was initiated into the studies of classical literature and Indology that gave a definite shape to his future academic career.

Prof. Winternitz obtained his doctorate in 1885 at the age of 23, when he was still at the University of Vienna. Shortly after, he came across the second great opportunity of his scholarly life that marked a new phase of his chequered career. In 1888 he went over to Oxford to join the post of an amanuensis to assist Prof. Max Müller in the preparation of the second edition of the *Ṛgveda*. The valuable assistance rendered by him in this connection as a Sanskritist Research Assistant to Prof. Max Müller should have alone won for him the distinction of a distinguished Indologist; indeed his contribution to the work has been referred to in very eloquent terms of appreciation by Prof. Max Müller himself. But Dr. Winternitz was pre-destined to win much higher distinctions in life, to which his unexpected transfer to Oxford helped him in more than one way. Of the sixteen years of his stay at Oxford he had to devote about a decade to the preparation of the press copy of the *Ṛgveda*. The book itself bears unmistakable testimony to Prof. Winternitz's capacity for intelligent, enthusiastic, and sustained research in a field, where the zeal of lesser talents would have flagged for the very magnitude of the task. The last six years of his stay at Oxford after the completion of his work in connection with the *Ṛgveda* attracted him to diverse fields of activities suited to his instincts, and enriched his scholarly equipments in a marked degree. The beginning of these new activities was rather very modest and in fact one that should have proved discouraging to many. In 1891 he was found to accept the post of a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls. He was even found to act as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit. Before long, however, his services were requisitioned for works of much greater importance, and in 1891 he

was appointed a lecturer in German by the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women at Oxford and a member of the Examining Board of the Indian Civil Service. While he continued in the post of a lecturer in German till 1898, he was called upon in 1895 to undertake some very important library work. The first of these was the cataloguing of the Vedic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library which was later continued and completed by Prof. Berriedale Keith. The second which will likewise go down in history with the name of the eminent Professor was the cataloguing of the Whish Collection of the South Indian Manuscripts at the Royal Asiatic Society, London. About the same time, Prof. Winternitz had set his hands to the task of preparing a General Index to the 49 volumes of the Sacred Books of the East Series. While one should have felt amazed at the versatility of the genius which Prof. Winternitz must have brought to bear upon such diversified tasks, it is impossible to underestimate the extent to which his instinct for research had been stimulated and enriched by the busy years spent at Oxford.

In 1899, Prof. Winternitz was appointed lecturer of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the University of Prague, where within three years he was appointed Assistant Professor and was eventually raised in 1911 to the chair for the subject. Here, one might say that Moriz Winternitz owed as much to the University as the University owed to the Professor,—the facilities for research given him by the University being reciprocated by the heightened reputation of its Indological Section. In 1904, Prof. Winternitz was fortunate enough to receive useful patronage from the State in the furtherance of his projects, particularly in connection with the establishment of a Special Library of Indology and Ethnology at the Prague University. It is a matter of regret that the realisation of the idea of this Institution was very materially hampered by the outbreak of the Great War, but for which, it might have blossomed into a worthy gift of

the Professor to future students of Indological studies in Europe. The Post-War period which raised him to higher rungs of eminence witnessed him elected as a Dean of the Faculty of Letters in 1921. He came down to India in 1922 at the invitation of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore and spent a year in this country as a Visiting Professor at the Viśvabhārati. Long before this visit, in fact from the time of his appointment at the Prague University Prof. Winternitz had been carrying on research on the *Mahābhārata*. The work that he had done at Oxford in connection with the cataloguing of the South Indian Manuscripts of the Whish Collection created in him an irrepressible urge for bringing out a critical edition of the great Epic. During all these years, Prof. Winternitz published a series of very illuminating articles on the study of the *Mahābhārata* assigning to it a place of unique importance in the research work of Indologists and at the same time throwing a flood of light on the imperfections of the existing editions of the Epic. It was mainly at the inspiration of Prof. Winternitz that the work in this connection was undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. About the time of his arrival at Bombay, the Research Institute had been busily engaged in the work. Prof. Winternitz paid a visit to Poona immediately on his arrival to see for himself the work that had been going on. The intensity of his feelings regarding the importance of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is borne out not only by his earnestness in connection with the formation of a European Committee by the International Association of Academies for this specific purpose even before the work was actually taken up by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, but also by the fact that he carried sentiments of eager watchfulness and expected culmination even to the last days of his life.

The one other great work which will ever remain associated with the memories of the distinguished Professor is his *History of Indian Literature* (Geschichte der indischen Litteratur) written in 3

volumes of about 1600 pages and published over a period of 15 years, the first coming out in 1907 and the last in 1922. It is in a sense the outstanding monument of his Indological studies, and the Encyclopædic erudition evidenced in it constitutes an unmistakable testimony of the fact that none other than Prof. Winternitz could have set his hands to the stupendous task with any amount of confidence. It is as well true to say that a man of the stamp of Professor Winternitz alone could possibly be persuaded though at the fag-end of his life, to prepare an up-to-date English version of the three volumes of his *History*. The last 14 years of his life were devoted to this work, of which a complete fruition was denied to us by the cruel hands of death. We had only two volumes by 1934; but while Prof. Winterntiz was working on the third, death took him away from our midst.

The Professor has lived a life full of years and honours. Although he was relieved of his academic duties in 1934, he never spared himself, and though his health showed marks of decline during the years of his retirement, his attachment to scientific researches never flagged for a moment. It is impossible to recount even the most important contributions made by him to the varied studies of Sanskrit literature throughout his life. The published bibliography records the total at more than 400. The number, impressive as it is, does not perhaps constitute an adequate index to their intrinsic merit. It is therefore well to point out that the writings bear a characteristic quality of the man himself; just as the Professor was naturally sparing of words, so his writings were shorn of superfluities, and his selection of subject was always made with a purpose. He never selected a subject that did not add to the store of our knowledge, and hardly did he ever take up one on which he has not thrown light of his own.

But great as the scholar was, the man was greater. If his researches were based on an indomitable thirst for knowledge, their

influence upon his emotions was profound. His pursuit of the studies of Sanskrit literature has not been like that of a mere intellectual. It has been reared upon a philosophical instinct that grew as his mental horizon widened, and revealed to him the fundamental unity of mankind leading him to approach the task with genuine sympathy and admiration. Even in his social life, Prof. Winternitz carried about him a profound intellectual sympathy and a striking dignity of manners brightened by an unfailing courtesy and a transparent sincerity. The writer had the privilege of coming into contact with Prof. Winternitz during his Indian tour, and he has not the least doubt that anybody having the opportunity of being acquainted with the distinguished Professor could not but have felt at once the ennobling influence of a truly great man.

Further interesting details about the life of Professor Winternitz will be found in the learned article immediately following, but before I introduced my readers to the same, I take the opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the hallowed memory of the illustrious savant who is no more, and pray to the Almighty that the inspiration which he has imparted to all students of Indology in and outside this country by his life-long researches may endure as a living force among us and induce us all to continue the work he has handed down to posterity.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Moriz Winternitz

The ninth of January 1937 was a sad one for the science of Indology. In the early hours of this day, Prof. Moriz Winternitz, one of the last "universal indologists",[1] passed away. Peaceful, as he has been during his life, he also entered the Great Unknown peacefully. Moriz Winternitz was born on December 23, 1863, in Horn, a provincial town of Lower Austria, in the family of the merchant Bernhard Winternitz. When a little boy, he proved extraordinary intelligent and he started reading and writing even Hebrew before entering the elementary school. In 1880, after having finished the grammar-school (Gymnasium) in his native town, he went to the University at Vienna where he began to study classical philology and philosophy. But soon Friedrich Müller who lectured on comparative philology and ethnography, and particularly George Bühler who was, after his return from India, in 1881, inaugurating his indological lectures at Vienna, interested the young student in the sciences of indology and ethnology. Among his teachers, we have to mention also Eugen Hultzsch, a name well-known by his activity in India, who was at that time Privatdozent in the University of Vienna. He introduced Winternitz in the Indian narrative literature and the language of the Pāli Canon. In 1886, Winternitz submitted his thesis on 'Ancient Indian marriage ritual according to Āpastamba, compared with the marriage customs of the Indo-European peoples' and got his diploma of Ph.D. (Vienna).

Only two years later, Winternitz became upon Bühler's recommendation Amanuensis of Prof. Friedrich Max Müller at Oxford

1 An expression used by Winternitz's great teacher, G. Bühler. Cf. M. Winternitz, George Bühler und die Indologie, München 1898 (an offprint from *Allegemeine Zeitung*, May 21st and 23rd, 1898), p. 23.

and assisted the famous scholar in preparing the second edition of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary, from 1888 to 1892. After finishing this great task successfully, he stayed some years more at Oxford till 1898. In 1891 he became a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls; from 1891 to 1898 he acted as a Lecturer of German at the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women in Oxford and as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit; for some time he was on the examining board for the Indian Civil Service. In 1895, too, he became the Librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford. It is amazing, how many duties Winternitz took upon himself, without hampering his regular scientific work. He was a man of indefatigable activity, not only in his youthful days, but even in his old age. Surely, he had to earn his living, especially since he had married Fanny Reik in 1892 and had to support a growing family.

In 1899 Winternitz shifted to Prague which belonged to Austria at that time, and was appointed a Lecturer (Privatdozent) of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the oldest German University. In 1902 he became an Assistant Professor and in 1911 he got the chair of these subjects. Until his predecessor, Alfred Ludwig, who was the first German interpreter of the *Ṛgveda*, the study of Indology was combined with that of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages at the Prague German University. Thus, Winternitz was the first professor of Indology at that University and we may call him, in the very sense of the word, the founder of indological studies at Prague. His energy was directed to the supply of means of both instruction and scientific work. Many modern indological works were at his request acquired by the Prague University Library of which he was one of the most frequent visitors. In 1904 the Austrian Ministry of Public Instruction agreed to his request to establish a special library of indology and ethnology at the Prague German

University. The great war (1914-18) interrupted the development of this institution, but twenty years after its foundation, in 1924, Winternitz was glad to see it changed into an Indological 'Seminar' with a separate room and with better possibilities for further expansion.

In 1905, the loss of his wife was a severe blow to Winternitz. But a good fate gave him, three years later, a second wife in Berta Nagel who was not only a true guardian angel of his home, but also a veritable second mother to his five children. Her death in 1932 was surely one of the causes of his fatal illness.

In 1921, in the month of June, being just elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters for 1921-22, Winternitz could welcome his friend, the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, as a guest of the German University at Prague. A year later, in November 1922, he accepted Tagore's invitation to spend a year as a visiting professor at his Viśvabhāratī in Śāntiniketan during 1922-23. There it was his aim to teach his Indian pupils what the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar pointed out as the drawback of Indian scholars and what was one of the few good things India could learn from the Western world, I mean, the critical methods which led the European science from success to success. Not only at Śāntiniketan but also at a few other academic centres he spent his time during his sojourn in India, to the people and culture of which he had devoted his life-work. His first trip after having disembarked at Bombay was to Poona to see the progress of the editorial work of the *Mahābhārata*. On his journeys from Kashmir down to Ceylon, he delivered lectures and speeches at many Universities and meetings of learned societies at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc., and he discussed the most important problems of indological research with the Indian scholars. Always he was of good health, but on his return journey he fell sick of malaria which put the germ of death into his body.

Within the last fifteen years of his life, many honours have been conferred on Winternitz. He was elected Honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the American Oriental Society, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, and Corresponding Member of the Society of Eastern Asiatic Art at Berlin. Since the Oriental Institute at Prague had been inaugurated, Winternitz became a Fellow of this Institute and a member of the Committee. He was also a Fellow of the German Society of Sciences and Arts in the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1932 the Hardy Prize was bestowed upon him for his research work. When he celebrated his 70th birthday in 1933, many scholars, pupils and friends honoured him by a *Festschrift* (Leipzig 1933) as well as by a special number of the *Archiv Orientální* (VI, 1934, No. 1) published on that occasion. He retired from his academic duties in 1934 after having discharged them fully during 35 years; his only aim was to devote all his leisure now won to scientific work. Illness, however, undermined his strength more and more, leading to his sudden death.

Winternitz's literary work was very extensive. Its bibliography[2] comprises 452 items belonging to the most different branches of human knowledge. As we see from his thesis mentioned above, his first interest was devoted to the study of the ancient Indian customs and religion and their connection with those of other Indo-European peoples. At that time there were no, or at least not yet critical, editions of the Indian sources. The scholars, and among them also Winternitz, had to use often manuscripts of the texts for their work. A fruit of these studies is his first critical edition of the *Āpastambîya Gṛhyasûtra* with extracts from the commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanârya, (Vienna 1887), a brilliant example of the methods of text criticism. As the Mantras

2 Published by O. Stein and the present writer in *Archiv Orientální*, 6, 1934, pp. 275-291, and 9, 1937, pp. 225-228.

are not given in this Sūtra of the Āpastambins, Winternitz published them separately ten years later under the title: *The Mantrapāṭha or the Prayer Book of the Āpastambins.* Edited together with the commentary of Haradatta and translated. First Part: Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis and Appendices (Oxford 1897, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, No. III, 8). He also enlarged his thesis, based only on the Gṛhyasūtra of the Āpastamba school, by using other Gṛhya-texts and published it in 1892 in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (*"Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken. Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebraeuche bei den uebrigen indogermanischen Voelkern"*). Besides these works, he wrote many other smaller essays on the ancient Indian and Indo-European religion, cult, and customs in Journals, e.g., on the sacrifice at building (*Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien,* 17, 1887, 37-40), on the Sarpabali (*ibidem,* 18, 1888, 25-52, 250-264), 'Notes on Śrâddhas and Ancestral Worship among the Indo-European Nations' (*WZKM.*, 4, 1890, 199-212). 'On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs' (*Transactions of the Internat. Folklore Congress,* 1891, London 1892, 267-291), 'Witchcraft in Ancient India' (reprinted in *Ind. Ant.*, 28, 1899, 71-83); but also in later years he returned to such topics like "on the choice of bride according to the Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra" (*WZKM.*, 28, 1914, 16-20), or "on the doctrine of the Āśramas" (*Festgabe H. Jacobi,* Bonn 1926, 215-227).

During his stay in England, Winternitz was associated with the *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by F. Max Müller. He compiled the Indexes to G. Thibaut's translation of the *Vedânta-Sûtras* (Parts I, II, Oxford 1896, Part III, Oxford 1904). This work, however, was only preliminary to his voluminous *General*

Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East (Oxford 1910, *The Sacred Books of the East,* vol. L) to which the publisher gave later the new and appropriate title *A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion.* Only a person who is acquainted with the hard work of compiling Indexes of so different topics of such various cultures will appreciate the enormous labour spent on this work and the ability with which Winternitz complied with his task.

In his capacity as Librarian, Winternitz was entrusted with the work of cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in England. When he was leaving Oxford, the result of his work was brought to a conclusion by his successors; in 1902, "*A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts* (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" (*Asiatic Society Monographs,* No. 2) was published in London, having been finished by F. W. Thomas. Another *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* Vol. II, begun by Winternitz, was continued and completed by A. B. Keith and appeared at Oxford in 1905.

While working on the Sanskrit Manuscripts, Winternitz recognised the immense value of the South Indian Mahābhārata MSS. for the reconstruction of the Mahābhārata text. In his prolegomena "On the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata" (*Ind. Ant.,* 27, 1898, 67-81; 92-104; 122-136) he indicated the way in which the criticism of the Mahābhārata should proceed. Already in 1897 he had written his "Notes on the Mahābhārata," with special reference to Dahlmann's "Mahābhārata" (*JRAS.,* 1897, 713-759). From that time till the end of his life he maintained the line of his life-work *viz.,* a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. In the following year he wrote also his papers 'On the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Whish Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society' (*JRAS.,* 1898, 147-150) and

on 'Gaṇēśa in the Mahābhārata' (*IRAS.*, 1898, 380-384). In 1899 he made his first 'Proposal for the Formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society to be laid before the Indian Section of the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome', published in the *Bulletins of the Congress,* No. 3, pp. 46-49. His next essay 'Genesis des Mahābhārata' (*WZKM.*, 14, 1900, 51-77) dealt with the authorship of the great Epic. The plan of the Sanskrit Epic Text Society was laid before the public again in *Ind. Ant.*, 30, 1901, 117-120. In the same year he presented his 'Promemoria ueber die Nothwendigkeit einer kritischen Ausgabe des Mahābhārata, insbesondere in der suedindischen Rezension' to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (published in the *Almanach* of the Academy 51, 1901, 206-210). Later on, he dealt with the Sabhāparvan in the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata (*WZKM.*, 17, 1903, 70-75), 'The Mahābhārata and the Drama' (*IRAS.*, 1903, 571f.), the serpent sacrifice of the Mahābhārata (*Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt,* Prag 1904, 68-80), and the Bṛhaddevatā and the Mahābh. (*WZKM.*, 20, 1906, 1-36). Finally, in 1904 a new 'Promemoria' on the plan of a critical edition of the Mahābh. was drawn up by Jacobi, Lüders and himself according to a mandate of the Academies and learned societies at Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna on the basis of which the International Association of Academies decided to accept a critical edition of the Mahābhārata among its enterprises. A fund was established to support the collators of the Mahābhārata MSS. financially. Alas, all the work was stopped by the war in 1914. Therefore, it was a great satisfaction for Winternitz, when in 1918 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona resumed the old plan with fresh means. The papers 'The Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata ed. by N. B. Utgikar' (*ABhI.*, 5, 1924, 19-30), 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata' (*Indol. Prag.*, I, 1929, 58-68), 'Die kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata' (*Forschungen*

und Fortschritte, 8, 1932, 427f.), and 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata: Ādiparvan' (*ABhI.*, 15, 1934, 159-175) are his responses to the newly inaugurated work. He himself would have contributed the Sabhāparvan to the great undertaking, but other urgent works prevented him from achieving his cherished object.

It is not surprising that a scholar who had devoted so much interest and labour to one of the most important works of the Indian literature did not reject the proposal made to him by a great publishing house at Leipzig, asking him to write a history of the Indian literature for a series known as the Literatures of the East. Thus the first part of the first volume of his *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, dealing with the Veda, was published in 1905; the second part, devoted to the great Epics and to the Purāṇas, followed in 1908. The second volume was issued also in two parts, comprising the Buddhist Literature (1913) and the sacred texts of the Jainas (1920). The third and last volume (1922) contains the ornate poetry, the scientific literature, a short sketch of the modern Indian vernacular literature and additions to all the three volumes. But there is a great difference between the three volumes. It was the original aim of the publisher to bring out a literary history for the general reader. With the second volume the popular character of the description receded step by step into the background and the scientific point of view became prominent. This development was quite natural as the subject-matter of the second and third volumes offered much more tough problems which were not yet sufficiently discussed by the scholars and therefore not ripe for a popular treatment. Winternitz himself felt this dissonance and wished to reconstruct the first volume and bring up-to-date the whole work that he saw developing more and more his life-work. As the German publisher, due to the bad financial condition of the post-war Germany, was not able to bring out a revised edition, Winternitz was glad to accept the offer of the Calcutta University where he

had delivered lectures on the most important problems of Indian literary history in 1923 (published in the *Calcutta Review*, 1923 and 1924, and collected in book form under the title *Some problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1925) to publish an English translation in order to make this standard work accessible to all Indian students. The first volume of this revised *History of Indian Literature* which—we may say—is a quite new work, appeared in 1927, the second volume in 1933. Only the first chapters of the third volume were sent to the press when the author had to leave it for ever.

When Winternitz undertook the task of writing a history of Indian literature, he was not aware of all the difficulties he would have to face. But he was the right man to fight against any and every problem. These struggles brought forth many essays, booklets and even books. It is impossible to quote them all, we shall mention only the most important ones. Thus, the result of his preliminary research into the Buddhist literature is his anthology of Buddhism in the *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* edited by A. Bertholet (Tübingen 1908, pp. 214-322). A new revised edition was issued in 1929 as No. 11 of the *Lesebuch* under the title *Der aeltere Buddhismus nach Texten des Tipiṭaka*. In 1930, he added a second volume (*Der Mahāyāna-Buddhismus nach Sanskrit und Prākrit texten*) giving specimens of translations of the most important Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (No. 15 of the *Lesebuch*). He wrote also papers on the Buddhist Sanskrit literature (*WZKM.*, 26, 1912, 237-252, and 27, 1913, 33-47), on the Jātakas (*Ostas. Zeitschr.*, 2, 1913/14, 259-265 and in the *ERE.*, 7, 1914, 491-494), on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (*IHQ.*, 4, 1928, 1-14), on 'Gotama the Buddha, what do we know of him and his teaching?' (*Arch. Or.*, 1, 1929, 235-246), on the Pāli Canon, the earlier Buddhism and its history (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, Leipzig 1931, 63-72), on 'Problems of Buddhism' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*,

NS. II, 1936, Part I, 41-60). The study of the Jaina Canon brought him in contact with the chief leaders of the Jaina religion, the late Jaina Saint Vijaya Dharma Sūri was his friend; Winternitz was the single European who took part in the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the commemorative temple of this Saint at Shivapuri, Gwalior State, and he described them in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, 7, 1926, 349-377, to the regret of all, the only reminiscence of his Indian travels. In that connection, we may mention also his paper 'The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature' (*Indian Culture*, 1, 1934, 143-166). The research work done with regard to the third volume of the *History of Indian Literature* brought forth many further essays, e.g., on the Dialogue, Ākhyāna and Drama in the Indian literature (*WZKM.*, 23, 1909, 102-137) where he dealt with the problem of the beginnings of the Indian drama, on the Indian narrative literature (*Deutsche Lit.-Ztg.*, 31, 1910, 2693-2702, 2757-2767), especially on the Tantrākhyāyika (*WZKM.*, 25, 1911, 49-62), on the Kṛṣṇa dramas (*ZDMG.*, 74, 1920, 118-144), on the Bhāsa problem (*Ostas. Zeitschr.*, 9, 1920/22, 282-299), on 'Kauṭilya and the Art of Politics in Ancient India' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, I, 1923, 261-267), on '*Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*' (*Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna 1926, Part I, 25-48), on new Arthaśāstra MSS. (*Zeitschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.*, 6, 1928, 14-27), on fairy-tales within the narrative literature of the peoples (*Arch. Or.*, 4, 1932, 225-249), on the Bhāvaśataka (*IHQ.*, 12, 1936, 134-137 and 517), again on 'Bhāsa and the Mahābhārata and Kṛṣṇa Plays of the Trivandrum Series' (*Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, vol. V, 1937, Part I, 1-15), etc. His 'Notes on the Guhyasamāja-Tantra and the Age of the Tantras' (*IHQ.*, 9, 1933, 1-10) offered a new insight into that difficult problem.

In his works treating Indian religion and folklore, Winternitz took always notice of the Indo-European and generally e t h n o -

logical relations. During his stay in England he translated Max Müller's *Anthropological Religion* into German (Leipzig 1894) and a year later the work of the same scholar *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (Leipzig 1895). Besides different smaller papers on ethnological subjects, we may mention his notes on the Malayan popular religion (*WZKM.*, 14, 1900, 243-264). When he was appointed also a lecturer of Ethnology at the Prague German University, he wished to throw light on the mutual relations of ethnology, folklore and philology; the result of his reflexions was the paper 'Voelkerkunde, Volkskunde und Philologie' (*Globus*, 78, 1900, 345-350, 370-377). In the essay "Die Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvoelker" (*Mitteil. d. Anthrop. Ges.*, Vienna, 31, 1901, 305-333) he compared the myths of the deluge of many peoples of the world in ancient and modern times. His booklet 'Was wissen wir von den Indo-germanen?' (München 1903, being an off-print from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*) gave a clear survey of the problem of the Indo-European people ('Urvolk') and their culture. He wrote on mankind, race, and nation (*Monatschrift d. Oesterr.-Israelitischen Union*, 16, 1904, 4-31) as well as on 'The Unity of Mankind' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, NS. I, 1935, Part II, 1-14) more than thirty years later. Even in the last years of his life he collected materials for a big work on the modern race questions.

In the very beginnings of his scientific work devoted to the marriage customs, Winternitz had to deal with woman of ancient India. He returned to this subject in his essay on the widow in the Veda (*WZKM.*, 29, 1915, 172-203) and in his extensively planned work *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen. I. Teil: Die Frau im Brahmanismus* (Leipzig 1920). Even this project could not be carried out. Surely, there is an inner and close connection of cause and effect between his scientific interest in the Indian womanhood and his courageous fighting for the emancipation of women,

not only in his country and in Europe, but in the whole world. In newspapers and reviews, in lectures and speeches, he defended the aspirations of political equality as well as the economical and cultural progress of women from his humanistic point of view. In many women's associations he was a leading brain till his old age. In recent times, he had the satisfaction that his intentions got their realization at least in many countries of Europe.

It is easily to be understood, that Winternitz as a historian of religion became a moral philosopher too. From his treatise on the ethics in the sacred books of the Indians, Persians and Chinese (*Deutsche Arbeit,* 6, 1906-7, 486-489, 590-592, 619-625) a direct line leads to his booklet 'Religion und Moral' (Prag 1922, *Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für sittliche Erziehung,* No. 2); here he surveys the relation of religion and ethics in the history and literature of many peoples and creates the base of the working programme of the German Society for Ethical Education, founded by him and some other friends of his at Prague. According to his ethical principles, Winternitz was a thorough pacifist and condemned the war and an exaggerated nationalism on many occasions. In this connection, we may refer to the special interest shown by him in Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore in a number of papers and public lectures. His booklet 'Rabindranath Tagore. Religion und Weltanschauung des Dichters' (Prag 1936, *Schriften d. Deutsch. Ges. f. sittl. Erz.,* No. 13), dedicated to the 75th birthday of the poet, was his last reverence offered to the eminent Indian spiritual teacher.

Winternitz's style in his publications was always clear and simple. Nevertheless, he was a master of the word, and always he required of his pupils, too, to use a correct diction in their writings. There are no superfluous phrases, no vast and vague theories disturbing the logical flow of his arguments. He was a man of facts working *sine ira et studio,* and he never

constructed a higher building of conclusions than the substructure of facts allowed.

In personal contact, Winternitz was a gentle and noble-minded man. At the first moment, he seemed to be of a reserved nature. Yet under this hard exterior there was hidden a golden heart. Nobody asked in vain for his help or advice.

Winternitz has left this world, but his works are with us and with the future generations, as a well-known Indian saying runs; n a h i k a r m a k ṣ ī y a t e!

W. GAMPERT.

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIV **March, 1938** **No. 1**

Symbolism of the Dome

Part I

The origin of any structural form can be considered either from an archæological and technical or from a logical and aesthetic, or rather cognitive, point of view: in other words, either as fulfilling a function or as expressing a meaning. We hasten to add that these are logical, not real distinction: function and significance coincide in the form of the work; however, we may ignore the one or the other in making use of the work as a thing essential to the active life of the body or dispositive to the contemplative life of the spirit.

Inasmuch as we are here mainly concerned with significance, we need not emphasize the importance in architectural history of the problem presented by the superposition of a domed (or barrel-vaulted) roof upon a rectangular base, nor go into the question of how, where homogeneous materials such as mud or wattle were in use, this was originally very simply solved (and even more easily in the case of a tent of skins or woven material) by a gradual obliteration of the angles as the walls were built up; and how subsequently where stone or brick was employed, the same problem was solved in two ways structurally, either by spanning (trabeation, squinches) or by building forward from the angles (corbelling, pendentives). We propose to ask rather *why* than *how* "the square chamber is *obliged* to forsake its plan and strain forward to meet the round

dome in which it must terminate",[1] and whether it is altogether accidentally, so to speak, that our domes "appear to have been *destined* to symbolise the passage from Unity to quadrature through the mediation of the triangle of the squinches";[2] and why in the north porch of the Erectheion "immediately above the trident-mark (of Poseidon) an opening in the roof had been *purposely* left."[3] We might have expressed the problem otherwise by asking "Why should the walls of a tepee or sides of a pyramid contract towards a common point in which their independent existence ceases?"; or again, in the case of a dome supported by pillars, by asking, "Why should these pillars either actually (as in the case of certain bamboo constructions) or virtually (as is evident if we consider the arch as a dome in cross-section) converge towards the common apex of their separated being, which apex is in fact their '*key*'?"

In this matter of procedure from unity to quadrature there is something analogous to the work of the three Ṛbhus in making four cups out of Tvaṣṭṛ's one. These Ṛbhus compose a triad of "artists",[4] who are described as "Men of the interspace, or air" (*antarikṣasya narāḥ*), and are said to have quartered the Titan's cup (*camasam, pātram*), "as it were measuring out a field" (*kṣetram iva vi mamuḥ*, Ṛv. I. 110. 3-5). The reference is undoubtedly to the

1 E. Schroeder, in an article to appear in the *Survey of Persian Art*. In a consideration of the successive courses of the elevation, Mr. Schroeder also remarks that "the four zones suggest in their succession a series of metaphysical concepts whose progression has been the concern of contemplatives from Pythagoras to St. Thomas: first individuality or multiplicity, secondly conflict and pain, next unanimity, consent and peace, and finally unification, loss of individuality, beatitude"

2 J. H. Probst-Biraben, "Symbolisme des arts plastiques de l'Occident et du Proche-Orient," *Le Voile d'Isis* (now *Études Traditionelles*) vol. 40, 1935, p. 16.

3 J. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 92.

4 Ṛbhu, from *rabh* (cf. *labh*), as in *ārabh* to "undertake" "fashion" and *rambha*, a "prop", "post" "support". In Ṛv. X, 125, 8 *ārambhamāṇā bhuvanāni viśvā*, "fashioning all the worlds, the universe" embodies the meaning also of setting up all the houses."

primordial act of creation by which a "place" is prepared for those who are eager to emerge from the antenatal tomb, to escape the bonds of Varuṇa. Attention may be called to the expression *vi mamuḥ*, from *vi mā*, to "measure out" or "lay out", and hence to "plan" or even "construct". The root with its prefix occurs notably in the word *vimāna* which often coincides with *ratha* (chariot) as the designation of what is at once the "palace" and the "vehicle" of the Gods (i.e. the revolving universe),[5] and which occurs in Ṛv. chiefly in connection with the creative determination of "space" (*antarikṣa, rajas*), for example in V. 41. 3 where Somā-pūṣaṇā, described as the Poles of the Universe, are besought to "urge your chariot hitherward, the seven-wheeled chariot that measures out the region" (*rajaso vimānam...ratham*), that is to say, are asked to bring into being an inhabitable space. In countless texts we find *vi mā* employed in this way with respect to the delimitation of space, the laying out of "abodes of cosmic order" (*ṛtasya dhāma*), and the determination of the "measure of the sacrifice" (*yajñasya mātram*) which is again an aspect of the act of creation. In V. 81. 3 it is the Sun himself that "measures out the chthonic regions" (*pārthivāni vi mame...rajāṃsi deva savitā*), i.e. the "grounds" of the seven worlds; or otherwise expressed, it is Varuṇa who "employing the Sun as his rule, measures out the earth" *mānenêva...vi...*(*mame pṛthivīṃ sūryeṇa*, V. 85. 5);[6] and we may

5 Hence it is that actual temples, as at Koṇāraka, may be provided with wheels and represented as drawn by horses; and it is from the same point of view that their movable images are carried in procession on chariots, drawn by men or horses, of which the most familiar example is that of the annual procession of the "Lord of the World" (Jagannātha) at Puri. That the universe is thought of as a house not only in a spatial but also in a temporal sense is seen in *Śatapatha Br.*, I, 66. 1. 19. "He alone wins the Year who knows its doors, for what were he to do with a house who cannot find his way inside?"

6 Similarly *Maitri Up.*, VI, 6, "The eye of Prajāpati's crudest form, his cosmic body, is the Sun: for the Person's great dimensioned world (*mātrāḥ*) depends upon the eye, since it is with the eye that he moves about amongst dimensioned things"

say in the words of Genesis II. 1, that "thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them".

Our citations above have been chosen in part to bring out the connection of the Sun with the act of creative delimitation by which the Three (or Seven, or Thrice Seven) Worlds are made actual. For we must assume from Ṛv. I. 110.3 and 5 that the "Asura's cup" made fourfold by the Ṛbhus is really the "platter" or disc (*pātra* = *maṇḍala*) of the Sun (or rather, *ante principium*, that of the United Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth, coincident in the beginning as they are at the end of time): we remark not merely the appositional sequence "Savitṛ (the Sun)...him-that-may-not-be-hidden...*this* only feeding vessel of the Titan (Father)" (*savitā...agohyam...camasam asurasya bhakṣaṇam ekaṃ santam*, I. 110.3, with *pātram* for *camasam*, in verse 5)[7] and in Av. X. 8. 9 "bowl wherein is set the glory

(*mātrāḥ*) literally "measured things", and hence the material world of measurable things, or whatever occupies space.

It may be remarked that although we began with the case of the dome on a square base, the spatial principles involved are the same in the case of a circular base, since any "field" is determined in two dimensions. Heaven and earth are generally thought of as wheels or circles (*cakra*); but in the *Śatapatha Br.* XIV. 3. 1. 17 the Sun is "four-cornered, for the quarters are his corners", and *ib.* VI. 1. 2. 29 the earth is similarly "four-cornered, and that is why the bricks (of the altar) are likewise four-cornered."

The Axis of the Universe according to the texts or as represented is usually cylindrical or four or eight-angled: early Indian pillars usually either cylindrical or eight-angled. We might also have discussed the symbolism of these pillars, and similarly that of the palace supported by a single pillar (*ekathambhaka-pāsāda*), but will merely cite as parallel "Every column in those Achaemenid palaces was an emblem of the sun-god to which the king of kings might look up" (Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, Oxford, 1933).

7 *Camasam* (=*pātram*) *bhakṣaṇam*, the solar "Grail" as an all-wish-fulfilling feeding-vessel; regarded either as himself the "enjoyer" or as the Titan's (Varuṇa's) "means of enjoyment", just as we speak of the eye as "seeing" or as the "means of vision." The Titan Father's bowl, which is also his "eye" (Ṛv. I. 50. 5-7, X. 82. 1, X. 88. 13, Av. X. 7. 33. etc.) provides whatever "food" may be desired, precisely inasmuch as it is the solar orb, paten, or platter which envisages and thus partakes of all things at once; in which sense it is that "The Sun with his five rays feeds

omniform" (*camasa...yasmin yaśo nihitaṃ viśvarūpam*), but also the later designation of the sun-door as an "entrance covered over by the golden platter of truth" (*hiraṇyamayena pātreṇa satyasyâpihitaṃ mukhaṃ*),[8] *Īśā Up.* 15, cf. *Jaiminīya Up. Br.* I. 3. 6).

It is then, by means of the Sun, often described as the Titan's "eye", that He surveys, experiences, and "feeds upon" the worlds of contingent being under the Sun, which are in the power of Death, and properly His food; by means of the Sun that these worlds are in the first place "measured out", or "created". It is just this that is implied in the work of the Ṛbhus, who make of the single

upon the objects of sense-perception" (*viṣayân atti. Maitri Up.* VI. 31, cf. *pippalam atti*, Ṛv. I. 164. 20), i.e. "When as the Lord of Immortality he rises up by food" (*amṛtatvasyêśāno yad annena atirohati*, Ṛv. X 90. 2="comes eating and drinking"); which rays are "the far seeing rays of Varuṇa", Ṛv. X. 41. 9, "five" if we consider the four quarters and central orb, "seven" if we also consider the zenith and nadir, or more indefinitely "a hundred and one", of which the hundred and first is again the central orb. The bowl is not, as some have suggested, the Moon,—"The Person in the orb is the eater, the Moon his food.....The Moon is the food of the gods" (ŚB. X. 5. 2. 18 and I. 6. 4. 5), "The Sun is the eater, the Moon his dues. When this pair unites, it is termed the eater, not the food" (ŚB. X. 6 2. 3 and 4). It is of course as "world" or "universe", all that is "under the sun", that the Moon is his "meat". The very "life of Varuṇa, the Fisher King, the deity *ab intra*, otherwise inert and impotent, depends upon this Grail as the eternal means of his rejuvenation and procession. And this solar Grail is the prototype of every sacrificial paten. For the Grail motif in the Indian tradition, and the Buddha's bowl as a Grail, see my *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, pp. 37-42, 1931 (new edition in preparation).

8 *Mukha*, "entrance", "gateway", as in *Jaiminiya Up. Br* III. 33. 8 "The comprehensor thereof, frequenting in the spirit both these classes of divinities (Gale, Fire, Moon, Sun as transcendent and as immanent), the Gate receives him" (*vidvān etā ubhayir devatā ātmany etya, mukha ādatte*); *ib.* IV. 11. 5 "I (Agni) am the Gate of the Gods" (*ahaṃ devānām mukham asmi*); *Aitareya Br.* III. 42, "Agni ascended, reaching the sky, he opened the door of the world of heaven" (*svargasya lokasya dvāram*). For *mukha* as the gateway of a city or fort see Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, II, Ch. 21, and the plan in *Eastern Art*, II, 1930, Pl. CXXII, the "mouth" of the gateway is approached by a bridge of "concourse" (*saṃkrama*) which spans the moat, so that whoever enters may be said to have reached the "farther shore". There is accordingly a solar symbolism of gateways and of bridges and bridge-builders (cf. "Pontiff").

solar "platter" four of the like sort, by which we can only understand four solar stations, representing the limits of the solar motion in the four directions (motion daily from East to West and back again, and annually from South to North and back again). It will then be a matter of obtaining "food from all four quarters" (*Pañcaviṃśa Br.* XV. 3. 25): this may seem from a human point of view a great thing, but it can be easily seen that it is far more in accordance with the dignity of the divine unity to obtain all possible kinds of "nourishment" from a single source, a veritable cup of plenty, than to obtain these varied foods from widely extended sources: what Tvaṣṭṛ resents is in effect the partition of his central unity involved by an extension in the four directions. If all this is attributed in Ṛv. either to the Deity in person, or alternatively to a subsequently deified triad of "artists", this can only be understood to mean that the latter are collectively the three dimensions of space, and in this sense "powers" whose operation is indispensable to the extension of any horizontal "field" in terms of the four quarters: it is in fact only by means of the three dimensions that an original "one" can be made "four", "like a field" (*kṣetram iva*), and it is in this sense that we proceed from unity to quadrature by means of a triangle.[9] The converse procedure is given in the well-known miracle

9 This holds good also in the analogous case of the four-fold partition of the vajra (made by Tvaṣṭṛ, given to Indra, and with which he smites the Dragon, Ṛv. I 85. 9, etc.), inasmuch as the four parts are to be wielded, or otherwise moved, *Śatapatha Br.* I. 2. 4.

The coronate and royal Buddha types of the Mahāyāna iconography characteristically hold the begging bowl, and represent (1) the Buddha as Cakravartin, or King of the World, and (2) the Sambhogakāya or Body of Beatitude (Mus, "Le Buddha paré," *BEFEO.*, 1928, pp. 274, 277). Now we suggest that *sam* in *sambhoga* has the value "completely" or "absolutely" rather than that of in company with"; *sambhoga* is not (in these contexts) and eating "together with others", but an "all-eating" in a sense analogous to that of 'all-knowing', cf. *sam-bodhi, saṃ-vid, sams-kṛ* etc. The bowl is more than the simple *patta* in which a wandering monk collects his food from here or there, it is a *puṇṇa patta*, a "full bowl", furnished with all kinds of food; and the story seems to assert unmistakeably that His body who

of the Buddha's begging-bowl (*patta* = *pātra*, *Jātaka* I. 80); that the Buddha receives four bowls from the Kings of the Four Quarters, and making of these four one bowl eats from it, implies an involution of space, and what is evidently and literally an atonement of what had been done by the Ṛbhus. For the Buddha, now a unified being, the Grail is once more as it had been in the beginning and for Tvaṣṭṛ, single.

Thus considered, the "myth" of the Ṛbhus may be called a paraphrase of a more usual formula according to which the Sun is described as seven-rayed;[10] of which seven, six represent the arms of the three-dimensional Cross of spiritual Light (*triv*ṛ*d vajra*) by which the universe is at once created and supported.[11] Of the six rays,

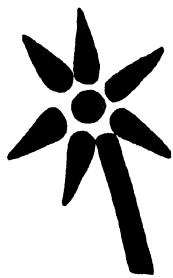
eats from it is no mere *kāya*, but the Sambhogakāya or Body of Omnifruition. M. Mus, approaching the problem from another angle, has reached the same conclusion, that the term *sambhoga* implies a perfect, universal, and effortless fruition, pointing out at the same time that *anābhoga*, meaning "not relying upon any external source of nourishment", naturally coincides with *sambhoga* in one and the same subject, and implies a self-subsistence of which the Sun is an evident image (*Barabudur*, p. 659). My own interpretation of the atonement of the four bowls merely confirms these deductions.

10 From other points of view, of course, the Sun can be regarded as having one, four, five, eight, nine, or a "thousand" rays; eight, for example, with respect to the four quarters and four half-quarters on a given plane of being.

11 A fuller discussion of the Vedic "Cross of Light", of which the arms are the pathways of the Spirit, must be undertaken elsewhere. In the meantime, for the expression *triv*ṛ*d vajra*, see *Jaiminiya Br.* I. 247 "The procession of the threefold spear perpetually coincides with that of these worlds" (*triv*ṛ*d vajro'harahar imān lokān anuvartata*); for the "best ray" (*param bhās*, *jyeṣṭha raśmi*, cf. *jyotiṣām jyotis*, "light of lights") see *Śatapatha Br.* I. 9. 3. 10 with Mahidhara's commentary, together with *Jaiminiya Up. Br.* I. 30. 4 *yat param atibhati..... tam abhyatimucyate;* and for the *sūtrātman* doctrine, Ṛv. I. 115. 1, Av. X. 8. 37-38, *Śatapatha Br.* VI. 7. 1. 17 and VIII. 7. 3.10, where the Sun is said to "string these worlds to Himself by the thread of the Gale of the Spirit" and to be the "point of attachment" (*āsañjanam*) to which these worlds are bound by means of the six directions, cf. in Av. X. 7. 42 the concept of the universal warp of being as fastened by six pegs or rays of light (*tantram.....ṣaṇmayūkham*); and *Bhagavad Gitā*, VII 7 and X. 20. It may be added that similar ideas are clearly expressed in the apocryphal *Acts of John*, 98-99 and *Acts of Peter*, XXXVIII.

those which correspond to the Zenith and Nadir coincide with our Axis of the Universe (*skambha, divo dharuṇa*, etc.), Islamic Qutb, and Gnostic *stauros,* while those which correspond to North and South, East and West, determine the extension of any horizontal plane or "world" (*loka,* precisely as the *locus* of a specific ensemble of possibilities), for example, that of each of the seven worlds considered as a given plane of being. The seventh ray alone passes

To avoid all possibility of confusion, it must be emphasized that the position of the Sun in the universe is in the Vedic tradition always at the centre, and not at the top of the universe, although always above and at the "Top of the Tree", when considered from any point within the universe. How this is will be readily understood if we consider the universe as symbolised by the wheel, of which the centre is the Sun and the felly any ground of being. From any one position on the felly it will be seen that the Axis of the Universe, which pillars apart Heaven and Earth, is a radius of the circle and a ray of the Sun, occupying what is from our point of view the zenith, but from the solar point of view the nadir; while from an exactly opposite position on the felly, the same will hold good. The Axis of the Universe is represented then by what in the diagram is actually a diameter, made up of what is from any one point of view a nadir and a zenith, in other words, the axis passes geometrically through the Sun. It is in quite another than this geometric sense that the "seventh ray" passes through the Sun, viz. into an undimensioned beyond, which is not contained within the dimensioned circle of the universe. The prolongation of this seventh ray beyond the Sun is accordingly incapable of any geometric representation; from our point of view it ends in the Sun, and is the disc of the Sun, through which we cannot gaze, otherwise than in the spirit, and not by any means either physically or psychically. To this "ineffable" quality of the prolongation of the "Way" beyond the Sun correspond the Upaniṣad and Buddhist designations of the continuing *brahmapatha* as "non-human" (*amānava*) and as "uncommunicable or "untaught" (*aśaikṣa*), and the whole doctrine of "Silence" (see my "Vedic doctrine of Silence",





Études Traditionelles, 42, 1937. The essential distinction of this seventh ray

through the Sun to the supra-solar Brahma worlds "where no sun shines" (all that is under the Sun being in the power of Death, and all beyond "immortal"); and is represented accordingly in any diagram by the point at which the arms of the three-dimensional cross interesect, or as Mahidhara expresses it, "the seventh ray is the solar orb itself". It is by this "best ray", the "one foot" of the Sun, that the "heart" of each and every separated essence is directly connected with the Sun: and it will prove to be significant in our interpretation of the summit of the dome that when the separated essence can be thought of as returned to the centre of its own being on whatever plane of being that this seventh ray will evidently coincide with the axis of the Universe. In the case of the Buddha's "First Meditation",[12] it is evidently just because he is for the time being completely reverted and thus analogically situated at the "navel of the earth" the nether pole of the Axis, that the Sun above him casts an unmoving shadow, while the shadows of other trees than the one under which he is seated change their place. We need hardly say that the position of the Axis of the Universe is a universal and not a local position: the "navel of the earth" is "within you", else it were impossible to "build up Agni intellectually", as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* expresses what is formulated in Christianity as the "bringing to birth of Christ in the soul". In the same way the centre of every habitation is analogically *the* centre, an hypostasized centre, of the world, and immediately

from the other spatial rays (which also corresponds to the distinction of transcendent from immanent and of infinite from finite) is clearly marked in symbolic representations, of which we give two illustrations, respectively Hindu and Christian.

The seven-rayed Sun (a) as represented on Indian punch-marked coins, after Allan, *Early Indian Coins* (British Museum, 1936), and (b) from the Nativity in the church of San Matorano in Sicily. In (b) the long shaft of the seventh ray extends downward from the Sun to the Bambins in the cradle.

12 *Jātaka* I. 58; cf. *Chāndogya Up.*, III. 8. 10, where for the Sādhya deities the Sun rises always in the zenith and sets in the nadir,—and can therefore, so far as they are concerned, cast only a fixed shadow.

underlies the similarly hypostasized centre of the sky at what is the other pole of the Axis at once of the edifice and of the universe it represents.

Every house is therefore the universe in a likeness, and provided with an analogous content: as M. Mus expresses it "The House and the World are two equivalent sums...The family living in it is the image of the countless crowd of creatures dwelling in the shelter of the cosmic house; of which the ceiling or roof is heaven, light, and sun". The work of the architect is really an "imitation of nature in her manner of operation": the several houses reflect in their accidents the peculiarity of as many builders, but are essentially "so many hypostases of one and the same world and all together possess but one and the same reality, that of this universal world".[13]

What we have said with respect to the house applies with equal force to many other constructions, of which we may cite the chariot as a notable example. No less precisely than the house, the chariot reproduces the constitution of the universe in luminous detail. The human vehicle is an exemplary likeness of the cosmic vehicle or body in which the course is run from darkness to light, from endless end to endless end of the universe, conceived at once in terms of space (and in this sense as stable) and in terms of time (as the Year, and in this sense revolving).[14] The paired wheels of this cosmic

13 Mus, P., "Barabudur: Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes", in course of publication in *BEFEO.*, 1932 f. Passages quoted above are from Part V, pp. 125, 207, 208.

Cf. H. Kern, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde,* Paris, 1903, II, p. 154, "The true Dhātugarbha of the Ādi-Buddha, in other words the Creator, Brahmā, is the Brahmânḍa, the world-egg, container of all the elements (*dhātu*) and which is divided into two halves by the horizon. This is the real Dhātugarbha (receptacle of the elements): the constructions are only an imitation of it".

14 See the excellent discussion of the cosmic chariot and its micro-cosmic replicas, and the demonstration of the analogy of cosmic and human *processions* in Mus, *loc. cit.* p. *229

vehicle or universal incarnation of the Spirit, its driver, are respectively Heaven and Earth, at once divided and united by the axle-tree, on which the revolution of the wheels takes place (Rv. X. 89. 4). This axle-tree is the same thing as our Axis of the Universe, and trunk of the Tree, and the informing principle of the whole construction. The division of the wheels which is the act of creation, brings into being a space within which the individually proceeding principles are borne on their way; while their reunion, realised by the charioteer when he returns from the circumference to the centre of his own being, is the rolling up of time and space, leaving only a single wheel in principle (Dante's *prima rota*), of which the hub is that solar gate "through the midst of which one escapes altogether" (*atimucyate, Jaiminīya Up. Br.* I. 3. 5) from the revolving cosmos into an uncontained empyrean. Nothing will be changed in principle if we take account in the same way of the exemplary likeness of ships to the cosmic Ship of Life in which the Great Voyage is undertaken; the deck corresponding to the surface of the earth, the mast coinciding with the vertical axis of the house and axle-tree of the chariot, while the "crow's nest" corresponds to the seat of the all-seeing Sun above.

All that we have implied, here and elsewhere, with respect to the imitation of heavenly prototypes in human works of art, and the conception of the arts themselves as a body of transmitted knowledge of ultimately superhuman origin, can be applied equally to the case of the artificer himself just as also in Christian philosophy there is taken for granted an exemplary likeness of the human architect to the Architect of the World, and as indeed the consistency of the doctrine requires. If we consider such an architectural treatise as the *Mānasāra*, we find in the first place clear evidence of a direct dependence upon Vedic sources, for example, in the statement that the master-architect (*sthapati*) and also his three companions or assistants, the surveyor (*sūtra-grāhi*), the builder and painter (*vardhaki*),

and carpenter (*takṣaka*) are required, by way of professional qualification, to be acquainted both with the Vedas and with their accessory sciences (*sthapatiḥ...vedavic-chāstra-pāragaḥ, loc. cit.* II. 13 and f.), and in such verses as "It is through the Sun that the Earth becomes the support of all beings" (*ib.* III. 7), evidently an echo of Ṛv. V. 85. 5 cited above.[15] Furthermore, "It has been said by the Lord himself that he is the All-fashioner (Viśvakarmā)", *ib.* II. 2: and it is from his four "faces" that are descended the quartet of architects mentioned above, who are moreover called "all-fashioners" after him (*ib.* II. 5). It may be added that evidently the "four architects" correspond to the four ritual priests of the sacrifice, the *sthapati* in particular to that one who is styled pre-eminently *the* Brāhmaṇa, as distinguished from the others by his greater knowledge, without which their operation would be defective. In our *Mediæval Sinhalese Art* we have called attention to the sacerdotal and regal functions performed even by the modern *sthapati* in Ceylon. A similar analogy could be drawn between the "four architects" on the one hand, and the Sun or solar Indra with his particular associates, the Ṛbhus. And finally, the designation of the master-architect as *sthapati* immediately suggests *vi...atiṣṭhipaḥ* in Ṛv. I. 56. 5-6, where it is a matter of the architectural construction of the universe, with its axial "pillar of heaven" (*divo dharuṇam*, cf. IX. 73. 7 where Soma as the Tree of Life is *aharuṇaḥ mahaḥ divaḥ*, "the great stauros of the sky"), and rigid crossbeam (*tiro dharuṇam acyutam*): *sthapati* and *atiṣṭhipaḥ* being equally causative forms of *sthā* in the sense "to set up". Ṛv. I. 56 at the same time makes a direct connection between the construction of the universe and the smiting of the Serpent, Ahi-Vṛtra, the significance of which will appear later. We may say that just as much as the sacrifice itself, (a synthesis of all the arts), every artistic operation, as such operation

15 Cf. VIII. 26. 18 "He (Sun) hath measured out with history the boundaries of Heaven and Earth".

is envisaged by tradition, is an imitation of what was done by the Gods in the beginning.

The questions of the Ṛbhus and of the Cross of Light have been introduced into our discussion of the principles of sacred architecture (from the traditional point of view, there is nothing that can be defined as essentially or wholly secular) primarily in order to provide a background illustrative of the manner in which the problems of spatial extension and construction have been traditionally approached. Our method of approach is based upon the fact that the technical problem as such only presents itself when there has already been imagined a form to be realised in the material. Whether we have in view a spatial universe or a human construction, the idea of a space to be enclosed between a vault above and a plane below must be assumed in the mind of the architect logically prior to any actual becoming of the work to be done; which priority will be merely logical in the case of the Divine Architect, but must be also temporal in the case of the human builder who proceeds from potentiality to act. And prior to this formal cause, with the same reservations, there must be assumed a final cause or purpose of the construction to be undertaken, the artist always working both *per artem et ex voluntate*. The same will hold good whether we take account of the house of the body, a constructed dwelling, or the universe as a whole. Just as formally considered there is a correspondence between the human body,[16] human building, and whole world, so there is also a teleological correspondence: all these constructions have as their practical function to shelter individual principles

16 With its interior cell, the "lotus of the heart, indwelt by the Golden Person of the Sun" (*Maitri Up.* VI. 2), "ever seated in the heart of creatures" (*Kaṭha Up.* VI. 17), the "all-containing city of Brahman" (*Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 1. 6), "constance of Indra and Indrāṇi" Heaven and Earth) (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV. 2. 3, *Maitri Up.* VII. 11). We shall see later that it is from the apex of this house of the body or heart that the indwelling Spirit emerges when its connection (*samyoga*) with the individual-body-and-soul is severed.

on their way from one state of being to another to provide, in other words, a field of experience in which they can "become what they are". The concepts of creation (means) and of redemption (end) are complementary and inseparable: the Sun is not merely the architect of space, but also the liberator of all things thereinto (which would otherwise remain in an obscurity of mere potentiality), and finally of all things therefrom.

It can be said with respect to any of these houses to which we have referred that one enters into the provided environment at its lowest level (at birth) and departs from it at its highest level (at death); or in other words that ingress is horizontal, egress vertical (these are the two directions of motion on the wheel of life, respectively peripheral and centripetal). If this is not empirically evident in all respects,[17] this is nevertheless an accurate presentation of the traditional concept of the passage of any individual consciousness through any "sapce"; and this is a matter of importance, because it is precisely in the notion of a vertical egress that we shall find an explanation of the symbolism of our domes.

We are not then disposed to enquire whether or not, or whether to some extent, the form of a stūpa may or may not have

For a corresponding analogy of the inward and outward "cells", see William of Thierry, *Epistle to the Brethren of Mont Dieu*, Ch. 28 "Thou hast one cell without, another within. The outward cell is the house wherein thy soul and thy body dwell together; the inward is thy conscience (*conscientia*, "consciousness", "inward controller", *antaryāmin*), which ought to be dwelt in by God (who is more inward than all thy inward parts) and by thy spirit" (sc. *antarātman*): cited from Shewring's Version, London, 1930, p. 51.

17 Our allusion is in fact to the metaphysical identification of woman with the household fire (*gārhapatya*) and of the act of insemination with that of a ritual offering in this fire; for which see *Jaiminiya Br.* I. 17 (*JAOS.*, XIX. 115-116) and (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* VI. 4. 1-3). Considered from this point of view all birth is from fire. Man's first birth is his liberation from an antenatal hell; he enters at birth into a purgatorial space; and being laid in the sacrificial fire at death, is regenerated through the Sun; his earthly motions are horizontal, his spiritual ascent vertical, by way of the stauros, under whatever aspect this pillar may be represented.

been derived from that of a tumulus or domed hut (we agree in fact with M. Mus in rejecting such a theory of origins), but rather to seek for what may be called the common formal principle that finds expression equally in all of these and in other related constructions. We propose to consider the architectural form primarily as an imagined (*dhyātam*)[18] form, referring its "origin" rather to "Man" universally, in whom the artist and the patron are one essence, that to this or that man individually. It need hardly be said that the traditional theory of art, and the Indian tradition in particular, invariably assume an "intellectual operation" (*actus primus*) preceding the artist's manual operation. We have discussed this elsewhere in connection with the later sources,[19] but may remark that the principle is clearly expressed in Indian texts from the beginning by the constant employment of the roots *dhī* or *dhyai*[20] and *cit* or *cint* in connection with all kinds of constructive operation, such as the fashioning of an incantation or that of a chariot or altar. For example, in Ṛv. III. 2. 1 the priests are said to bring Agni anigh "by contemplation" (*dhiyā*), "even as it is by contemplation that the tool gives form to the chariot": Av. X. 1. 8 where we find the image "even as by a Ṛbhu the parts of a chariot are put together, by means of a contemplation" (*dhiyā*): and *Śatapatha Br.* VI. 2. 3. 1 (and *passim*) where in connection with the building of the Fire Altar, whenever the builders are at a loss, not knowing how to build up the next course of the structure, we find a sequence of words in which

18 Just as in connection with painting we find the instruction *tad dhyātam bhittau niveśayet*, "Put down on the wall what has been imagined" (*Abhilaṣitârthacintāmaṇi*, I. 3. 158).

19 "The intellectual operation in Indian art", *Journ. Indian Soc. Or. Art*, III, pp. 1-12, 1935; "The technique and theory of Indian painting", *Technical Studies*, III, pp. 59-89, 1934. *The transformation of nature in art*, Cambridge, 1935.

20 *Dhī* as noun is not so much merely "thought", but specifically *contemplatio, theoria, ars, prognosis;* and *dhīra* not merely "wise" but specifically "contemplative" and tantamount to *yogī*, especially in the sense in which the latter term is sometimes applied to artists.

they are enjoined to "contemplate" (*cetayadhvam*) and are then described as "seeing" (*apaśyan*) the required form. It is thus not by means of the empirical faculties, nor so to say experimentally, but intellectually that the formal cause is apprehended in an imitable form. We are considering the dome accordingly primarily as a work of the imagination, and only secondarily as a technical achievement.

Man has always, in a manner that we have tried to indicate above, correlated his own constructions with cosmic or supramundane prototypes. As Plotinus expresses it, "The crafts such as building and carpentry which give us matter in wrought forms may be said, in that they draw on pattern, to take their principles from *that* realm, and from the thinking *there*" (*Enneads*, V. 9. 11). For example, the Indian seven-storeyed palace (*prāsāda*) with its various floors or "earths" (*bhūmi*) has always been thought of as analogous to the universe of seven worlds; and one mounts to the top storey as if to the summit of contingent being (*bhavâgra*), just as the Sun ascends the sky and from his station in the zenith surveys the universe. It has been pointed out by Mus, in his magnificent monograph on Barabuḍur, from which we have quoted above, that the stūpa, particularly when monolithic, is essentially a domed *form* rather than a domed construction, and therefore, necessarily to be understood rather from a symbolic than from a practically functional point of view; it represents a universe in parvo, the abode of a person who has passed away, analogous to the universe itself considered as the body or abode of an active "Person". In the same way the Christian church, functionally adapted to the uses of liturgy, which are themselves entirely a matter of symbolic significance, derives its form from an authority higher than that of the individual builder who is its responsible architect: just as also in the case of the painted icons. "That are alone belongs to the painter; the ordering and the composition belong to the Fathers" (Second Council of Nicea). In

the same way the Indian architect "should reject what has not been prescribed (*anuktam*), and in every respect perform what has been prescribed" (*Mānasāra*); just as it is stated in connection with images that "the beautiful is not what pleases the fancy, but what is in agreement with the canon" (*Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 75 and 106) the function of which canon is to provide the support for the contemplative act in which an imitable form is visualised (*ib.* 70. 71).[21]

Before proceeding to a more detailed consideration of the ideology expressed in Indian domed constructions, and in what may be termed the archetypal form of any edifice, we must point out that what has been said by M. Mus for the stūpa and for the palace, "this Buddhist monument is comprehensible primarily with respect to its axis" and "we say of the *prāsāda*, as of the *stūpa*, that it is to be understood with respect to its axs, and that all the rest is only accessory decoration",[22] is of universal application.[23] This

21 Needless to say that the doctrines of the "freedom of the artist" and of artistic "self-expression" could only have arisen, in logical apposition to that of the "free examination" of the Scriptures, in such an anti traditional environment as that which had been provided by the Protestant Reformation (*sic*), with its altogether unchristian evaluation of "personality".

22 Mus, *loc. cit.* pp. 121, 360.

23 We say "universal" advisedly, and not merely with reference to each and every human construction. The universe itself can be understood only with reference to its axis. The creation is continually described as a "pillaring-apart (*viskambhana*) of Heaven and Earth; and that "Pillar" (*skambha—stauros*) by which this is done is itself the exemplar of the universe. "It is pillared-apart by this Pillar that Heaven and Earth stand fast; the Pillar is all this enspirited (*ātmanvat*) world, whatever breathes or winks" (Av. X. 8. 2); "Therein the future and the past and all the worlds are stayed" (Av. X. 7. 22); "Therein inheres all this" (Av. X. 8. 6); "Trunk of the Tree wherein abide whatever Gods there be" (Av. X. 7. 38).

Two illustrations may be cited. The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena says that this king erected (*vyadhita*, lit. "struck", in the sense in which one "sticks up" a post) a temple of Pradyumna, which was the "Mount (Meru) whereupon the Sun at midday rests the Tree whose branches are the quarters of space, (*dik-śākhā-mūla kāṇḍam*), and only sustaining pillar of the house of the Three Worlds" (*ālamba-stambham ekaṃ tribhuvana-bhavanasya*) (*Ep. Ind.*, I. 310, 314, cited by Mus, *loc. cit.* pt. IV. p. 144=*BEFEO.*, 1932, p. 412)

is sufficiently evident in the case of a domed hut of which the roof is actually supported by a king-post, thought of not merely as connecting the apex of the roof with a tie-beam, but as extending from the apex to the ground. We wish to point out, however, that while huts of this type have certainly existed, and that similarly at least in some cases (e.g. at Ghaṇṭasālā) the axis of the stūpa was actually and structurally represented within it, the importance of the axis in principle is no more necessarily represented by an actual pillar within the building than it would be possible to demonstrate the empirical existence of an Axis of the Universe, which axis is indeed always spoken of as a purely spiritual or pneumatic essence. On the other hand, we do find that the prolongations of the axis above the roof and below the ground are materially represented in actual construction; above, that is, by a finial, which may be relatively inconspicuous, but in many stūpas extends upwards in the form of a veritably "sky-scraping" mast (*yaṣṭi*) or "sacrificial-post" (*yūpa*) far beyond the dome; and below the floor of the contained space by the peg of *khadira* wood driven into the ground and by which the head of the all-supporting Serpent is fixed.[24] In any traditional society,

In the *Volsunga Saga*, "King Volsung let build a noble hall in such a wise that a big oak-tree stood therein, and that the limbs of the tree blossomed fair out over the roof of the hall, while below stood the trunk within it, and the said trunk did men call Branstock" (i.e. Burning Bush); it is moreover from this trunk that Sigmund draws the sword Gram, with which Sigurd subsequently slays Fafnir, cf. the Indian myth of the origin of the sacrificial sword, quoted in another note.

It will be observed that in Volsung's hall the roof is penetrated by the stem of the World-Tree. the hall is virtually a hypæthral temple, like the Indian *bodhighara*, fully described in *Eastern Art*, II, 1930, pp. 225-235.

24 These penetrations of the roof and floor correspond to what in the case of the cosmic chariot are the insertions of the axle-tree in the hubs of the wheels. The Serpent underground, an Endless Resinum (*ananta, śeṣa*), is the non-proceeding Godhead, Death, overcome by the proceeding Energy with whom the Axis of the Universe, its exemplary support, is identified, and Who "occupies" the whole universe in the same way that the stauros, as the first principle of space, is said to

every operation is in the strictest sense of the word a rite, and typically a metaphysical rather than a religious (devotional) rite; and it is of the very nature of the rite that it is a mimesis of what was done "in the beginning". The erection of a house is in just this sense an imitation of the creation of the world; and it is in this connection that the transfixation of the head of the Serpent, alluded to above, and regarded as an indispensable operation, acquires an intelligible meaning. In modern practice "the astrologer shows what spot in the foundation is exactly above the head of the snake that supports the world. The mason fashions a little wooden peg from the wood of the Khadira tree, and with a cocoanut drives the peg into the ground at this particular spot, in such a way as to peg the head of the snake securely down...if this snake should ever shake the world to pieces". A foundation stone (*padma-śilā*), with a eight-petalled lotus carved upon it, is set in mortar above the peg. A Brahman priest assists at all these rites, reciting appropriate incantations (mantras).[25] As M. Mus very justly adds to this citation,

"occupy" the six extents, for example in Av. X. 7. 35, "The Pillar (*skambha*) hath given their place to both Heaven and Earth and to the Space-between them, hath given a place to the six extents (i.e. the three dimensions of space considered as proceeding from a common centre in opposite directions), and taken up its residence (*ṭ viveśa*) in this whole universe", for all of which we have in practice the direct analogy of the builder's gnomon, set up in the beginning, and employed as the first principle of the whole lay-out (*Mānāsara*, ch. VI).

25 Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The rites of the twice-born*, 1920, p. 354. Cf. extracts from the *Māyāmataya*, verses 56-60, in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 1908, p. 207. Mrs. Stevenson remarks that a fire altar is subsequently made "in the very centre of the principal room of the house" (*ib.* p. 358). Such a "principal room" may be said to represent what was once the whole house, in its prototypal form of a circular hut, with its central hearth. At least in the case of this prototype, it will be safe to assume that this central hearth has been constructed immediately above the transfixed head of the chthonic Serpent; and it will be remarked that the smoke of the fire will rise vertically upwards to the eye or luffer in the roof, from which it escapes. These relations correspond exactly with the doctrine that the household fire is *ab extra* and manifestly what the chthonic Serpent is *ab intra* and invisibly (*Aitareya Br.* III. 36) and with such texts as Ṛv. III. 55. 7 where Agni is said to

"If one performs in this way what is apparently a sacrilege, it is with a view to avoiding such quakings of the earth as might be caused if the Serpent should move its head".[26] A very striking example of the rite is to be found in the "Ballad of the Iron Pillar" at Delhi: "All above a polished shaft, all a piercing spike below. Where they marked the Nāga's head (Śeṣa's in a subsequent verse), deep the point was driven down...Soon a castle clothed with might round the iron pillar clomb; soon a city..."; but when at the instigation of an enemy of the royal "house", the bloody point is afterwards withdrawn,[27] "Sudden earthquakes shook the plain".[28]

remain within his ground, even while he goes forth (*anv agraṃ carati kṣeti budhnaḥ*),—proceeds, that is, when he has been "awakened" by Indra's lance (*sasantaṃ vajreṇa abodhyo'him*, Ṛv. 1. 103. 7, which "awakening" is a "kindling", as in Ṛv. V. 14. 1 "Awaken Agni, ye that kindle him", *agnim.....abodhya samidhanaḥ*),—and with the identification of Agni with the "Head of Being" Ṛv. X. 88. 6 and *Aitareya Br.* III. 43, see my "Angel and Titan", *JAOS.* 55, p. 413). Furthermore, were it not that the smoke passes through the roof and into the beyond, the analogy would be defective, since in this case (i.e. if the smoke of the burnt offering were confined) Agni could not be thought of as the missal priest by whom the oblation is conveyed to the immortal deities whose abiding place is beyond the solar portal.

26 Mus, *loc. cit.* p. 207.

It will not be overlooked that even in modern Western practice there still survives the laying of a foundation stone, accompanied by what are strictly speaking metaphysical rites; nor that such survivals are strictly speaking superstitions, or "stand-overs" of observances of which the meaning is no longer understood.

27 In connection with this "bloody point" and the cosmic instability that follows upon its withdrawal there could be developed an exposition of the phallic and fertilising properties of the Axis of the Universe, of which the Bleeding Lance of the Grail tradition, the Indian Śiva-liṅgam, and the planting-stick or ploughshare are other aspects. But this would be to wander too far away from the present architectural theme.

28 Waterfield and Grierson, *The Lay of Alha*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 276 f. The Brahman's question in the ballad, "How should mortal dare deal the Nāga king a mortal blow?" exactly corresponds to that of M. Mus, *loc. cit.*, "How is that each house could be made out to stand just above the head of the mythical Serpent, the supporter of the world?". The answer is, of course, that the very centre of the world, the "navel of the earth" (*nābhiḥ pṛthivyāḥ*), beneath which lies the all sup-

The earth was originally insecure, "quaking like a lotus leaf; for the gale was tossing it hither and thither...The Gods said, 'Come, let us make steady this support" (*Śatapatha Br.* II. 1. 1. 8-9).[29] The architect who drives down his peg into the head of the Serpent is doing what was done by the Gods in the beginning, what was done for example by Soma when he "fixed the miser" (*paṇim astabhāyat*, Ṛv. VI. 44. 22), and "made fast the quaking Earth" (*pṛthivīṃ vyathamānām adṛṃhat*, Ṛv. II. 12. 2), and by Indra when he "smote the Serpent in his lair" (*ahim...śayathe jaghāna*, Ṛv. VI. 17.9); and what has been done, and is done, by every

porting serpent Śeṣa, Ananta (Ahir Budhnya, Ahi-Vṛtra) is not a topographically situated place, but a place in principle, of which every established and duly consecrated "centre" can be regarded as an hypostasis. In this sense, and just as the *forma humanitatis* is present in every man, the form of the unique Serpent is an actual presence wherever a "centre" has been ritually determined. In the same way the transfixing peg is the nether point of Indra's *vajra*, wherewith the Serpent was transfixed in the beginning. It is an illustration of the customary precision of Blake's iconography that in his Prophecy of the Crucifixion, the nail that pierces the Saviour's feet pierces also the head of the Serpent.

For the general principle involved in the consecration of a holystead see *Śatapatha Br.*, III. 1. 1. 4 "Verily this whole earth is the goddess (Earth); on whatsoever part thereof one may propose to offer sacrifice, when that part has been taken hold of by means of a sacred formula (*yajuṣā parigṛhya*), there let him perform the sacrificial rite" the rite, of course, involving the erection of an altar "at the centre of the earth". For the establishment of fires as a legal taking possession of a tract of land see *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, XXV. 10. 4 and 13. 2; here the site of the new altar is determined by casting a yoke-pin (*śamyā*) eastward and forward; where this peg falls, and as is evidently to be understood sticks into the ground so as to stand upright, marks the position of the new centre. There is reference, apparently, to how this was in the beginning, in Ṛv. X. 31. 10b, where "When the First Son (Agni) was born of Sire-and-Mother (Heaven and Earth, and/or two fire-sticks, of which the upper is like the yoke-pin made of *śamī* wood), the Cow (Earth) engulfed (*jagāra*) the yoke-pin (*śamyām*) for which they had been seeking", "seeking", probably, because it had been "flung". The expression *samāpāsam*, "peg-thrown site", survives in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I. 76.

29 "He spread her out (cf. Skr. *pṛthivī*), and when He saw that she had come to rest on the waters, He fastened upon her the mountain" (ibn Hishām, quoted by Lyall, *JRAS.*, 1930 p. 783).

143162
THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION
INSTITUTE OF CULTURE
LIBRARY

solar hero and Messiah when he transfixes the Dragon and treads him underfoot.

In conclusion of the present introduction a word may be said on the principle involved in the symbolic interpretation of artefacts. The modern critic is apt to maintain that symbolic meanings are "read into" the "facts" which "must" originally have had no meaning, but only a physical efficiency. Nor could any objection be made to this if it were a matter of such absurdities of "interpretation" as are involved in an explanation of Gothic arches as imitated from the interlacing branches of forest trees, or implied in the designation of certain well known classical ornaments as "acanthus" and "egg and dart" motifs. Far from such sentimental fancies, a correct symbolic exegesis must be founded on a real knowledge of the principles involved, and supported by cited texts, which are just as much facts as the monuments themselves. The modern critic is apt, however, to go further, and to argue that even the oldest citable texts are already "meanings read into" still older forms, which perhaps had originally no intellectual significance whatever, but only a physical function.

The truth is, however, that it is precisely in adopting *this* point of view that we are reading our own mentality into that of the primitive artificer. *Our* division of artefacts into "industrial" and "decorative", "applied" and "fine" art, would have been unintelligible to the primitive and normal man, who could no more have separated use from meaning than meaning from use; as M. Mus remarks, "The true fact, the only fact of which the builders were aware, was a combination of both";[30] in primitive and traditional art the whole man finds expression, and therefore there is always in the artefact "a polar balance of physical and metaphysical", and it is only on their way down to us that the traditional

30 Mus, *loc. cit.*, p. 361.

forms "have been more and more emptied of content".[31] The primitive artefact can no more be fully explained by our economic determinism than it can be by our aestheticism; the man who did by thinking, and thought by doing, was not as we are solely concerned about physical safety and comfort, but far more self-sufficient; he was as profoundly interested in himself as we are now-a-days in our bodies.

PART II

Let us for a moment abandon the consideration of architecture for that of another craft, the smith's, and that of his ancestor, the maker of stone weapons.

Tangible symbols, no less than words, have their etymons: in this sense, a "derivation" of the sword, and similarly of the celt, from a "root" or archetype in lightning is universal and world-wide.

In *Śatapatha Br.* I. 2. 4 there is described the origin of the sacrificial sword, sacrificial post, chariot (of which the axle-tree is evi-

31 Andrae, W., *Die Ionische Säule*, 1933, Schlüsswort. "He for whom this concept of the origin or ornament seems strange, should study for once the representations of the whole third and fourth millennia B.C. in Egypt and Mesopotamia, contrasting them such 'ornaments' as are properly so called in our modern sense. It will be found that scarcely even a single example can be found there. Whatever may seem to be such, is a drastically indispensable technical form, or it is an expressive form, the picture of a spiritual truth": for "or" in the last sentence we could wish to substitute "and at the same time".

Similarly Herbert Spinden, in the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, 1935, pp. 168 and 171: "Then came the Renaissance.....Man ceased to be a part of the universe, and came down to earth. So it would seem that there are only two categories of art, one a primitive or spiritual category, one a category of disillusioned realism based on material experiments. (The primitive artist) wrought and fought for ideals which hardly come within the scope of immediate comprehension. Our first reaction is one of wonder, but our second should be an effort to understand. Nor should we accept a pleasurable effect upon our unintelligent nerve ends as an index of understanding".

dently the principle), and arrow from Indra's *vajra* (thunderbolt, lightning, adamantine lance, and stauros). "When Indra hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra, that one thus hurled became fourfold. Thereof the wooden sword (*sphya*) represents a third or thereabouts, the sacrificial post about a third or thereabouts, and the chariot (sc. axle-tree) one third or thereabouts. That (fourth and shortest) piece moreover, with which he struck him was broken away, and flying off (*patitvā*)[32] became an arrow; whence the designation 'arrow' (*śara*) inasmuch as it was 'broken away' (*āśiryata*). In this way the thunderbolt became fourfold. Priests make use of two of these in sacrifice, while men of royal blood make use of two in battle..... Now when he (the priest) brandishes the wooden sword, it is the thunderbolt (*vajra*) that he raises against the wicked, spiteful enemy, even as Indra in that day raised the thunderbolt against the Dragon (Vṛtra).....He takes it with the incantation "At the instigation of divine Savitṛ (the Sun) I take thee with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan (the Sun).....with His hands therefore he takes it, not with his own; for it is the thunderbolt, and no man can hold that.....He murmurs, and thereby makes it sharp, "Thou art Indra's right arm', for Indra's right arm is no doubt the strongest, and therefore he says 'Thou art Indra's right arm'. 'The thousand-spiked, the hundred edged', he adds, for a thousand spikes and a hundred edges had that thunderbolt that Indra hurled at Vṛtra; he thereby make the wooden sword to be that thunderbolt.

32 *Patitvā* is also "fallen". The double entendre is, let us not say calculated, but inevitable. Inasmuch as the arrow is winged (*patatrin, patrin*) it is virtually a "bird" (*patatrin*), that is to say in terms of Vedic symbolism an intellectual substance (cf. Ṛv. VI, 9, 5), and by the same token of divine origin and heavenly descent. The embodiment of the "form" of an arrow in an actual artefact is precisely such a "descent" (*avataraṇa*), and a decadence from a higher to a lower level of reference or plane of being; conversely, the actual weapon can always be referred to its principle, and is thus at the same time a tool and a symbol. *Patitvā*, finally, also implies subtraction, as of a part from a whole; and it is in this sense that our text provides us with a hermeneia of the word *śara*, "arrow".

'The keen-edged Gale (vāyu) art thou',[33] he adds; for he who blows here is indeed the keenest edge; for he cuts across these worlds; he thereby makes it sharp. When he further says: 'The killer of the foe', let him, whether he wishes to exercise or not, say: 'The killer of so and so'.[34] When it has been sharpened, he must not touch either himself or the earth with it: 'Lest I should hurt, etc.'' Later, he brandishes the sword thrice, driving away the Asuras from the Three Worlds, and a fourth to repel the Asuras from "what fourth world there may or may not be beyond these Three"; the first three strokes being made with chanted formulæ, the fourth stroke silently. The third verse of the *Śatapatha Br.* text, cited above, affirms in effect *in hoc signo vinces*. The wooden sword is described as straight (*Kāty...Śr.* I. 3. 33, 39), and the usual word for sword, *khaḍga* is used in connection with it, and as it must accordingly have had a guard, it is clear that must have been cruciform. The European parallel is sufficiently obvious; sword and cross are virtually identified in Christian knightly usage; the sword, at least, can be used as a substitute for a wooden cross, and in the same way as a hallow or opotropaic weapon, in the banning of evil spirits.

33 That is, of course, and also in Christian phraseology, the "Gale of the Spirit": "The Gale that is thy-Self thunders through the firmament as it were an untamed beast taking its pleasure in the cultivated-fields", Ṛv. VII, 87, 2.

34 Ṛv. VI. 75. 15-16, "Be such great honour paid unto the arrow, celestial, of Parjanya's seed; fly forth, thou arrow, sharpened by incantation, from the bow-string, go reach our enemies, let there not any one of them be left". Similarly for the chariot, compared to and addressed directly as "Indra's thunderbolt, edged of the Gales, germ of Mitra and navel of Varuṇa" (*indrasya vajro marutām anikam mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhiḥ*, Ṛv. VI. 47. 28). The whole complex of ideas expressed in our Brāhmaṇa text is thus already present in Ṛv., where the warrior very clearly sees himself in the likeness of Indra at war with the powers of darkness, and his weapons in the likeness of Indra's. The warrior *is* virtually Indra, his weapons virtually Indra's.

For the similar "deification", or as we should express it, "transubstantiation" of other implements see also Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 188. The modern craftsman's annual "worship" of his tools is of the same sort.

In Japan the sword is similarly "derived" from an archetypal lightning. The Japanese sword, Shinto, Royal, or Samurai, is in fact the descendant or hypostasis (*tsugi*, as this word occurs in the imperial title Hitsugi, "Scion of the Sun", Skr. *āditya-bandhu*) of the sword of lightning found by Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, whom we may call the "Shinto Indra", in the tail of the Dragon of the Clouds, whom he slays and dissevers, receiving in return the last of the daughter of the Earth, whose seven predecessors have been consumed by the Dragon.[35] The solar hero, in other words, possesses himself of the Dragon (Father's) *sting*, which "sword" he indeed returns to the Gods, but which in a likeness made by hands and empowered by appropriate rites becomes a veritable palladium, a talisman "fallen from the sky" (διοπετεῖς = *divo-patita*), whether as a cult-object in a Shinto shrine or "symbolising the soul of the Samurai, and as such the object of his worship". Dr. Holtom's "worship" is, however, scarcely the right word here. The sword of a Samurai is thought of both as himself or own soul (*tamashii*) or alter ego, and also as the embodiment of a guardian principle (mamori), and thus as a protector, spiritually as well as physically. The first conception, that of the sword as an extension of one's own essence bears a close likeness to the doctrine of the *Bṛhad Devatā* I. 74, where the weapon of a Deva "is precisely his fiery-energy"

35 Holtom, D. C., *Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies*, Tokyo, 1928 (Ch. III, The Sword). It may be remarked that these ceremonies are essentially rites, and only accidentally, however appropriately, attended with an imposing pomp. The most solemn of all these "ceremonies" is that of the Great New Food Festival, of which Dr. Holtom says that "Herein are carried out the most extraordinary procedures to be found anywhere on earth today in connection with the enthronement of any monarch. In the dead of night, alone, except for the service of two female attendants, the Emperor, as the High Priest of the nation, performs solemn rites that carry us back to the very beginnings of Japanese history, rites which are so old that the very reasons for their performance have been forgotten. Concealed in this remarkable midnight service we can find the original Japanese enthronement ceremony" (*ib.* p. 59).

(*tejas tv evâyûdham.....yasya yat*), and IV. 143, where conversely the Deva "is its inspiration" (*tasyâtmā bahudhā saḥ*, better perhaps "is hypostasised in it"). The Templar's sword is in the same way a "power" and extension of his own being, and not a "mere tool"; but only an outsider (*pro-fanus*) would speak of the Crusader as "worshipping" his sword. Dr. Holtom is, of course, a "good" anthropologist, and satisfied with naturalistic and sociological explanations of the weapon as a *palladium*, of celestial derivation; we, who see in traditional art an incarnation of ideas rather than the idealisation of facts, should prefer to speak of an *adequate symbolism* and an adaptation of superior principles to human necessities.

The same idea can be recognized in the fact that in the mysteries of the Idaean Daktyls, Pythagoras was purified by a "thunderstone", which as Miss Harrison says was "in all probability nothing but a black stone celt, the simplest form of stone-age axe"; and in the fact that the designation of stone axes and arrowheads as "thunderbolts" and the attribution to them of a magical efficacy has been "almost world-wide". We agree with Miss Harrison that this idea was not of popular origin; but not therefore that it must have been of late origin, for we see no force or sense in her view that "the wide-spread delusion that these celts were thunderbolts cannot have taken hold of men's minds till a time when their real use as ordinary axes was forgotten.....cannot therefore have been very primitive" (*Themis*, pp. 89, 90). "Delusion.....cannot",—a *non sequitur* from any point of view, for if the Hindu and the Japanese can call a wooden or a metal sword a thunderbolt at a time when these weapons were in "real use", it is hard to see why primitive man, who was also in some sense a shamanist, should not have done the same. In the first place there can be little doubt that primitive man enspirited his weapons by appropriate incantations (as did the Hindu and the Japanese, and as the Christian Church even to this day consecrates a variety of objects made by hands, notably

in the case of "transubstantiation"), and thereby endowed them with a more than human efficiency; and in the second place, if we assume from the world-wide and "superstitious" ("stand-overish") prevalence of the notion, and also on more general grounds, that he already called his weapons thunderbolts, though perfectly aware of their actual artificiality, can we possibly suppose that he meant this to be taken in any more literal (or any less real) sense that the Brahman who likewise calls his sword a *vajra*,—thunderbolt, lightning, or adamant?[36] Primitive man, as every schoolboy knows, recognized a will in all things,—"Iron of itself draws a man on"—, and has therefore been called an "animist". The term is only inappropriate because it was not an independent *anima* ("soul") that he saw in everything, but *mana*, a spiritual rather than a psychic power, undifferentiated in itself, but in which all things participated according to their own nature. In other words, he explained the being-in-act or efficacy of any contingent thing by thinking of it as informed by an omnipresent, inexhaustible, informal and unparticularised Being and source of all power: which is precisely the Christian and Hindu doctrine.[37] We say, then, that primitive man

36 A mass of data on "thunder stones" has been brought together by P. Saintyves (*Pierres magicues: bétyles, haches-amulettes et pierres de foudre; traditions savantes et traditions populaires*, Paris), who however has not really understood his material; for as René Guénon remarks (in a review in *Etude Traditionelles* 42. p. 81) "In the matter of prehistoric weapons, it is not enough to say with the author that they have been called "thunder-bolts" only because their real origin and use has been forgotten, for if that were all we should expect to find as well all sorts of other explanations whereas in fact, in every country without exception they are always "thunder-bolts" and never anything else; the symbolic reason is obvious, while the "rational explanation" is disturbingly puerile"!

37 It is not at all without ground that Strzygowski remarks that the Eskimos "have a much more abstract conception of the human soul than the Christians..... the thought of many so-called primitive peoples is far more spiritualised than that of many so-called civilised peoples", adding that "in any case it is clear that in matters of religion we shall have to drop the distinction between primitive and civilised peoples" (*Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der bildenden Kunst*, 1936, p. 344).

already spoke of his weapons as "thunderbolts", and more, that he knew what he meant when he called them such; that the same is true of the more sophisticated Hindu and Japanese, with only this difference, that he can prove by chapter and verse that he calls his weapons thunderborn without being unaware of their artifactuality and practical use; that the Christian in the same way "worships idols made by hands" (as the iconoclast or anthropologist might say), while able to show that it is not as a fetish that he "worships" the icon; and finally that if there are to be found ignorant peasants who speak of celts as thunderbolts without knowing them for weapons, in this case only we have to do with a veritable superstition or "stand-over",—a superstition which it should have been the business of the anthropologist rather to elucidate than merely to record. All of these considerations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the problem of architectural symbolism. How then can we propose to explain the genesis of the forms embodied in works of art only by an enumeration of the material facts and functions of the artefact? To take a case in point, it is certainly not by purely "practical" considerations that one can explain the position of the *harmikā* or "little dwelling", or *deva kotuwā* or "citadel of the Gods" immediately above and outside the apex of the stūpa; whereas the raison d'être of this emplacement becomes immediately evident if we understand that "immediate above the apex of the dome" is as much as to say "beyond the Sun"; all that is mortal being contained within, and all that is immortal exceeding the structure.

But let us also consider the matter from a physically practical point of view. We have agreed that the symbols, on their way down to us, tend more and more to become merely decorative "art forms", a sort of upholstery, to which we cling either from habit or for "aesthetic" reasons; and that the corresponding rites, with which for example the work of construction is "blessed" at various stages, become mere superstitious. In this case we ask, what prac-

tical value was originally served by these now apparently useless institutions and survivals? In a purely material sense, what have we gained or lost by an implicit decision to "live by bread alone?" Was the actual stability of buildings in any way secured by the recognition of such meanings and the performance of such rites as we have described above? We mention bread, because all that we have to say will apply as much to agricultural as to architectural rites. Not to take up too much space, we shall only ask whether or not it is by chance that the neglect of agriculture as a sacred art, and denial of a spiritual significance to bread, have coincided with a decline in the quality of the product, so conspicuous that only a people altogether forgetful of the realities of life, and drugged by the phrasecology of advertisers, could have failed to remark it. [4316?

For the answer to this question we refer the reader to M. Glezes, *Vie et Mort de l'Occident Chrétien,* Sablons, 1930, of which the latter part is devoted to "Le Mystère du Pain et du Vin". Here we shall only attempt to show that in spite of all our scientific knowledge (which is in reality not so much at the consumer's disposal as it is at the disposal of the consumer's exploiter, the commercial builder and real estate agent), there can be traced a significant parallel between the neglect of architecture as a sacred and symbolic art and an actual instability of buildings; that it is not without its consequences for the householder that the builder and mason can no longer conceive what it may have meant to be "initiated into the mystery of their craft", nor in what sense an architect could ever have played the part of priest and king. Let us grant that rites as such, envisaged that is simply as a mechanical going through with habitual and required motions, cannot be supposed to affect in any way the stability of a structure, and that the stability of an actual building depends essentially on the proper adjustment of materials and stresses, and not on what has been said or done in connection with the building It remains that in considering only materials and

stresses, of which an admirable knowledge may exist in theory, we are leaving out the builder. Does nothing depend upon him, upon his honesty, for example? Is it of no consequence whatever if he mixes too much sand with his mortar? as he will surely do, whatever the text-book says, if he is building only for profit, and not for use? Arguing not merely on principle, but also from personal contact with hereditary craftsmen in whom a tradition of workmanship has been transmitted through countless generations, we affirm that so long as faith remains, that the attribution of superhuman origins and symbolic significance to architecture, and the participation of the architect in metaphysical rites in which a direct connection is made of macrocosmic with microcosmic proportions, confer upon the architect a human dignity and a responsibility far other than that of the "contractor", who at the best may calculate that "honesty is the best policy."[38] We say that further that it is not merely a question of ethics; but that the recognition of the possibility of an "artistic sin", as a thing distinct in kind from "moral sin"[39] even in Europe

38 "The cost approach is the primary trouble with all housing in this country, private as well as public.....This has resulted not only in the tenements of the slums but also in the fantastic apartments of the well-to-do, sixteen stories or more in height, with a density per acre and a lack of natural light and ventilation which are shocking. It is literally true that the most important part of an architect's work in our cities has been to produce maximum floor space with minimum expense.....Design for comfort, health, and safety is always secondary" (L. W. Post, in the *Nation*, March 27, 1937). No "metaphysical" architecture has ever been as inefficient as this; we may say that a neglect of first principles inevitably leads to discomfort, and point out that the secularisation of the arts has resulted in the sort of art we have,—a sort of art that is either the plaything of an idle class or if not that, then a means of making money at the cost of human well-being, and for which in either case we have only to thank our own anti-traditional individualism.

39 Sin, defined as "a departure from the order to the end" may be either artistic or moral: "Firstly, by a departure from the particular end intended by the artist: and this sin will be proper to the art; for instance, if an artist produce a bad thing, while intending to produce something good; or produce something good, while intending to produce something bad. Secondly, by a departure from the general end of human life: and then he will be said to sin if he intend to

(where occasional workmen are still to be found whose first concern is with the good of the work to be done) long delayed the appearance of what is now called "jerry-building". We are not here, however, primarily concerned with these practical and technical considerations, but more with meanings, and with the artefact considered as a symbol and as a possible support of a contemplation dispositive to gnosis. We say that just as it is beyond the capacity of man to make anything whatever so purely spiritual and intellectual as to afford no sensuous satisfaction so it is beneath the dignity of man to make anything whatever with a view to an exclusively material good, and devoid of any higher reference. We who have consented to this subhuman standard of living, cannot postulate in primitive man such limitations as our own. Even at the present day peoples survive, uncontaminated by civilisation, to whom it has never occurred that it might be either possible or desirable to live by bread alone, or in any manufacture to separate function from significance. It is not by any means only for political reasons that Western civilisation is feared and hated by the Orient, but also because "it is impossible for one to obtain liberation who lives in a town covered with dust" (*Baudhāyana Dh. Sū.*, II. 3. 6. 33). We are not, then, "reading meanings into" primitive works of art when we discuss their formal principles and final causes, treating them as symbols and supports of contemplation rather than as objects of a purely material utility, but simply *reading their meaning*.[40] For to say

produce a bad work, and does so actually in order that another may be taken in thereby. But this sin is not proper to the artist as such, but as a man. Consequently, for the former sin the artist is blamed as an artist; while for the latter he is blamed as a man" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theological*, I-II, 21, 2 ad 2). Indian text books, at least, require of the hereditary artist to be both a good artist and a good man.

40 That is, sees things, whether natural or artificial, not merely as individual and in this sense unintelligible essence but also as symbolic referents, that which is symbolised being the archetype and raison d'être of the thing itself, and in this sense its only final explanation.

"traditional art" is to say "the art of peoples who took for granted the superiority of the contemplative to the active life, and regarded the life of pleasure as we regard the life of animals, determined only by affective reactions". "A *person* knows what is and is not mundane, and is so endowed that by the mortal he pursues the immortal. But as for the *herd,* theirs is an acute discrimination merely according to hunger and thirst" (*Aitareya Br.* II. 3. 2), cf. Boethius, *Contra Eutychen* II, "There is no person of a horse or ox or any other of the animals which, dumb and unreasoning, live a life of sense alone, but we say there is a person of a man, or God".

PART III

We shall take it for granted that the reader is familiar with our "Pāli *kaṇṇikā* = circular Roof-Plate", *JAOS.* 50, 1930, pp. 238-243. To what has been said there we wish to add in the first place that it can hardly be doubted that the *kaṇṇikā* or roof-plate of a domed structure, the meeting-place of its converging rafters, had almost certainly, as the term itself suggests, the form of a lotus, and that this lotus was in effect the Sun, "the one lotus of the zenith" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* VI. 3. 6), to be correlated with the "lotus of the earth" and womb of Agni below: and secondly that the expression *vijjhitvā* (Skr. root *vyadh*), *Jātaka* I. 201, implies a central perforation of the *kaṇṇikā-maṇḍalam* which was itself an image of the disc of the Sun (*sūrya-maṇḍalam*), and at the same time constituted what may have been called the "eye" of the dome, although for this we have no Indian literary evidence beyond the use of "eye" for "window" in the word *gavâkṣa* (literally "bull's eye"), and the expression "eye of a lotus" (*puṣkarâkṣa*) occurring in Pāṇini V. 4. 76. We need hardly say that "Sun" and "Eye" are constantly assimilated notions in Vedic mythology, and that it is from the

same point of view that the Buddha is frequently called the "Eye in the World" (*cakkhumāloke*)[41]

A majority of existing domes are in fact provided with an apical aperture, called the "eye of the dome": Gwilt, *Arch. Gloss.*, "eye" as "a general term signifiying the centre of any part. The eye of a dome is the horizontal aperture in its summit. The eye of a volute[42] is the circle in its centre".

"On the Acropolis of Athens.....In the north porch of the Erectheion are the marks of a trident. In examining the roof of this north porch it has been found that immediately above the trident-mark an opening in the roof had been purposely left: the architectural traces are clear".[43] The Roman Pantheon was lighted

41 Ṛv. passim; Av. III. 22. 5; *Bṛhadāran.* Up. I. 3. 8. 14; III. 1. 4; *Kaṭha* Up. V. 11; *Sam. Nikāya* I. 138; *Aṭṭhasālini*, 38; *S. Nipāta* I. 599; etc. *Oculus mundi* is the sun in Ovid, *Met.* 4. 228, whence "eye of the world"="sun" in English. Other meanings of English "eye" include "centre of revolution", "socket" (for insertion of another object), "place of exit or ingress", "fountain" (well-eye), brightest spot or centre". Arabic *'ain* and Persian *chashm, chashma* are "eye", 'sun', and "well-spring". *'ain* also 'exemplar'. None of these meanings is without significance in the present connection

42 The two eyes of the double volute correspond in fact to the Sun and Moon, which are the eyes of the sky, Ṛv. I. 70. 10. It is not inconceivable that in apsidal buildings having an apse and therefore also a roof-plate at each end, the two *kaṇṇikās* were thought of as respectively the Sun and Moon of the house.

43 Harrison, J., *Themis*, pp. 91-92. Miss Harrison adds "But what does, Poseidon want with a hole in the roof?" and answers correctly enough that "before Poseidon took to the sea he was Erectheus the Smiter, the Earth-shaker". Poseidon is no more than Ouranos or Varuṇa in an essentially limited sense a sea-god. These are, like the God of Genesis, the God of the primordial Waters (both the upper and the nether) representative of "all possibility"; if he bears a trident, iconographically indistinguishable from Śiva's *triśūla* and Indra's *vajra*, and which is in fact a solar shaft, it is because he is not merely a "seagod" in the later and literary sense, but the protean deity of all that is, whether above or below. Vitruvius (1. 2. 5) says that Fulgur, Coelum, Sol and Luna were worshipped in hypaethral temples. Even the domes of such modern structures as St. Paul's may be called, with respect to their "eyes", vestigially hypaethral shrines of the Sky-god. In cathedrals, of which the vault is generally closed, the opening is replaced by a representation of an evidently solar type; as Byron and Rice express it,

by an enormous eye, open to the sky, making the structure in fact hypaethral. More often the eye of a dome is comparatively small, and opens into a "lantern" above the dome, which lantern admits light but excludes rain. In the case of the stūpa there is likewise an opening at the summit of the dome, the purpose of which is to serve as a place of insertion or socket for the mast that overstands the dome, and which is therefore also an "eye".

In any case, and whether an opening or a socket, the aperture can be regarded as at the same time functional (source of illumination, mortice, etc.) and as symbolic (means of passage from the interior to the exterior of the dome). It may be further observed that the eye in a roof is also a louvre or luffer permitting the escape of smoke from the central fire beneath it.[44] That the eye or luffer thus functions as a chimney (as well as a source of light) by no means reduces, but rather reinforces the macrocosmic symbolism, for it is both as an ascending flame and as a pillar of smoke by which Agni props up the sky, as in Ṛv. IV. 6. 2-3 where "Agni, even as it were a builder, hath lifted up on high his splendour, even as it were a builder his smoke, yea, holdeth up the sky (*stabhāyat upa dyām*).....a standard, as it were the pillar of sacrifice (*svaru* = *yūpa*), firmly planted and duly chrismed", cf. Ṛv. III. 5. 10, IV. 5.1, VI, 17.7.

"The central dome was *reft* by the stupendous frown of Christ pantocrator, the sovereign judge" (*Birth of Western Painting*, p. 81, italics mine).

44 "It was the abode of a blacksmith..... We were ushered into the hall of dais, into the sanctum of the edific. The "riggin" was above our heads...Chimney, of course, there was none, an opening in the centre of the roof immediately above the fire, allowed of the egress of the smoke and admitted light enough to see one's way in the apartment.....Around the fire were arranged soft seats of turf for the family" (Charlton, E., "Journal of an expedition to Shetland in 1834", in *Saga-book of the Viking Society*, 1936, p. 62). This description of the main room of a house, still surviving in the nineteenth century, is applicable in every detail to what we understand to have been the typical form of a dwelling already in the Stone Age, and generally as the prototype of the house, itself mimetic of a macrocosmic archetype.

It is certainly not without significance that *vijjhitvā*, "perforating" or "penetrating", is also employed in connection with the piercing of a mark or bull's eye by an arrow, e.g. in *Jātaka* V. 129 f., where there is an account of the feats of archery performed by the Bodhisattva Jotipāla ("Keeper of Light"), a superlative marksman (*akkhaṇa-vedhin*)[45] whose shaft is "tipped with

45 The etymology of the word *akkhaṇa* has been disputed: as PTS. remarks "We should expect either an etym. bearing on the meaning 'hitting the centre of the target' (i.e. its 'eye') (cp. E. bull's eye)...or an etym. like 'hitting without mishap'." It is evident in fact that the connection of *akkhaṇa* is with Skr. *akṣ*, to "reach or "penetrate", the source of *akṣa* and *akṣam*, 'eye' and *ākhaṇa*, "butt" or "target" and in fact "bull's eye". We digress to cite the latter word from *Jaiminīya Up. Br.* I. 60. 8 "The breath of life is this stone as a target" (*sa eṣo'śmākhaṇam yat prāṇaḥ*, where it may be noted that *prāṇa* and *aśman* can both be taken as references to the Sun, cf. Ṛv. VII. 104. 19 *divo aśmānaṃ*) which target the Asuras cannot affect.

Akṣa is also "axis" and "axle-tree" (distinguished only by accent from *akṣa*, "*eye*"), and Benfey was evidently near the mark when he suggested that *akṣa* as axle-tree was so-called as forming the "eye" in the hub of the wheel which it penetrates. E. *eye* (G. *auge*) and E. *axis* and *auger* present some curious analogies with Skr. *akṣa* and *akṣi*. Auger is stated to represent O. E. *naſu-gār*, "that which perforates the nave of a wheel"; had it been related to G. *auge*; would be "that which makes an 'eye' in anything". It may be added that Skr. *akṣāgra* is the "axle point", and the hub its "door", *akṣa-dvāra*.

Akkhaṇa-vedhin is then "one who pierces the 'eye'," or 'one whose arrow penetrates the bull's eye": in the present context it would scarcely be too much to say "Pierces the centre of the disc of the Sun" or "hits the solar and macrocosmic Bull's eye", cf. *Muṇḍaka Up.* cited below. Probably the best short English equivalent for *akkhaṇa-vedhin* would be "infallible marksman."

We find the epithet again in Jātaka No. 181 (*Jātaka* II. 88 f.) where it is applied to the Bodhisattva Asadisa ("Nonpareil"), who performs two feats. In the first, a king under whom the Bodhisattva has taken service, is seated at the foot of a mango-tree (*ambarukkhamule*) on a great couch close beside a "ceremonial stone slab" (*mangalasilā-paṭṭa*, probably an altar of Kāmadeva, cf. *Daśakumāracarita*, Ch. V, as cited in my *Yakṣas*, II, p. 12); the king desires his archers to bring down a bunch of mangos from the top of the tree (*rukkhagge=vṛkṣāgre*) Nonpareil undertakes to do so, but must first stand just where the king is sitting, which he is allowed to do (we see here a close analogy to the Māra-dharṣaṇa scene, and to that of the First Meditation, with the implication that the king has been seated precisely at the navel of of the earth, or at least a "centre" analogically identified with that centre); standing then at the foot of the tree, he shoots an

adamant" (*vajiraggam nārācam*),[46] and who is furthermore, possessed of the power of aerial flight, to be subsequently discussed. One of the feats of the "Keeper of Light", whom we can only regard as a "solar hero" and like the Buddha a "kinsman of the Sun" (*ādicca-bandhu*), is called "the threading of the circle" (*cakka-viddham*). In the execution of this feat, his arrow, to which a scarlet thread (*ratta-suttakam*) has been attached, penetrates in succession four marks placed at the four corners of the arena, returning through the first of these marks to his hand, thus describing a circle which proceeds from and ends in himself as its centre. Thus the Bodhisattva, standing within a fourcornered field (*caturassa-paricchedabbhantare*) connects its corners (the four quarters, cf. *Śatapatha Br.* VI, 1. 2. 29) to himself by means of a thread (*suttakam = sūtram*): and this is unmistakably a "folklore" version of the *sūtrâtman* doctrine, according to which the Sun connects these worlds and all things to himself by means of a thread of spiritual light.[47]

arrow vertically upwards, which pierces the mango stalk but does not sever it; and following this a second arrow, which touches and overturns the first, and continues into the heaven of the Thirty Three, where it is retained; finally the original arrow in its fall severs the mango-stalk, and Non-pareil catches the bunch of mangoes in one hand and the arrow in the other. In the second feat, the Bodhisattva's brother Brahmadatta ("Theodore"), king of Benares, is beleaguered by seven other kings. Nonpareil terrifies these and raises the siege by letting fly an arrow which strikes the "knop of the golden dish from which the seven kings are eating" (*sattannaṃ rājūnam bhuñjantānaṃ kañcanapāti-makule*, where *pāti = pātra*), i.e. the centre of this dish, which can hardly be regarded otherwise than as a likeness of the Sun which we have identified with the "Titan's feeding bowl", *camasan asurasya bhakṣaṇam.....pātram* in Rv. I. 110. 3 and 5 cited above.

46 *Vajiraggam*, applied to the weapon of a solar hero, is significant. For the arrow, in origin, is said to have been the broken tip of the primordial *vajra* with which Indra smote the Dragon; which part "having flown (*patitvā*), is called an arrow (*śara*) because it was broken off" (*aśiryata*, *Śatapatha Br.* I. 2. 4. 1). For further data on *vajira, vajra*, see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 43-46. We might say that *vajiraggam = vajrāgram* implies as much "which was the point of the *vajra*" as "tipped with adamant."

47 As pointed out in a subsequent note on the "turn-cap" motif, the question of "truth" in folklore, fairy-tale, and myth, is not a simple matter of correlation

We cannot, indeed, agree with M. Foucher that the well-known bow-and-arrow symbol met with on early Indian coins primarily represents a stūpa. On the other hand, as pointed out by M. Mus, "Does not the stūpa, considered as constructed wholly round about the axis of the universe, look strangely like a bow to

with observed fact, but one of intelligibility. The "threading of a circle" as described above can only be called a "miracle" (and for present purposes we assume that "miraculous" and "impossible" are much the same): nevertheless we have seen that the narrative has a true meaning. It is no more necessary that a truth should be expressed in terms of fact, than that an equation should resemble its locus. The symbolism must be consistent; it does not have to be historically factual.

Scripture is written in a hieratic language and a parabolic style, often requiring a learned commentary. The oral literature of the folk, which may be called the Bible of the unlearned, is by no means of popular origin, but designed to secure the transmission of the same doctrines by and amongst an unlearned folk. For such a purpose the ideas had necessarily to be imagined and expressed in readily imitable forms. The same, of course, applies to the visual art of the people, often misconceived of as an essentially "decorative" art, but which is really an essentially metaphysical and only accidentally decorative art. The necessity and final cause of folk art is not that it should be fully understood by every transmitter, but that it should remain intelligible, and it is precisely for this reason that its actual forms must have been such as would lend themselves to faithful and conservative transmission.

"Conservative transmission" can easily be misunderstood from our modern point of view, in which the emphasis on individuality has led to a confusion of *originality* with *novelty*. Spinden proposes a false alternative when he asks "Does man, at large, think or merely remember?" (*Culture, the diffusion controversy*, London, 1928, p. 43) "Transmission" may be either from one generation to another, *or* from one to another contemporary culture. We cannot draw a logical distinction between "transmission" and "memory": for even if we set ourselves to copy an object before us, it is only memory, visual or verbal, that enables us to bridge the temporal gap that separates the model from its repetition. If there can be no property in ideas, it is also true that nothing can be known or stated except in some way: and it is precisely in this "way" that the liberty of the individual subsists; apart from which there could no such thing as a sequence of styles in a given cycle, nor any such thing as a distinction of styles in a national or geographical sense. It is of the essence of "tradition" that something is *kept alive;* and as long as this is the case, it is as erroneous to speak of a "mechanical" transmission from generation to generation as it is to suppose that the elements of culture can be mechanically borrowed from one people by another. It is only because our academic science acquaints us for the most part only with dead or dying traditions (often

which an arrow has been set?"[48] and we may add like other domed structures, if thought of in cross-section. Remembering the actual perforation (*vijjhitvā*) of our roof plate, and what has been said above about the "eye of a dome", we cannot but be struck by the fact that in this symbol of a bow and arrow suggesting the cross-section

indeed traditions that have been deliberately killed by the representatives of a supposedly higher culture), and because of our own individualistic insistence upon *novelty* that we are so little conscious of the absolute *originality* of even the most conservative peasant art. No one who has ever lived and worked with the traditional artist, whether craftsman or story-teller, has ever failed to recognize that in repeating what has been repeated for countless generations, the man is always completely himself, and giving out what proceeds from within, moved by its form, which giving out from within is precisely what we mean by the word originality. As Mr. Benson himself a "traditional artist" has recently admirably expressed it "If a work of art *originates* in a clear mental image, we call it an *original* work of art. It has a true mental *origin*. Original work has nothing to do with the novelty or newness of the subject or its treatment. The subject and the technique may be as old as the hills, but if they are created in an original mental image, the work will be original" (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Third Radio Series, sixth address, February 11, 1936, obtainable from the Museum).

There is something just a little too precious and condescending in the attitude of the modern intellectual who for his part is naive enough to believe that even the more technical language of scripture has none but literal and naturalistic meanings and at the same time proposes to protect the child at its mother's knee and the peasant by the fire-side from the possibility of a like belief in the literal significance of a transmitted legend, which indeed he may not have fully understood but which at least has been handed down to him reverently and will be handed on by him in the same spirit. We need hardly say that the amoral character of the fairy-tale, to which exception is similarly taken, is only a further evidence of its strictly metaphysical and purely intellectual content.

The *Jātakas*, of course, have been adapted to edifying uses; but it is impossible that the original shapers of the stories should not have understood their analogic significance, and improbable that none of those who heard or read them "had ears to hear."

A "Symbolische Schiessen nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen" occurs in late Egyptian art, see H. Schäfer, *Aegyptische und heutige Kunst*, 1928, p. 46, Abb. 54, after Prisse d'Avennes, *Mon. Eg.* Pl. 33. No "thread" is represented, but it can scarcely be doubted that the arrows are shafts of light. There occur also in late Egyptian art admirable representations of the Sun-door both open and closed, see Schäfer, *ib.* p. 101. Abb. 22-24.

48 Mus, *loc. cit.*, p. 118.

of a stūpa (or any like domed structure) the arrow actually penetrates the apex of the "dome"; in other words breaks through the summit of contingent being (*bhavâgra*), through the station of the Sun in the zenith into a beyond.

It is at this point that our symbolic archery becomes most significant. For, as will now be seen, that goal which lies beyond the Sun, and which is usually described as reached by a passing through the midst of the Sun, is also very strikingly described in *Muṇḍaka Up.* II. 2. 2-4 (which we cite in a slightly condensed form) as to be attained by means of a spiritual marksmanship: "Resplendent-sun (*arcinam*), imperishable Brahman, Breath of Life (*prâṇaḥ*), Truth (*satyam*), Immortal,—That is the mark (*lakṣyam*) to be penetrated (*veddhavyam*).[49] Taking for bow the mighty weapon of the Upaniṣad, set thereunto an arrow pointed by reverent-service, and bending it by the thought of the nature of That, penetrate (*viddhi*)[50]

49 Cf. *Bhagavad Gitā* XI. 54 "I can verily be penetrated" (*śakyo hy aham viddhaḥ*). If That (Spirit, *ātman*, immanent as "body-dweller" and transcedent in itself discarnate) is also described as "ever impenetrable" (*nityam avedhyaḥ, ib.* II. 30), this means, of course, by whatever is not of Its own nature; the Asuras for example being themselves shattered on that Stone that is the Breath of Life, *Jaiminiya Up. Br.* I. 60. 8 as quoted in a previous note.

50 With the injunction *tal lakṣyam viddhi*, "Hit that mark" cf. the expressions *lakṣa-vedhin, lakṣya-vedha, lakṣya-bheda*, and the previously cited *akkhaṇa-vedhin*, all denoting one who hits the mark, the target, the "bull's eye." *Viddhi* is the imperative both of *vyadh* to "pierce" and of *vid* to "know" the "penetration" is here in fact a gnosis; in *Jaiminiya Up. Br.* IV. 18. 6 *tad eva brahma tvam viddhi*, "*viddhi*" is perhaps primarily "know" and secondarily *penetrate*. *Nirvedhya*, from *vyadh*, may be noted in the *Divyāvadāna* as "intuition" or "intellectual penetration." We think, that in the same way Vedic *vedhas* is "penetrating" in this sense, and to be derived from *vyadh* rather than from *vid*; and hence primarily equivalent to *vedhin*, "marksman" in the sense of *Mund. Up.*, and secondarily "wise" or "gnostic". Consider for example Ṛv. X. 177. 7 (*Jaiminīya Up. Br.* III. 35. 1) *Patańgam...hṛdā paśyanti manasā vipaścitaḥ, marīcīnām padam icchanti vedhasaḥ*. An interpretation in terms of archery is, if not indeed inevitable, at least quite possible. For *vipaścitaḥ* is not simply "wise", but rather "vibrant" (cf. "Shaker"=Quaker), and *vip* may mean an arrow, as in Ṛv. X. 99. 6 "He smote the boar with bronze-tipped shaft" (*vipā varāham ayas-agrayā han*,—incidentally *ayas-*

that mark, my friend. OM is the bow, the Spirit (*ātman*) the arrow, Brahman the mark to be penetrated by one abstracted from sensuous-infatuation: as is the arrow, so should he become of that same nature" (*śaravat tanmayo bhavet*), i.e. of the nature of That,

agra does not invalidate the mythical origin of the arrow previously cited, inasmuch as the one foot of the Sun, which is also the Axis of the Universe and lance wherewith the Dragon was smitten is itself "a golden shaft at dawn and one of bronze (*ayas*) at dusk", Rv. V. 62, 8). *Icchanti* is from to "desire" or "seek" or "have as one's aim" (Grassmann, "Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist sich nach etwas in Bewegung setzen"), a root distinguished in conjugation but originally identical (Grassmann, "ursprünglich gleich") with *is* to "propel" (Grassmann, "in schnelle Bewegung setzen"), whence *iṣu*, "arrow". We translate accordingly, that is, with specific reference to the imagery of *Muṇḍ. Up.* II. 2, as follows: "Intellectually, within their heart, the vibrant (prophets) descry the winged (Sun= Spirit),— marksmen (*vedhasaḥ*) whose aim pursues the pathway of his rays".

When in the Mahāvrata "They cause a skin to be pierced (*vyādhayanti*) by a man of the princely caste", by the best available archer (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, V. 1. 5, cf. Keith, *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, pp. 80 ff.), which skin is the Sun himself in a likeness (*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, XXXIV. 5), this is evidently a symbolic penetration of the sense of the Muṇḍaka text, of which the very words *tad veddhavyaṃ somya viddhi lakṣyaṃ tad evakṣaraṃ somya viddhi* might suitably have been addressed to the archer in the ritual, as he stood before his solar target. According to Keith (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 277, note 13 and *loc. cit.*) "The idea is clearly a rain-spell". Something of this kind may indeed have been involved, not in the penetration of the Sun, but in the ritual "intercourse of creatures" (*bhūtānāṃ ca maithunam*) the fall of rain being a consequence of the marriage of Heaven and Earth (*Pañcaviṃśa Br.* VII. 10. 1-4, VIII. 2. 10, and more especially *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* I. 145, "Yonder world thence gave rain to this world as a marriage gift"). But the modern scholar is far too ready to resort to naturalistic and rationalistic explanations even when as in the present case the most obvious metaphysical interpretations are available. The whole context has to do with the attainment of Heaven; and even the "intercourse of creatures" is not primarily a "magical" (fertility) rite, but an imitation of the conjunction of the Sun and Moon "at the end of the sky, at the Top of the Tree, where Heaven and Earth embrace" (*dyāvāpṛthivī saṃśliṣyathaḥ*) and whence "one is altogether liberated through the midst of the Sun" (*Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I. 3. 2 and I. 5. 5, cf. my "Note on the Aśvamedha", *Archiv Orientalni*, VIII, p. 315).

When we assert the priority of the metaphysical significance of a rite, we are not denying that there may have been then as now *avidvānsaḥ* for whom the given rite had a merely magical character: we are deducing from the form of the rite itself that it could only have been thus correctly ordered by those who fully understood its ultimate significance, and that this metaphysical significance must have

the mark to be attained. It is only as no man to whom soul-and-body are "himself", no man who still conceives "himself" to be so-and-so, but as one who recognizes in "himself" (*ātman*) only the immanent Spirit (*śarīrâtman, dehin*), and moving in the Spirit (*ātmany etya*) or as our text expresses it, making of himself a purely spiritual arrow, that any man can hit That mark so as to be confused with It, as like in like: just as, in more familiar imagery, when rivers reach the sea, their individuality is undone, and one can only speak of "sea" (*Praśna Up.* VI. 5).

The flight of our spiritual arrow is a flight and an emergence from a total darkness underground and the chiaroscuro of space under the Sun into realms of spiritual light where no Sun shines, nor Moon, but only the light of the Spirit, which is Its own illumination.[51] Now, as we know from texts too many to be cited

been understood in the same way by the *evaṃvit;* just as a mathematical equation presupposes a mathematician, and also other mathematicians able to riddle it. That the modern scholar trained in a school of naturalistic interpretation is not a "mathematician" in this sense proves nothing; "For the Scriptures crave to be read in that spirit wherein they were made; and in the same spirit they are to be understood" (William of Thierry, *Golden Epistle,* X. 31).

51 None of this runs counter to the indefeasible principle that "the first beginning is the same as the last end." If the "long ascent" (*Aitarcya Br.* IV. 20-21) is apparently a departure from the chthonic Serpent, a release from the bonds of Varuṇa, it is also a return to Varuṇa, to the Brahman, who is no less above than He is below the Serpent in His ground: which "ground" is that of nature below, and of essence above, which nature and which essence are the same *in divinis,* and omnipresent: Ananta girdles these worlds. For the ophidian nature of the Godhead see my "Angel and Titan" and "Darker side of Dawn", to which may be added the explicit formulation of *Muṇḍaka Up.* I. 2. 6 where the Brahman is described as a "blind (—worm) and deaf (—adder)), without hands or feet" (*acakṣuḥśrotraṃ tad apāny apādam*), as is Vṛtra in Ṛv. I. 32. 7, Kunāru-Vṛtra in III. (*budhne rajasaḥ*) in IV. 1. 11, and Ahi in *Śatapatha Br.* I. 6. 3. 9; cf. Av. X. 8. 21 *apād agre samabhavat,* etc; with this "Footless he first came into being" compare Shams-i-Tabriz, Diwān XXV in Nicholson's edition, "The last step to fare without feet". Ahi is understood to mean "Residue" (*Jaiminiya Br.* III. 77), and this is, of course, the evident meaning of "Śeṣa", as being "that which is left", *śiṣyate.* It is from this Endless Residuum (*ananta, śeṣa*) that one escapes *at* birth, and as and into the same Endless Residuum that one escapes *from* birth. There is no need

here at length, it is through the Sun, and only through the Sun, the Truth (*satyam*), and by the way of the Well at the World's End, that there runs the road leading from this defined Order (*ṛta, kosmos*) to an undefined *Empyrean*. It is

to cite texts to show in what way the Brahman-Ātman is Endless (*ananta*), but we shall quote two in which the Brahman-Ātman is defined as the Residuum from which one departs at birth, and as the Residuum as and into which one re-enters at last: *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V. 1, where the ancient Brahman is called a "plenum that is left behind (*avaśiṣyate*) as a plenum, no matter what has been deducted from it", and *Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 1. 4-5 where when the soul-and-body vehicle perishes, "what is left over (*atiśiṣyata*) therefrom.....is the Spirit" (*ātman*).

Let us remark at this point that the well-known symbol of the Serpent biting its own tail is evidently a representation of the Godhead, the Father, and of Eternity: as Jeremias has expressed it "Das grossartige Symbol der Schlange, die sich in den eigenen Schwanz beisst, stellt den Aëon dar" (*Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1930, p. 4).

We speak advisedly of a re-entry "as and into" the Ophidian Godhead: the "return to God"can only be in likeness of nature. It can be only as a snake that one can be united to the "Snake without End", as a circle superimposed on a circle coincides with it. This does not, however, mean that the way from snakehood to snakehood which passes through the Sun, is meaningless for the snake that proceeds (*atisarpati*); on the contrary, it is by means of the sacrifice, the incantation, and by reduction of potentiality to act, that the livid scaly snake-skin must be cast, and a sunny skin revealed; it is as a streak of serpentine lightning that the Wayfarer returns to the source from which he came forth, for which source and now goal no other symbol than that of lightning is adequate, "The Person seen in the Lightning,—I am He, I indeed am He" (*Chāndogya Up.* IV. 13. 1, cf. *Kena Up.* 29-30). It will not be overlooked that in Indian iconography, lightnings are commonly represented in the form of golden snakes.

The foregoing is based on the references cited and on materials collected for a discussion of the symbolism of lightning. In addition there can be cited some Buddhist texts in which the *arhat* is called a "serpent" in a laudatory sense. In *Majjhima Nikāya* I. 32, for example, the *arhats* Mogallāna and Sāriputra are Mahānāgā, a "pair of Great Snakes." This is explained, *ib.* I. 144-5, where an anthill is excavated (anthills are in fact often the homes of sankes, and in Ṛv. are evidently symbols of the primordial mount or cave from which the Hidden Light is released), and when there is found a snake at the very base of the mound (which is called a "signification of the corruptible flesh") there is found a Nāga, it is explained that this Serpent is a "signification of the Mendicant in whom the foul-issues have been eradicated", i.e. of an *arhat*, cf. *Sutta Nipāta* 512, where *"Nāga"* is defined as "one who does not cling to anything and is released" (*sabattha na sajjati vimutto*). From

"through the hub of the wheel, the midst of the Sun, the cleft in heaven, that is all covered over by rays, that one is altogether liberated" (*Jai. Up. Br.* I. 3. 5-6). The Sun is the world-gate (*lokadvāra*), which admits the Comprehensor into Paradise, but is a barrier (*nirodha*) to the ignorant" (*Chā. Up.* VIII. 6. 6, cf. *Jai. Up. Br.* I. 5 and III. 14). The question is asked accordingly "Who is qualified (*arhati*) to pass through the midst of the Sun? (*Jai. Up. Br.* I. 6. 1, cf. *Kaṭha Up.* II. 21 *kas tam.....devam jñātum arhati*).[52] The "arhati" immediately reminds us of those *arhats*

the first of these two passages it is evident, of course, that the "Nāga" in question is a snake and not an elephant. To these instances may be added the case of the death of Balarāma related in the Mausala Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, where Balarāma, being seated alone and lost in contemplation, leaves his body in the shape of a mighty Snake, a white Nāga, having a thousand hoods and of mountainous size, and in this form makes his way into the Sea.

The formulations outlined above may be said to offer an intelligible explanation not merely of many aspects of Indian iconography, but also certain aspects of that of Greek mythology, where Zeus is not only represented as a solar Bull, etc., but also in his chthonic aspect of Zeus Meilichios as a bearded Serpent, and where also the Hero, entombed and deified, is constantly depicted in the same manner.

52 It is, of course, the Pathfinder, Agni, *arhat* in Ṛv. I. 127. 6, II. 3. 1 and X. 10, 2, who first "ascended, reaching the sky; opened the door of the world of heavenly-light (*svargasya lokasya dvāram apâvṛṇot*); and is the ruler of the heavenly-realm" (*Aitareya Br.* III. 42); it is "by qualification" (*arhaṇā*) that the Suns partake of immortality (Ṛv. X. 63. 4). In the same way the Buddha (who is none other than *the* Man Agni) opened the doors of immortality for such as have ears (*apārutā tesam amatassa dvārā ye sotavanto*, *Mv.*, I. 7), and as M. Mus expresses it, "Having passed on for ever, the way remains open behind Him" (*loc. cit.* p. *277).

The Christian parallel is evident, since Christ also prepared the way, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God. The opening of the gate is discussed by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III. 49. 5 "The shutting of the gate is the obstacle which hinders men from entering in on account of sin Christ by His Passion merited for us the opening of the kingdom of heaven, and removed the obstacle. but by His Ascension, as it were, He brought us to the possession of the heavenly kingdom. And consequently it is said that by ascending He *opened the way before them.*" And just as Agni, whether as Fire or Sun, is himself the door (*aham devāṇārn mukha, Jaiminiya Up. Br.* IV. 11. 5), so "I am the door: by Me if any man shall enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and shall find pasture" John, X, 9), i.e. shall be a "mover at will" (*kāmâcārin*). In this connection Meister Eckhart comments (I. 275) "Now Christ says 'No man

who ascend in the air, pass through the roof-plate (*kaṇṇikā-maṇḍalam*) and are "movers at will .

Before proceeding to consider these, however, we shall cite the account of the Comprehensor's passage of the Sun from *Maitri Up.* VI. 30, the wording of which is closely paralleled in texts already cited and in the Buddhist texts to follow. Here, then, it is said that the "Marut" (i.e. the King Bṛhadratha, the "Lord of the Mighty Chariot" and disciple of Śākāyanya, *ib.* II. 1) "having done what had to be done (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, i.e. as one "all in act") departed by the northern solar course, than which there is indeed no other path. That is the path to Brahman (whence as may be interjected from *Chāndogya Up.* IV. 15. 5-6, "there is no return"); breaking through the Solar Gate, he made his way aloft" (*sauraṃ dvāram bhitvôrdhvena vinirgatā*). At this point the text makes a direct transition from the preceding narrative of what is apparently an outwardly manifested miracle to a formulation of this ascension in terms of the "vectors of the heart" (*hṛdayasya nāḍyaḥ, Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 6. 1, q.v.), which "vectors" are the channels of the solar rays and breaths of life "within you". All but one of these vectors "are for procedure hither or thither"; only that one which passes vertically upward and emerges from the crown of the head "ex-

cometh to the Father but through Me'." Though the soul's abiding place is not in Him, yet she must, as He says, go through Him. This breaking through is the second death of the soul, and far more momentous than the first" With the expression "breaking through" may be compared to both "breaking through the solar gate" (*sauraṃ dvāram bhitvā, Maitri Up.* VI. 30) and "breaking through the round of the roof-plate" (*kaṇṇikā-maṇḍalaṃ bhnditvā, Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* III. 66, to be cited again below).

To *hṛdayasyāgra*, "apex of the heart" corresponds the Islamic *'ayn-i-qalb*, "eye of the heart"; which apex or eye is the Sun-door within you." Cf. Frithjof Schuon, "L'oeil du coeur", in *Le Voile d'Isis*, vol. 38, 1933, citing Mansūr al-Hallāj, "I have seen my Lord with the eye of my heart (*bi-ayn-i-qalbi*); I said, Who art thou? He answered, Thyself; and *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmana*, III. 14. 5 where the Comprehensor, having reached the Sun, is similarly welcomed, "who thou art, that am I; who am I, that one art thou; proceed."

tends to immortality", i.e. the Brahma worlds beyond the Sun. At death, "the apex of the heart is illuminated (*hṛdyasyayâgram pradyotate*); by way of that illumined point the spirit departs (*ātmā niṣkrāmati*), either by way of the eye, or head,[53] or other part of the body; and as it goes, the breath of life follows" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV. 4. 2). For "the rays of Him (the Sun) are endless. Who as

53 It is generally understood that the spirit of the Comprehensor, having left the heart, departs through the suture called *brahmarandhra* in the dome of the skull, that suture, viz. which is still open at birth, but closed throughout life. *Brahmarandhra* is lacking in Acharya's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, but there is good evidence in the (quite modern) *Bṛhadiśvara Māhātmya*, ch. XV, that the opening in the top of a tower (the "eye" of the tower, as explained above) has been called by this name. The story (which closely parallels that of Sudhammā related in *Jātaka* I. 200-1 and *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*. I. 269, see my "Pali *kaṇṇikā*" p. 239) runs that a pious woman besought the builders of the great *gopura* of the Tanjore temple (*ca.* 1000 A.D.) to make use of a stone provided by herself, "and accordingly it was used for closing the *brahmarandhra*" (Somasundaram, J.M., *The Great Temple at Tanjore*, Madras, 1935, pp. 40-41).

The *brahma-randhra* is precisely in medical language what is called the *foramen*. This *foramen* is the very word employed by Ovid (and no doubt as a technicality) to denote the hole intentionally left in the roof of the temple of Jupiter, immediately above "old Terminus, the boundary stone" to whom "it is not allowed to sacrifice save in the open air" (Harrison, J., *Themis*, p. 92, with a further reference to Vergil *ad Aen.* IV. 48 as commented by Servius): "Even today, lest he (Terminus) see aught above him but the stars, have tempie roofs their little aperture" (*exiguum.....foramen*, Ovid, *Fast.* II. 667).

Terminus, whose place in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter was in the central shrine, and evidently in the centre of this shrine, was represented by a column, which is not really the symbol of an independent deity, but the lower part of the column which stood for Jupiter Terminus, on a coin struck in honor of Terentius Varro (for which, and other data, see Daremberg, *Dic. des Antiquités grecques et romains*, s.v. Terminus). Thus whereas *termini*, as boundary posts in the plural, are placed at the edges of a delimited area, *the Terminus* of all things occupies a central position, and is in fact a form of our cosmic axis, *skambha, stauros*. It may be added in the present connection that Skr. *siman* (from *si*, to draw a straight line, cf *sītā*, "furrow") is not only in the same way *a* boundary mark and in other contexts *the* utmost limit of all things, but also a synonymn of *brahma-randhra*.

It will be observed that our *foramen*, identifiable with the solar doorway, is ideally situated at the summit of the cosmic stauros, and is quite literally an "eye" We can hardly doubt, accordingly, that no mere figure of speech, but a traditional

its lamp indwells the heart.....Of which, one standeth upward, breaking through the solar orb (*bhitvā sūrya-maṇḍalam*) and overpassing (*atikramya*) into the Brahma-world, thereby men attain their final goal" (*Maitri Up.* VI. 30). It is thus that one "wins beyond the Sun", *param ādityāj jayati, Chāndogya Up.* II. 10. 5.

We proceed to an analysis of the significance of the dome and roof-plate, using as key the various accounts of the miraculous powers of the Buddhist *arhats,* "spiritual adepts", by which powers (*iddhi*) they are able to rise in the air, and if within a roofed structure to emerge from it by "breaking through" the roof-plate, and subsequently moving at will in the beyond.

We shall first consider the case in which this power is exercised out of doors, and where there is therefore no reference to an artificial roof-plate; and it will be necessary to consider the nature of the miracle itself, which as we have already seen can also be thought of as an interior operation, before we make use of it in explaining the symbolism of the dome itself. In *Milindapañha* 85, the power (*iddhi*) of travelling through the sky is explained as consisting in an

symbolism is involved in the saying "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle (*foramen acus* in the Vulgate) than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matthew, XIX. 24), where indeed "eye of *the* needle" might have been a better rendering. *Brahma-randhra* and foramen, it may be added, imply by their physiological reference that the temple has been thought of not merely as in the likeness of the cosmic *house* of God, but at the same time as an image of the cosmic *body* of God (into which He enters and from which He departs by an opening above, the solar door, of which Eckhart speaks as "the gateway of His emanation, by which He invites us to return").

It may be further remarked that a comparison of the human head with the spherical cosmos occurs in Plato (Ti. 44 D ff.; for further references see Scott, *Hermetica,* Oxford, 1925, II, p. 249.). Incidentally the saying that in man "there is nothing material above the head, and nothing immaterial below the feet" is far from unintelligible; the "Man" is cosmic; what is above his head is supra-cosmic and immaterial; what below his feet is a chthonic basis which is his "support" at the nether pole of being; the intervening space is occupied by the cosm "body", in which there is a mixture of immaterial and material.

intellectual virtue analogus to that sort of mental resolution by means of which, in ordinary jumping, "one's body seems to be light" when the moment for taking off arrives. In *Jātaka* V. 125-7 we have the case of the Elder Moggallāna, an arhat, who by means of his miraculous power (*iddhi-balena*) is able to visit Heaven or Hell at will. This Elder, being in danger of death at the hands of certain evilly-disposed persons, "flew up and made off" (*uppatitvā pakkāmi*). Upon a subsequent occasion, because of a former sin of which the trace remained in him, he "could not fly up in the air" (*ākāse uppatitum nāsakkhi*). Left for dead by his enemies, he nevertheless recovered consciousness, and "investing his body in the cloak of contemplation" (*jhāna-veṭhanena sarīram veṭhetvā*), he "flew off into the Buddha's presence" and obtained permission to end his life. At the close of the subsequent "Story of the Past" related by the Buddha we are told that the assembled Prophets (*isiyo*) also "flew up into the air and went to their own places".

We hardly need to go beyond these texts for an adequate indication of the true nature of the "power" (*iddhi*) of flying through the air. In the first place it may be observed that *uppatitvā*, "flying" implies wings, as of a bird;[54] and that wings, in all traditions, are the characteristic of angels, as being intellectual substances independent of local motion; an intellectual substance, as such, being immediately present at the point to which its attention is directed. It is in this sense that the "Intellect is the swiftest of birds" (*manaḥ javiṣṭam patayatsv antaḥ*, Ṛv. VI. 9.5); that the sacrificer endowed by the singing-priest with wings of sound by means of the Syllable (OM) is supported by these wings, and "sits without fear in the

54 Or those of an arrow, cf. the discussion of *Muṇḍaka Up.* II. 2, above. The Sun, identified with the Spirit (Ṛv. I. 115. 1 etc.) being typically winged (*suparṇa, pataṅga, garuḍa*, etc.) can be entered into as like unites with like only by a similarly winged principle: in the present context, by the arrow of the Spirit, soaring on wings of sound or light, coincident at this level of reference.

world of heavenly-light, and likewise goeth about "(*ācarati, Jaiminīya Up. Br.* III. 14. 9-10), i.e. as a "mover at will" (*kāmâcārin*), cf. *Pañcaviṃśa Br.* XXV. 3. 4 "for wherever a winged thing would go thereunto it comes"; and that "of such as ascend to the top of the Tree, those that are winged fly away, the wingless fall down: it is the comprehensors that are winged, the ignorant wingless" (*Pañcaviṃśa Br.* XIV. 1. 12-13).[55]

In the second place it will be observed that the power of motion at will presupposes a state of perfection, that of one who can be thought of as *arhat,* or in other terms *kṛtakṛtyaḥ, sukṛtaḥ, kṛtātmā*: it is inhibited by even a trace of defect. And finally, the very striking expressions "flew up into the air" and "investing his body in the cloak of contemplation" imply at the same time an "ascension" and a "disappearance". The meanings of *veṭhetvā* = *veṣṭitvā* include those of "wrapping up", "enveloping", and "veiling", and hence of "concealing" that which is enveloped, which in the present case is the body (*sarīram*) or appearance (*rūpam*) of the person concerned.[56]

55 Similarly Shamas-i-Tabriz, Diwān XXIX and XLIV in Nicholson's edition, "Fly, fly O bird, to thy native home, for thou hast escaped from the cage, and thy pinions are outspread.....Fly forth from this enclosure since thou art a bird of the spiritual world."

56 Cf. the use of *veṣṭ* in Manu I. 49, where creatures are described as 'enveloped by darkness' (*tamasā veṣṭitāḥ*); and *Śvet. Up.* VI. 20 "Not until men shall be able to roll up space like a skin" (*carmavat ākāśaṃ veṣṭayiṣyanti*),—impossible for man as such.

It may be added that *veṭhana* = *veṣṭana* is very often employed to denote not merely a wrapping of any sort but more specifically a head-cover or turban. We might accordingly, and with reference to the familiar folklore motif of the cap of darkness (of which the possession signifies an *iddhi* of the sort that we are now considering), have rendered *jhāna-veṭhanena sarīraṃ veṭhetvā pakkāmi* by "concealing his person by means of the turn-cap of contemplation, disappeared."

This provides a further illustration of the fact, alluded to in a previous note, that what is called the "marvellous" in folk and epic literature, and thought of as something "added to" a historical nucleus by the irregular fantasy of the people or that of some individual litterateur, is in reality the technical formulation of a metaphysical idea, an adequate and a precise symbolism by no means of popular origin, however well adapted to popular transmission. Whether or not we believe

The primary senses of *pakkāmi* = *prâkramit* are "went forth", "made his exit", or as in our rendering, "made off", or "disappeared" as in Cowell and Francis (*Jātaka*, V. 65).

What is really involved and implied by an "investiture of the body in the cloak of contemplation" is a disappearance into one's spiritual-essence, or "being in the spirit" (*ātmany antarhita, guhā nihita, ātmany etya*);[57] just as in Manu I. 51, where the manifested

in the possible veridity of the miracles attributed to a given solar hero or Messiah, the fact remains that these marvels have always an exact and spiritually intelligible significance: they cannot be abstracted from the "legend" without completely denaturing it; this will apply, for example, to all the "mythical" elements in the nativity of the Buddha, which moreover are repetitions of those connected with the nativities of Agni and Indra in Ṛv.

In the present connection we may point out further that the phraseology of our text throws some light on the nature of the power of shape-shifting and of imposing a disguise on others, which powers are so often attributed, for good or evil, to the heroes of folklore. If to disappear altogether is really to have perfected a contemplative act wherewith the person concerned in a spiritual sense escapes from himself so that he no longer knows "who" he is, but only that he "is", and analogically vanishes from the sight of others who may be present in the flesh, one may perhaps say of the lesser marvel of magical transformation involved in the imposition of an altered appearance upon oneself or others, that this is in a similar manner an investiture (*veṣṭana*) of the body in a form that has been similarly realised in contemplation (*dhyāna*), and thereafter projected and wrapped about one's own or another's person, so that only this disguise can be seen, and not the person within it.

Finally, it must not be supposed that the actual exhibition of marvels has any spiritual significance: on the contrary the exhibition of "powers" is traditionally deprecated; it is only that state of being of which the powers may be a symptom that can be called "spiritual." It is, moreover, taken for granted that any such powers can be more or less successfully imitated by the "black magician," in whom they prove a certain skill, but not enlightenment. There is this great difference in the "traditional" and "scientific" points of view, that in the former one would not be astonished, nor one's philosophy upset by the occurrence of an actual miracle, while in the latter, while the possibility is denied, yet if the event took place, the whole position would be undermined.

57 As in Rev. IV. 2 "I was in the spirit", and I Cor., XIV. 2 "in the spirit he speaketh mysteries." A great deal more than metaphor is intended in Col. II. 5 "For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying, and beholding your order."

Deity, having completed his creative operation, is described as having "vanished into his own spiritual-essence (*ātmany antar dadhe*, being accordingly *ātmany hita, antarhita, guhā nihita, adṛśya*),[58] super-enclosing time within time" (*bhūyaḥ kālaṃ kālena pīḍayan*),[59] that is to say in the language of Genesis II. 2 "rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made".

To have entered thus into one's own spiritual-essence—*ātmany antarhito bhūtvā*—, is to have realised that state of unification (*samādhi*) which is in fact the consummation of *dhyāna* in Indian, as *excessus* or *raptus* is that of *contemplatio* in Christian *yoga*. Nor could we understand the supernatural power of ascension and motion at will otherwise than as a going out of oneself which is more truly an entering into one's very Self. One cannot think of the power as an independent skill or trick, but only as function of the ability to enter into *samādhi* at will and as a manifestation of that perfect recollectedness which are in fact attributed to the *arhat*. To have thus returned to the centre of one's own being is to have reached that centre at which the spiritual axis of the universe intersects the

In Rev. XVII. 3 "He carried me away in the spirit" (*abstulit me in spiritu*), cf. in the Saṃgāmāvacara Jātaka (*Jātaka* II. 92) where the Buddha "taking Nanda (not yet an *arhat* having the power of aerial flight) by the hand, went off in the air" to visit the heaven of Indra,—*abstulit* corresponds to a being *raptus*, which is the consummation of *contemplatio*. In these two cases the state of *samādhi* is rather induced than innate.

58 Cf. *Mahāvagga* I. 21 *antaradhāyi*, "disappeared", and *Majjhima Nikāya* I. 329 *antaradhāyituṃ* "to vanish", and *antarhito*, "vanished."

59 That is, compressing past and present into the now of eternity; just as in *Śvet. Up.* VI. 20 it is a question of the "rolling up of space". Being thus returned into Himself, He is "The hard to behold, abider in secret, set in the cave (of the heart), the Ancient whose station is the abyss" (*Kaṭha Up.* II. 12); He can be known only by the contemplative, as the immanent Spirit, "abiding in the vacancy of innermost being" or "within you", *antarbhūtasya khe, Maitrī Up.* VII. 11.

Expressed in the narrative terms of the myth, creation (in which He might have been seen at work) being a past event is concealed from us because we cannot pursue it at a greater speed than that of light, or in other words are "not in the spirit", which if we were, the whole operation would be presently apparent.

plane on which the empirical consciousness had previously been extended; to have become if not in the fullest sense a *sādhu,* at any *sādhya,* one whose consciousness of being, on whatever plane of being has been concentrated at the "navel" of that "earth", and in that pillar (*skambha, stauros*) of which the poles are chthonic Fire and celestial Sun.

We have seen that the *Breath-of-Life* (*prâṇaḥ*), often identified with the Spirit, and with Brahman, but more strictly speaking the vital manifestation of the Spirit, the Gale of the Spirit insofar as this can be distinguished from the Spirit at rest, departs from the heart by its apex; and we know also that all the breaths-of-life (*prâṇāḥ*), are as it were the subjects of the Breath (*Praśṇa Up.* III. 4), and diverge into their vectors at birth and are unified in the Breath, or Gale, when it departs, and hence it is that one says of the dying man that "He is becoming one" (Upaniṣads, *passim*). This supremacy of the Breath-of-Life lends itself to a striking architectural illustration, which we find first in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* III.2, 1 (*Śāṅkhāyana Ar.* VIII) as follows: "The Breath-of-Life is a pillar (*prâṇo vaṃśa*). And just as (in a house) all the other beams are met together (*samāhitaḥ*) in the king-post (*śālā-vaṃśa,* "hall-beam"),[60] so it is that in this Breath (the functions of) the eye, the

60 *Vaṃśa* is literally "bamboo", and architecturally either a post or a cross-beam such as a wall-plate. We assume that the *śālā-vaṃśa* is here a king-post (either supported by tie beams, or even extending to the ground, and in either case coincident with the main axis of the house) rather than a ridge-pole, because it is only in such a post that all the other beams, i.e. rafters, can be said to meet *together.* And similarly in the *Milindapañha* passage below, we assume that *kūṭa* is synonymous with *kaṇṇikā* (as we know that it can be) and means roof-plate rather than ridge-pole. If the meaning were "ridge-pole" in either or both cases, the force of the metaphor would not, indeed, be destroyed, but somewhat lessened.

In this connection it may be noted that in *Jātaka* I. 146, a "great blazing *kūṭa* of bronze, as big as a roof-plate" is used as a weapon by a *Yakṣa* (*so kaṇṇikamattam mahantam ādittam ayakūṭaṃ gahetvā*). This seems to throw some light on the obscure passages *Jaiminīya Bṛ.* I. 49. 2 where the sacrificial victim "is to be struck on the *kūṭa*" (*kūṭe hanyāt*), by which we should understand "on the crown

ear, the intellect, the tongue, the senses and the whole self are unified" (*samāhitaḥ*). In order to grasp the connection of this simile with the later Buddhist variant it is needful to observe that to be *samāhita* is literally the same as to be "in *samâdhi*".[61] In the Buddhist variant we have, *Milindapañha* 38 (II. 1. 3): "Just as every one of the rafters of a building with a domed roof (*kūṭâgāra*) go up its roof-plate (*kūṭaṅgamā honti*), incline towards its roof-plate (*kūṭaninnā*),[62] and are assembled at its roof-plate (*kūṭasamosaraṇā*), and

of the head"; and *ib.*, 9 where a Season, described as "having a *kūṭa* in his hand" (*kūṭa-hastaḥ*) descends on a ray of light" (*raśminā prtyavetya*), and since the Season descends from the Sun and is the messenger of the solar Judge, we suppose again that this means that he has in hand as his weapon a *discus*, analogous to the solar disc, which is the roof-plate of the universe. Cf. Oertel in *JAOS.* XIX. 111-112.

In the same way the discus (*cakra*) is the characteristic weapon (*āyudha*) of the solar Viṣṇu. Another use of the Sun in a likeness as a weapon can be cited in the Mahāvrata, where an Aryan and a *Śūdra* struggle for a white round skin which represents the Sun, and the former uses the skin to strike down the latter. *Kūṭahasta* then is tantamount to "armed with the Sun".

Just as the sacrificial victim is to be struck "on the *kūṭa*", so also we find that the deceased yogi's cranium may be broken, in order to permit the ascension of the breath of life; and in this connection Eliade (*Yoga*, Paris and Bucuresti, 1936, p. 306) remarks that "Yoga has had an influence also upon architecture. The origin of certain temple types, together with their architectonic conception, must be explained by the funeral rites of ascetics". Eliade gives references, and adds that "the fracture of the skull (in the region of the *brahmarandhra*, the foramen of Monro) is a custom found in the funeral rites of many races. It is widespread too, in the Pacific, India, and Tibet". That it was also an American Indian practice is known from the discovery in Michigan and elsewhere of perforated skulls; the circular perforation of the foramen met with here can only have had a ritual significance, as it is distinct from ordinary trepanning in that the operation was performed post mortem. It would be perfectly natural to describe the perforation as an "eye" in the dome of the skull.

61 *Samādhi* (n.) and *samāhita* (pp.) are from *sam-ā-dhā*, to "put together", "make to meet", "con-centrate", "resolve", and hence reduce to a common principle": *samādhi* is "composition" "consent", and in *yoga*, the "consummation" of *dhyāna*, in which consummation or unification or at-one-ment, the distinction of knower and known is transcended and knowledge alone remains.

62 As remarked in the previous note, we assume that *kūṭa* is here a synonym for *kaṇṇikā*. Had a ridge-pole been meant, one could hardly have spoken of every one" of the rafters as "converging" to it. *Kūṭāgāra* may indeed also mean a "gabled

the roof-plate is called the apex (*agga*=*agra*) of all, even so, your Majesty, every one of these skilful habits (*kusalā dhammā*)[63] has the state of unification as its forefront (*samādhi-pamukhā honti*), inclines towards the state of unification (*samādhi-ninnā*), leans towards the state of unification (*samādhi-poṇā*) and bears upon the state of unification" (*samādhi-pabbhārā*).[64] It will be seen that *samādhi* here replaces the previous *prâṇe.....samāhita,* affecting the emphasis, rather than the essence of the meaning.

We are now in a position to consider the texts in which a breaking through the roofplate of a house, and even a breaking down of the house itself is spoken of. In *Jātaka* III. 472 the *arhat* "flies up in the air, cleaving the roof-plate of the palace" (*ākāse uppatitvā pāsādakaṇṇikaṃ dvidhā katvā*). In *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā,* 1.63, and *arhat* "flying up by his 'power', breaks through the roof-plate of the peaked (or probably domed) house, and goes off in the air". *Ib.* III. 66, the *arhat Moggallāna* (cf. *Jātaka* IV. 228-9)" "breaking through the round of the roof-plate, springs into the air" (*kaṇṇika-maṇḍalam bhinditvā ākāsan pakkhandi*), is incidentally

house". But in the present context we have evidence that the house envisaged had really a domed rather than a ridged, or even a pointed roof. This is indicated by *ninnā,* which implies that the rafters (*gopānasiyo*) are curved, and the roof therefore rounded; cf. the expression *gopānasī-bhogga, gopānasivanka,* "bent like a rafter", used of women and old people ("bent", i.e. curved, not bent double as implied by the ∧ in PTS.).

63 Defined in *Milindapañha* 33, etc. as *sīlam* (conduct), *saddhā* (faith), *viriyam* (energy), *samādhi* (unification, or "one-pointedness of the attention"), with the *indriyā-balāni* (sense-powers) and *paññā* (insight, or more strictly speaking, fore-knowledge). It will be seen that while the application in the Brāhmaṇa is strictly metaphysical, that of the Buddhist text is rather more "edifying". The *Milinda-pañha* passage is repeated elsewhere, see my "Early Indian architecture, III. Palaces" in *Eastern Art,* III, p. 193.

64 Cf. in the *Majjhima Nikāya,* I. 322-323, "Just as the roof-plate (*kūṭa*) of a domed-mansion (*kūṭâgarassa*) is the peak (*aggam*) that ties together (*saṃghā-tanikam*) and holds together (*saṃgānikam*), just so the sheltering-roof of the Truth (*channam-dhammānam*) (is the peak that ties together and holds together the six laudable states of consciousness)".

good evidence also for the circular form of the plate. Finally, *Jātaka* 1.76, we have the Buddha's song of triumph on the occasion of the Full Awakening (*mahāsambodhi*), in which he glories in the fact that the house of life, the tabernacle of the flesh has once and for all been broken down (*gahakūṭam visaṅkhitam*).[65]

If we have not by any means exhausted the subject of the symbolic values of Indian architecture, we may perhaps claim to have shown that during a period of millennia this architecture must be thought as having been not merely one of "material facts" but also an iconography: that the form of the house conceived in the artist's mind as the pattern of the work to be done, and in response to the needs of the householder (whether human or divine), actually served the double requirements of a man who can be spoken of as a whole man, to whom it had not yet occurred that it might be possible to live "by bricks and mortar only", and not also in the light of eternity, "by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God", by which we mean in India precisely "what was heard" (*śruti* = *veda*), together with the accessory sciences (*śāstra*), of which the basic principles is to imitate what was done by the Gods in the beginning, or in other words to imitate Nature, Natura Naturans, Creatrix, Deus, in her manner of operation.[66] By touching on the subject of other things than buildings made by art, and that of other than Indian architecture, we have implied that the metaphysical tradition, or *philosophia perennis*, of which the specifically

65 The house of life, the spatial world of experience, is above all a half-way house; a place of procedure from potentiality to act, but of no further use to one whose purposes have all been accomplished and is now altogether in act. We have already seen the same idea (that of the no further validity of space) expressed in another way by the miracle of the atonement of the four bowls. The cycle symbolised by the building and destruction of the house, or division and unification of the bowls, proceeds from unity to multiplicity, and returns from multiplicity to unity; in agreement with the Buddha's word, "I being one become many, and being many become one" (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, II. 212).

66 For the Vedas as a "map of life", cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 5. 13.

Indian form is Vedic, is the heritage and birthright of all mankind, and not merely of this or that chosen people; and hence that it can be said of all humane artistic operation that its ends have always been at the same time physical and spiritual good. This is merely to restate the Aristotelian and scholastic doctrine that the general end of art is the good of man, that the good is that for which a need is felt and to which we are attracted by its beauty (by which we recognize it, as though it said, "Here am I"), and that the whole or holy man has always been conscious at the same time of physical and spiritual needs; and therefore not in any capacity merely a doer or merely contemplative, but a doer by contemplation and a contemplative in act.

Finally we contend that nothing has been gained, but very much lost, both spiritually and practically, by our modern ignorance of the meanings of superstitions, which are in fact "stand-overs" that are only meaningless to us because we have forgotten what they mean. If the thunder storm is no longer for us the marriage of Heaven and Earth, but only a discharge of electricity, all that we have really done is to substitute a physical for a metaphysical level of reference; the man is far more a man who can realise the perfect validity of both explanations, each on its own level of reference. Of the man who could look up to the roof of his house, or temple, and say "there hangs the Supernal Sun", or down at his hearth and say "there is the Navel of the Earth", we maintain not only that his house and temple were the more serviceable to him and the more beautiful in fact, but in every sense much more such homes as the dignity of man demands than are our own "machines to live in".

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

On the Immediate Source of the Kathāsaritsāgara

Of the three *Bṛhatkathā*[1] versions that have come down to us the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva,[2] a Kashmirian poet, was the first to be edited and published by Prof. Brockhaus (1839-66). A few years later was discovered the second Kashmirian version, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra.[3] These two versions attracted the attention of great scholars like Dr. Bühler,[3] Burnell &c., who pointed out the striking resemblances of the BKM. with the KSS. Last to be discovered was the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*[4] of Budhasvāmin, an edition of which was published by Felix Lacote (1908-1929). This is very dissimilar to the KSS. and BKM. and shows forth in relief the resemblances already observed between these two works. The KSS. was written by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva in A.D. 1070, while the BKM. too, the work of another

1 It is believed that the *Bṛhatkathā* was written in the Paiśāci language by Guṇāḍhya. There is much diversity in the opinion of scholars regarding the date of Guṇāḍhya and his composition. Bühler places him in the 2nd century or even in the second half of the 1st century A.D. (*Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts*, p. 47, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1877); Macdonell agrees with this view (*Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, p. 376); Weber, 6th century A.D. (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, p. 213 n. 4th edn.); *Speyer*: 5th century A.D. (*Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, pp. 45 ff.); Keith: not later than 500 A.D. (*Hist. of Skt. Lit.* ed. 1928 p. 268); M. Lacote: middle of 3rd cent. A.D. (*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, translated by Father Tabard in the *Mythic Society Journal*, vols. 12 & 13, pp. 26 ff.); Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar: 1st cent., A.D. (Foreword, pp. 1-2 of Father Tabard's translation of Lacote's Essay).

2 Though Somadeva's KSS. was discovered and published earlier than the BKM. of Kṣemendra, the date of composition of the KSS. is later than that of BKM. See Macdonell: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ed. 1917, p. 376 (Soma. composed about 1070 A.D., Kṣ. about 1037 A.D., also Sylvain Lévi: *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, I, 216 ff., and Bühler, *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 304 ff.

3 See *IA.*, I, pp. 304 ff.

4 Discovered in 1893. See Pandit Haraprasad Sastri's article in the *JASB.*, (LXII, 1893, I, No. 3, pp. 245 ff.): also F. Lacote's *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, pt. II, ch. ii, p. 110. (our reference is always to the English translation of the Essay by Tabard; see fn. 1).

Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, was written at about the same time i.e., about 1048 A.D. This fact as well as the resemblances referred to above have led the above-mentioned scholars to the conclusion that the immediate source of both KSS. and BKM. was the same.[5] And this is the generally accepted opinion today, although contrary opinions were given expression to long ago by Pandit Krishnamacharya,[6]

5 Sten Konow (*IA*, XLIII, p. 66):

"I agree with M. Lacote that the source of the two Kashmirian recensions of the *Bṛhatkatha* was not the old work of Guṇāḍhya but a later work compiled in Kashmir, probably about the 7th cent. A.D."

A. B. Keith (*A History of Skt. Lit.*, p. 275.):

"The Kashmirian recensions show themselves at once as vitally in contrast with the Nepalese and leave no option but to assume that they are derived from one source, and that not the original *Bṛhatkathā*."

Winternitz (*Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, vol. III, p 318):

"What is most important for us is that neither Somadeva has copied from Kṣemendra, nor Kṣemendra from Somadeva but that both depend upon the same source namely a recension of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, to which much new matter had been added and which was current in Kashmir."

Bühler (*IA.*, I, p. 309):

".....All these circumstances make the statements of Somadeva and Kṣemendra that they remodelled a Prakrit original, perfectly credible."

Speyer (*Studies about the KSS.*, p. 27):

"There can be not the least doubt about the existence in Kashmere in the 11th century of that vast encyclopædia of tales in the Paiśāci dialect which is acknowledged as the common source of both BKM. and KSS."

F. Lacote: *"Essay"*., p. 100.

"Neither is it absurd to suppose that the manuscript used by Somadeva was not in all its parts identical with the one Kṣemendra had used, and though it might have been the same for the rest, it was different with regard to the books Śaktiyaśas and the Śaśāṅkavati, (vetāls).....Everywhere there is an undeniable unity of origin."

6 Pandit Krishnamacharya's preface to *Priyadarśikā* (Ed. V. V. Press, Srirangam, Intro. page xlii).

बृहत्कथामञ्जर्यां तु बन्धुमतीस्थाने रजनिकेति नामधेयमुपलभ्यते। भूयान्हि भेदो दृश्यते बृहत्कथामञ्जर्योः कथासरित्सागरस्य च तत्र तत्र कथाविषयेऽपि। सोमदेवश्च कथासरित्सागरं यथामूलं विपरिणतं प्रतिजानीते। सत्येवं कथं वा भेदस्तावदुपलभ्यताम्। अपि नाम क्षेमेन्द्र-सोमदेवाभ्यां साक्षादेव बृहत्कथा विलोकिता स्यात्? अथवा कर्णपरम्परामनुसृत्य कथा विलिखिता? इयं चास्माकं संशयं 'भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम्' इति काव्यादर्शे दण्डिना प्रयुक्तम् "आहुः" पदमुत्तेजयतीति निवेदयामः।

Dr. A. Venkata Subbiah[7] and more recently by Mr. C. D. Chatterjee.[8]

It is the object of this paper to show that the latter opinion is correct and that the immediate source of the KSS. is different from that of the BKM.

I. *Order of the Lambakas*

Along with close similarity, there are also many differences between the BKM. and KSS. The chief among them is the order of the *lambakas*.

The following table will show the striking difference in the order of the 18 lambakas of the two works.

BKM.		KSS.	
1. Kathāpiṭha	I	I	Kathāpiṭha
2. Kathāmukha			Kathāmukha
3. Lāvāṇaka			Lavaṇaka
4 Naravāhanajanma[9]			Naravāhanadattajanma
5. Caturdarika			Caturdarika
6. Sūryaprabha	II	III	Madanamañcukā
7. Madanamañcukā	III	V	Ratnaprabhā
8. Velā	IV	II	Sūryaprabha
9. Śaśāṅkavatī		VI	Alaṅkāravatī
10. Viṣamaśīla			Śaktiyaśas
11. Madirāvatī		IV	Velā
12. Padmāvatī			Śaśāṅkavatī
13. Pañca			Madirāvatī
14. Ratnaprabhā	V		Pañca
15. Alaṅkāravatī	VI	VII	Mahābhiṣeka
16. Śaktiyaśas			Suratamañjarī
17 Mahābhiṣeka	VII	IV	Padmavatī
18. Suratamañjarī			Viṣamaśīla

7 Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah (*The Pañcantantra of Durgasiṃha in ZII* vol 7, no. 1, p. 28.):

"The differences between So.'s KSS. and Ks's BKM. though not great are still so marked that it is difficult to believe that both these books are immediately derived from the same version of the BK Rather it is more probable that they are derived from two different versions of the BK."

8 Mr. C. D. Chatterjee: (*Indian Culture*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 214 fn. 3):

"There is no reason to suppose that Kṣemendra and Somadeva have based their works on a common recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* available in Kashmir..."

9 All the names of the *lambakas* in both the works are the same except in this case, Kṣemendra giving a shorter name 'Naravāhanajanma' in place of Naravāhanadattajanma' of Somadeva.

From the above it is clear that the order of the *lambakas* in the two works is not the same. However there is no doubt that each of the writers had before him some written original[10] probably in the Prakrit, the translation or narration of which in Sanskrit, has resulted in the KSS. and the BKM. All the scholars, who hold that the two writers worked on a common original, are of course obliged to think that one or the other of the two must have changed the original order of the *lambakas*. Prof. Speyer[11] thinks that Kṣemendra changed the order and that it was Somadeva who drew up the faithful reproduction of the old Paiśācī poem, while Mankowski,[12] Lacote,[13] Penzer[14] and others hold that Somadeva changed the order. The arguments of all these scholars are based mainly on the following three stanzas of the KSS.

यथा मूलम् तथैवैतन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।
ग्रन्थविस्तरसङ्क्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते[15] ॥१०

10 So far as I know, it is only Pandit Krishnamachar who holds that the BK. was handed down to So. and Kṣ by oral tradition. See *Priyadarśikā* (V. V. Press, Intro. p. xlii).

11 Prof. Speyer:—*Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 41 "It was he (Soma.) who kept the original order of the Lambakas and not Kṣemendra." Also p. 36. "The aforesaid considerations induce me to conclude that it was Somadeva, and not Kṣemendra who drew up the faithful reproduction of the old Paiśācī poem."

12 L. von. Mankowski, p. ix of the "*Einleitung*" of *Der Auszug aus den Pañcatantra* in Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, Leipzig. Harrassowitz 1892. "Somadeva himself intimates that he had changed the materials he took from the *Bṛhatkathā*."

13 Lacote (l.c., p. 91 ff.) "In my opinion he (Kṣ.) has simply followed the composition of the original.....

.....On the contrary Somadeva would seem to have attempted to improve the plan."

14 Penzer (*Ocean of Story*. Terminal Essay, vol. IX, p. 115).

"It will thus be seen that the critical inspections of the work as presented by Somadeva shows without doubt that the work has undergone much reshuffling as far as the order of books is concerned."

15 'mātrā bhāṣā ca vidyate'—Brockhaus; Peterson.
'mātram bhāṣā ca vidyate'—Hall (*vās.* p. 23n.); S. Lévi.

औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति विधीयते[16]
कथारसाविघातेन काव्यांशस्य च योजना ॥ ११
वैदग्ध्यख्यातिलोभाय मम नेदायमुद्यमः ।
किं तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ॥ १२

These stanzas should be carefully studied, as they have been translated in different ways.[17]

S. Lévi: "Such is the original, such is the copy of it. There is not one line which deviates from it. My only work has been to abridge and to translate. I have respected as much as I could the literary fitness and the natural order. I have set up each of the sections of the poem in such a way as not to break off the stories or the passions (*rasas*). My efforts will not gain for me the reputation of a profound artist. My only object is to help my readers to remember without too great difficulty this enormous mass of stories of every possible kind."[18]

J. S. Speyer: "I have taken care to preserve the appropriateness (of descriptions, diction etc. of the original work) and I have added to it some qualities proper to a Kāvya without, however, spoiling by this the flavour of the tales." I have added elegance of style and many a poetical ornament, yet so that I have not deprived the tales of their power express the *rasas* or sentiments aimed at".[19]

16 'abhidhiyate'—Brockhaus; S. Lévi.

17 I quote here only the translations of S. Lévi and J. S. Speyer but the readers may kindly refer to the following translations also:—
Brockhaus—*Quarterly Journal, Myth. Society*, vol. 13. Wilson—*Works, Repr. Essays*, II, 109. Tawney—*Ocean of Story*, Ed. Penzer, vol. I. p. 2. Lacote—*'Essai.'* Hall—*Vāsavadattā*. Intro. p. 23n. Paterson—*Kādambari* 3rd ed. Intro. p. 96 n. L. Mankowski—*Der Auszug aus dem Pañc.* in Kṣ. BKM., pp. vii-ix.

18 *JA.*, VIII. es. VI, 421 and VII, 219-220.

19 *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 23.

Prof. Speyer while explaining the word *aucityānvayarakṣā* in the above has criticised[20] S. Lévi and others such as Tawney and Mankowski, who agree with Lévi. Later Lévi's translation has been defended by F. Lacote.[21]

S. Lévi, Tawney and others while holding that Soma, "has arranged each section of the poem" or that he has joined together "portions of the poem," so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, have overlooked one point. The words *yathā mūlaṃ tathaivaitat* occur just after the list of the *lambakas* of the work, supplied by the author. So, what should be the intention of the author there? As he says *yathā mūlaṃ tathāivaitat* immediately after giving out the names of the *lambakas* in order, even marking them as the 10th, 12th and so on,[22] it is certainly more than clear, that he thereby means to lay emphasis on the order of the *lambakas* too, as having been so in the original. *Etat* then means here, *etatkrama-baddhāṣṭādaśa-lambakātmakaṃ grathanaṃ*. Thus the stanzas referred to clearly state that the whole work is but a copy of the original even as regards the arrangement.

20 *Studies about the KSS.*, pp. 22 ff.

21 *Myth. Society Journal*, vol. 13, p. 96 n.

22
आद्यमत्र कथापीठं कथामुखमतः परम् ।
ततो लावाणको नाम तृतीयो लम्बको भवेत् ॥४॥
नरवाहनदत्तस्य जननं च ततः परम् ।
स्याच्चतुर्दारिकाख्यश्च ततो मदनमञ्चुका ॥५॥
ततो रत्नप्रभा नाम लम्बकस्सप्तमो भवेत् ।
सूर्यप्रभाभिधानश्च लम्बकस्स्यादथाष्टमः ॥६॥
अलंकारवती चाथ ततश्शक्तियशा भवेत् ।
वेलालम्बकसंज्ञश्च भवेदेकादशस्ततः ॥७॥
शशाङ्कवत्यपि तथा ततस्स्यान्मदिरावती ।
महाभिषेकानुगतस्ततस्स्यात्पञ्चलम्बकः ॥८॥
ततस्सुरतमञ्जर्यप्यथ पद्मावती भवेत् ।
ततो विषमशीलाख्यो लम्बकोऽष्टादशो भवेत् ॥९॥
यथा मूलं तथैवैवन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।

Now coming to *kāvyāṃśasya ca yojanā*, I would have agreed with Prof. Speyer regarding the meaning of *kāvyāṃśa* if he had translated it as '*some quality* of the *kāvya*' and not '*qualities.*' *Kāvyāṃśasya* is in the singular. So the reference here is to that *one quality* (not found in his original), added by him to his work. What could that quality be? To me it seems to be his division of the work into *Taraṅgas*. Here we may note that the BKM. is divided into *gucchakas* in accordance with its title *Mañjarī* and the KSS. into *Taraṅgas*,—a term well-suited to the title *Sāgara*. This is the only feature[23] where Somadeva has deviated from the original and that of course, to do justice to the title chosen for his work.

Thus, we have to conclude that Somadeva has been quite faithful to the order of the *lambakas* too, of the manuscript he used. Then, has Kṣemendra changed it? There is nothing to prove that he has. On the other hand, as he was the first to give us in Sanskrit a version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which was till then only in the *Paiśācī* tongue, we have every reason to believe that he must have been true to the original he had secured. Moreover, in the *upasaṃhāra* of the BKM. we have—

सेयं हरमुखोद्गीर्णा कथानुग्रहकारिणी ।
पैशाचवाचि पतिता सजाता विघ्नदायिनी ॥२९॥
अतः सुखनिषेव्यासौ कृता संस्कृतया गिरा ॥
समां भुवमिवानीता गङ्गा श्रुत्रावलम्बिनी ॥३०॥

which clearly tells us that this is nothing but a Sanskrit translation of the 'story in the Paiśācī tongue,' so that it might be easily understood. Why doubt the sincerity of Kṣemendra and his statement सेयम...कृता संस्कृतया गिरा ? Hence, suffice it to say that both Somadeva and Kṣemendra adhered to their originals and that none of them

23 Kṣemendra has also named some of his *gucchakas;* e.g. I. 2 *Vararucimukti;* II i. *Sahasrānika-kathā;* III. i. *Śaśāṅkavatī;* IX. i. *Pracaṇḍa-śakti-samāgama.* We do not find any such titles in the case of Somadeva's *taraṅgas.*

changed even the order of the *lambakas*. So the difference in the order of *lambakas* in BKM. and KSS. must be due to the different manuscripts, the writers used.

II. *Difference in the order and context of sub-stories*

If the two writers had worked on the same source, naturally the order of the sub-stories narrated in the several *lambakas* and their contexts would have remained the same in both. But a close examination of the two works reveals that it is not the case. For instance, the story of Muktaketu is told in the BKM. by Gomukha to Naravāhana, being asked by the latter to relate it (p. 443, st. 33 ff.); whereas in the KSS. the Haṃsas relate it to Brahmadatta (pp. 542 & 115, st. 1 ff.); the story of Sundari is narrated in BKM. (p. 434, st. 299 ff.) by a *yoginī* to one of her followers, but in KSS. (p. 285, st. 78 ff.) *Nārāyaṇī* relates it at the request of the *Mātṛcakra*. Compare also the following table[24] which shows the difference in the order of a few sub-stories:—

Lāvāṇaka Lambaka

BKM.			KSS.
1. Parahita	I	I	The Clever Doctor
2. Vahillaka	II	IV	Parivrājaka & Vānara
3. Devasena	III	III	Unmādinī & Devasena
4. Parivrāṭ	IV	II	Yaillaka
5. Puṇyasena	V	V	Puṇyasena
6. Sunda & Upasunda			Sunda & Upasunda

Madana Mañcuka[25]

1. Dharmadatta	I	I	Dharmadatta
2. Vipracaṇḍāla	II	III	Seven Brahmins
3. Śiṣya	III	V	Brahmin & Caṇḍāla
4. Vikramasiṃha	IV	IV	Vikramasiṃha & the two Brahmins.
5. Kṣamāvadāna	V	VI	Seven maidens
6. Vairāgyāvadāna	VI	V	Viraktarājaputra

24 This table is not exhaustive.

25 This is the 6th lambaka in the KSS. and the 7th in the *BKM*.

III. *Difference in the number and situations in which the Pañcatantra stories occur in the works*

Another point that should not escape our notice is about the number, etc. of the Pañcatantra stories. It is probable that the original *Bṛhatkathā* contained the Pañcatantra and the Vetāla stories.[26] So, the number of these stories and the position they occupy in the BKM. and KSS. being different, we have to account for this difference as only due to the two writers adhering to the number &c., which their manuscript sources contained.[27]

The order and some details concerning the Vetāla tales as contained in the KSS. are again different from those in the BKM. (For detailed information see Penzer's *Ocean of Story* and also Speyer's *Studies*, pp. 37 ff.).

IV. *Difference in descriptions and stutis*

We have also to note that the trend of the descriptions, *stutis* etc. that we come across in the two works in corresponding places is different. S. Lévi and Speyer[28] have remarked that 'Kṣemendra has a relish for expatiating in erotic matters'. F. Lacote observes 'To compare the stories in detail...would only show the bad taste of Kṣemendra, now dry, now verbose and affected, delighting at times in erotic pictures at other times in pious amplifications.' In

26 See *ZII.*, p. 28, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah on the Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha and also F. D. K. Bosch: *De legende van Jimūtavāhana in de Sanskrit Literatur*, pp. 43 ff.

27 The following are the 5 stories contained only in the *BKM.*

1. The punished onion thief.
2. Blue jackal.
3. The cunning jackal.
4. Potter as warrior.
5. The sagacious haṃsa.

For details regarding Pañcatantra stories see *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* by Prof. Edgerton; "Das Pañcatantra" and Translation (German) of the *Tantrākhyāyikā* by Prof. Hertel; also Penzer's *Ocean of Story*, vol. V.

28 Studies about the *KSS.*

certain stories, we find even in Somadeva, unnecessary details, proper names and erotic descriptions and it is really interesting to note that when those situations are compared with the corresponding ones in Kṣemendra, many a time Ks. is silent over all these. Thus, for instance, if we take the story of Kaṇakavarṣa in Somadeva (KSS., p. 277, st. 25 ff.), it is too long with unnecessary details, names of the relations of the hero and the heroine and their country, capitals etc., and also descriptions (of a low taste) of the hero's pose when the painter went to see him (st. 40), the *jalakrīḍā* of the hero with all his wives (st. 115-121). But the corresponding story of Hiraṇyavarṇa in BKM. is brief but clear and free from unnecessary proper names and descriptions (of any bad taste).

Having really a great relish for describing such matters would Kṣemendra lose opportunities for doing so, if only his manuscripts allowed him the scope? We do not deny that it is quite probable, as Somadeva has no taste for such things, that he must have cut down the original length[29] of these descriptions considerably. Our point is that only Kṣemendra's manuscripts did not contain these matters in connection with those stories.

Similarly in the case of the *stutis*, we have many of them in the two works in corresponding situations but very often we find the trend of one differing from that of the other. An interesting instance would be the *Nārāyaṇa-stuti*.[30] Both KSS. and BKM. are in verse[31] from beginning to end. But so far as this *stuti* is concerned, the author of the BKM. has recourse to prose. His style and the matter of the *stuti* are entirely different from those of Somadeva. These undoubtedly go to confirm our view about the manuscripts they used.

29 I here refer to the probable length of these descriptions in the source of Somadeva's work.

30 BKM. p. 526; KSS. p. 171, ch. 54, Sls. 29-38.

31 The metre adopted is *Anuṣṭubh* by both writers.

V. *Absence of a few BKM. stories in the KSS. and vice versa*

A notable feature of Kṣemendra's BKM. is that it contains a few stories that are not found in the KSS. Even Prof. Speyer admits that the extra details and stories supplied by Kṣemendra are to be traced to his source—the Prakrit(?) Bṛhatkathā of Kashmir.[32] Then why should we not go a step forward and say that Somadeva is silent regarding these details and extra stories, just because the manuscript he had did not contain them? The story of Yogānanda (BKM., p. 206, st. 578 ff.) and Udayana's visit to Pātāla (BKM., p. 38, st. 57 ff.) may be pointed out here as instances of stories not found in KSS.[33] Here it might be remarked that Somadeva is so slavishly faithful to his manuscript that he narrates some stories twice and thrice over[34] only because he found them repeated in his original. Then would he omit to narrate a few stories (noted above) if he had them in his original?

Also there is a good number of stories found only in the KSS. but not in the BKM. which again supports our view. The following are a few of such stories: Story of Karṣaka (KSS., p. 146, st. 31 ff.) Uṣā and Aniruddha (KSS., p. 137, st. 11 ff.); Nahuṣa and Śaci (KSS., p. 139, st. 75 ff.); Ruru and Pramadvarā (KSS., p. 47, st. 76 ff.).

VI. More details in BKM

Another fact that has been noticed by scholars is that Kṣemendra's brevity makes him unintelligible and his style is far from being easy and flowing and that "in his excessive eagerness for brevity, he sometimes becomes obscure". But such a poet who in his narration is brief, to the utmost extent, gives us at times more information, details, etc. regarding certain persons and incidents than the KSS. in corresponding stories. This is explained by

32 Studies about the *KSS.*

33 There are the five Pañcatantra stories also (see fn. 27) not found in the *KSS.*

34 See Sect. VIII.

Prof. Speyer[35] as due to Soma.'s neglecting or missing a few details while narrating an elaborate *Kathā*. But, if the Professor were free of the presupposition that both Kṣ. and Soma. worked on a common recension, he would have certainly concluded from this, that the additional details or information Kṣ. gives us was only in the manuscript he had secured and not in the one with Soma. Here I would like to acquaint the readers with a few such cases.

BKM.	*KSS.*
P. 406, 57-58. The Brahmin gives an account of his own story: how he got back even his dead wife.	t. 123, st. 341. He simply says that he got back even his dead wife (here he does not say how he got her).
P. 486, st. 213. Bhavaśarman kills the witch too.	Nil.
P. 168, st. 122. Rambhā instructs Suṣeṇa that he should not ask her who she was and on that condition she lives with him.	t. 28, st. 60 ff. No such condition.
P. 453, st. 44-49. Vegavati tells how she was refused by her brother to be educated, how she then went to her father's hermitage where she set a peacock to dance in an excellent way, when she was carried away by a demon and how the sages became angry upon him at which his curse came to an end and she too returned to her father who was pleased to give necessary instructions for her education.	t. 105, st. 68. Her brother refuses to educate her. She anyway becomes educated after suffering much by the favour of her father.
P. 69, st. 18 ff. Vahillaka is an employee (minister) of Viśākhila a merchant and the latter sends him out to sell precious stones.	t. 15, st. 85 ff. Yaillaka is the son of a merchant and goes to another island on some important business.
P. 124, st. 112 ff. Vijayadatta asks his father to bring some fire from the burning pyre; compelled by him the father Govindasvāmin goes to bring it, but Vijaya follows him to the *Śmaśāna*, breaks the Kapāla and when later he goes to kill his father he is called away by an unknown voice and his name then is Prakaṭadaṃṣtra. Still later on, the demons call him Kapālasphoṭa and make him their chief.	t. 25, st. 95 ff. Vijaya, asks the father to take him to the burning fire in the *Śmaśāna*. The father does so out of love for his child. There Vijaya breaks the Kapāla and then goes to kill his father when he is called away by some unknown voice—'Oh lord! Kapālasphoṭa come away.'

35 Studies about the *KSS.*

P. 179-80, st. 265-69. Kaliṅgasenā asks her friend Somaprabhā to show her her (So.'s) husband Nalakūbara; then So. advises her that she should not ask for such things and that it is bad for a young maiden of her kind to be seen by a youth of loose character etc.	Nil.

Also note that the following information the BKM. gives is not to be found in the KSS.:

BKM. p. 522, st. 158-165.

VII. *More names in BKM*

This point by itself might appear a minor one; but considered along with the previous point, it certainly goes to prove that the original sources of Somadeva and Kṣemendra were different. In the BKM. we find a number of proper names that the KSS. does not contain. 'Stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* are, many a time, of anonymous persons[36] but in the BKM. the dramatis personae of the corresponding stories are always clear.' We cannot attribute this difference to either the 'caprice' of the writers or "the childish liking" for proper names of Kṣemendra, as we find also in Somadeva plenty of unnecessary proper names, that too where Kṣemendra is unusually precise and brief (cf. story of Vidyādharī, KSS., t. 56, st. 80 ff. and BKM., p. 534, st. 300 ff.; story of Kanakavarṣa KSS., p. 277 and BKM., p. 531).

VIII. *Repetition of stories*

Another point worth noticing is that both BKM. and KSS. contain some stories told twice and thrice, of course on different

36 Cf. *BKM.* 95-327 & *KSS.* t. 20-37; *BKM.* 61-190 & *KSS.* t. 13-93; *BKM.* 47-117 ff. & *KSS.* t. 10.

occasions. Many a time the version of the BKM. differs from that of the KSS. To mention a few instances here:

	KSS.	*BKM.*
Story of Jimūtavāhana	t. 22 st. 16-257	L. 4 st. 50-108-9
	t. 90 „ 3-201	L. 9. II „ 776-930
„ Anaṅgarati	t. 52 „ 92-409	P. 326 „ 101-165
	t. 83 „ 5-31	P. 518 „ 473-486
„ Viravara	t. 53 „ 86-193	L. 15 „ 189-193
	t. 78 „ 5-120	L. 9. II „ 263-332
„ Unmādinī	t. 15 „ 63-78	L. 3 „ 23-35
	t. 33 „ 62-66	
	t. 91 „ 3-45	L. 9. II „ 937-969
„ Caṇḍamahāsena & Aṅgāraka	t. 11 „ 31-73	L. 2. II „ 27
	t. 112 „ 26-60	L. 18 „ 109

IX. *Divergences in stories*

Some scholars like Bühler and Speyer[37] have noticed some difference even in the case of certain stories told by Soma. and Kṣ. and they try to explain it as due to Kṣ.'s handling such stories freely, so that they might agree with the Purāṇic versions. For a moment, we might be inclined to agree with them if the divergences were only with the Purāṇic stories. However we are going to point out presently, that the divergence is in the case of stories other than Purāṇic also. Hence if we should account for this satisfactorily, we shall be obliged to trace the divergence to the sources of the two works BKM. and KSS.

An account of three non-Purāṇic stories is given below for purposes of comparison:

Story of Bhavaśarman.

BKM., p. 485, st. 205 ff.

A brahmin, Bhavaśarman by name, once strikes Sumadā, who in revenge turns him into an ox (महाशृंग). A *yoginī* seeing it restores him to his original form, though her follower counsels her not to do so. By chance Sumadā passes by at that time, sees this and threatens the *yoginī* saying "I will come to-morrow and kill you for this." The *yoginī* then says to Bhava° "Come to-morrow with your sword. Sumadā will come here in the form of

KSS. t. 37 st. 148 ff.

The ox is later sold to some one who uses it for carrying heavy articles. While he was leading the ox one day, a *yoginī* named *Bandhamocinī* sees it and when he was away frees the ox from that form and Bhava° regains his original human form. The man who had lost the ox, goes and reports the matter to Sumadā, who once notices Bhava° with the *yoginī*. Then she warns her that she will kill her and Bhava° the next day. Bhava° is ready

37 *IA.*, I, l.c. Speyer: *Op. cit.*

a black mare I shall fight her as a white mare; you kill her with the sword." On the morning when the two mares were fighting Bhava° killed the black mare, the white mare and also the disciple of the *yogini* and went home.

(The monkey narrates this tale of Bhava° to Niścayadatta).

with his sword the next day at the house of the *yogini* and with the help of the *yogini* who becomes a red horse kills Sumadā who appeared there in the form of a black horse.

Story of Hiraṇyavarṇa.

BKM., p. 531.

Hiraṇyavarṇa king of Kāñcanapura married Madana-manjari daughter of King of Vidarbha. Once Hir° had bad dreams and so tried to propitiate Kumāra but as the function was not well performed he was cursed by Kumāra to lose his dear ones.

The King too forgot in due course, all about the dream and lived happily with his wife. After some time his wife gave birth to a son but on the 7th day after delivery a certain lady entered the room and carried away the child. Madana° also followed her even into the pool which the lady had entered with the child. The king became miserable and while wandering, once he was advised by Bandhudatta to propitiate Pārvati. That he did and later his wife and child were restored to him by Pārvati.

KSS., p. 277, st. 25. ff. (See also VII)

Kanakavarṣa, king of Kanakapura marries Madanaśundari daughter of King of Vidarbha. He has some dreams which are interpreted to give him separation from his wife and son. But he has no son. So he is uneasy. Then his father's sister a Nāgi, by name *Ratnaprabhā*, advises him to propitiate Kumāra. He does so and has a son. But the child is taken away by a lady on the 6th night and the mother follows the lady and enters a pool. Being very miserable on account of the separation from his wife and son the king goes to Vindhya once and there meets a Vidyādhara originally named Bandhumitra who advises him to propitiate Goddess Vindhyavāsini. He goes there accordingly, or rather he is taken there by the Śabaras and there Vindhyavāsini is pleased. Later his father's sister, the Nāgi, restores to him his wife and son.

Story of Somaka.

BKM., p. 59, st. 167-8.

Somaka had an only son and on the advice of Brahmins he sacrificed *jantūnām anutam* and got 100 sons.

Story of Jantu.

KSS., p. 41, st. 57 ff.

A king had an only son named Jantu and 105 wives. Once he felt it better to have many sons. Brahmins advised him to sacrifice the flesh of his only son, whereby he would get plenty of sons. That being done he got as many sons as he had wives.

Also, compare the Sūryaprabha Lambaka which is full of divergences.

X. *Difference in proper names*

Now coming to the difference in proper names, the list we have to give is fairly long but not exhaustive. Had the two writers used a common original, certainly they would not have differed even regarding proper names. So this leaves us no option but to con-

clude that they must have worked on two different recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, available in Kashmir.

(i) Proper names *entirely different* in corresponding stories.

साकञ्जिकापुरी,[38]—आकर्षिका ; वसुवर्मन्-सुशर्मन् : रजनिक-बन्धुमती : कपिला-तिमिरा ; शिवधर्मन्-गुणवर्मन् ; हुकि-कृत ; भद्र-रुद्र ; योगिनी-बन्धमोक्षिणी ; विभूतिसोम-विरूपशर्मन् ; श्रीकण्ठपुर-विलासपुर ; सुरम्भ-सुरोह : विरूप-विकटवदन ; हिरण्यवर्ण-कनकवर्ष ; सुन्दरी-विद्याधरी ; ईशानधर्मन्-ईश्वरवर्मन् ; हेमवती-हिमालय, रोहितक-(tree) रोहिणी ; मारीच-मरीचि ; सरोलक्ष्मी-श्री (goddess); श्रुतिसोम-भूतिशिव ।

(ii) *Partly different.*

(a) *Synonymous names:—*

हेमप्रभ-कनकप्रभ ; हिरण्यवर्ष-रत्नवर्ष ; कनकलेखा-कनकरेखा ; पद्मप्रभ-कमलप्रभ ; काञ्चन-पुर कनकपुर ; हेमपुर-काञ्चनपुर ; रत्नप्रभ-हेमप्रभ ; सागरदत्त-समुद्रदत्त ; अभय-विगतभय ।

(b) *Other names:—*

अग्निसोम-अग्निशिख ; देवसोम-देवस्वामिन् ; पञ्चचूड-पञ्चशिख ; धनगुप्त-धनदत्त ; वह्निक-यज्ञक ; हालभूति-फलभूति ; विदिशा-विदेह ; सिंहवती-सिंहश्री ; शंकरदत्त-शंकरस्वामिन् ; उत्पल, उत्पलक उत्स्थल : समुद्रमत्स्य-समुद्रदत्त ; विद्युन्मती-विद्युत्प्रभा ; श्येनजित्-प्रसेन-जित् ; पवनसेन-यवनसेन ; कर्पूरमञ्जरी[39]-कर्पूरिका ; कर्पूरद्वीप-कर्पूरसंभव (city); कर्पूर-चन्द्र (King) कर्पूरक ; त्यागसेन-परित्यागसेन ; महाबल बाहुबल ; वज्रधर-राज्यधर ; मातापरा-मानपरा ; कान्तिमती-कीर्तिमती ; कुमुदिका-कुमुदवती ; सुवासस्-सुवासकुमार ; सुन्दर (आख्य) city-श्रीसुन्दरपुर ; मुक्ताद्वीप, मुक्तापुर-मुक्तिपुर ; अशोकवन-अशोककर ; अनङ्गवती-अनङ्गरती ; पञ्चपुर-पञ्चघट्टिक ; सागरदत्त-सागरवर्मन् ; कमलिनी-कमलवती ; समुद्रदत्त-समुद्रवर्मन् ; लक्षपुर-लक्षपुर ; लक्षदत्त-लक्षदत्त ; (राजा) नन्दि-राजवन्दिन् ; विक्रमतुङ्ग-समरतुङ्ग ; यशोधर्मन्-यशोवर्मन् ; मदनमञ्जरी-मदनसुन्दरी ; बन्धुदत्त-बन्धुमित्र ; कमल (अभिदनगर)-देवकमलपुर ; सार्थवर-सार्थधर ; तारावलोक-तारावर्मन् ; रत्नधर्मन्-रत्नवर्मन् ; यमजिह्व-यमजीव ; मकरदंष्ट्री-मकरकटी ; बलवर्त्मन्-बलवर्मन् ; शीलवर-शीलहर ; काञ्चन-काञ्चनाभ ; चन्द्राक्ष-भद्राक्ष ; विलासशील-विनयशील ।

38 The first name in each of these pairs belongs to the *BKM.* and the second to *KSS.* The passages in the *BKM.* and *KSS.* where these names occur can be found out easily by the reader, with the help of the Index in the printed editions of the *BKM.* (Nirṇayasāgara Press) and in the *Ocean of Story* (translation of the *KSS.*) of Tawney—ed. Penzer.

39 Prof. Lacote and many others hold that Kṣemendra always chose a shorter form of the proper names. But, these instances go to show that this view is not correct.

(iii) *Slightly different.*

पाटला-पाटली ; दीपकर्ण-दीपकर्णी ; सङ्गमक-सङ्गतक ; रूपिणी-रूपिणिका ; तेजोवती-तेजस्वती ; कालक-काल ; दुःखलब्धा-दुःखलब्धिका ; कञ्चुक-कम्बुक ; मङ्कण-मङ्कणक ; सुमदा-सोमदा ; लम्बभुज-प्रलम्बभुज ; सुमानस-सुमनस् ; प्रियकर-प्रियंकर ; ज्योतिःप्रभ-ज्योतिष्प्रभ ।

Recapitulating in conclusion, we may state that (1) the difference in the order of the lambakas; (2) the difference in the order and contexts of sub-stories; (3) the difference in the number of the Pañcatantra stories; (4) the difference in descriptions and *stutis;* (5) absence of some BKM. stories in the KSS. and *vice versa;* (6) more details in the BKM. than in the KSS., (7) more proper names in the BKM.; (8) repetition of a few stories in both the works; (9) striking divergence in stories, and (10) the remarkable difference in proper names—all these leave us no option but to conclude that the BKM. and the KSS. are to be traced to different sources. One of these i.e. the source of the BKM. must have been in the Paiśāci language (a kind of Prakrit) as it is clear from Kṣemendra's statement—

पिशाचवाचि पतिता सञ्जाता विघ्नदायिनी
अतः सुखनिषेव्यासौ कृता संस्कृतया गिरा ।

in the *upasaṃhāra* of his work. But in the case of the other, i.e. the source of the KSS., there is nothing on which we could rely and say that it was also in a Paiśāci language.[40]

S. RANGACHAR

40 Lacote, Bühler and others hold that Somadeva worked on a Prakrit original, basing their arguments on the words *bhāṣā ca bhidyate*. It is not possible to believe that this means that the original was in Prakrit and that Somadeva chose Sanskrit for his composition. Those words may mean that the writer has narrated the tales in his own words—not in the words of the writer or compiler of his source.

Raja Ramnarain

The mid-18th century, in Indian history, is a period when the mighty Mughal empire was in a state of disintegration. The central authority lost all vitality and the provincial governors were usurping all powers. They appointed their own Naibs and Agents and also their successors with but nominal concurrence of the faineant sovereigns. At times, and here and there, we find settled government and a genuine attempt at a strong and able administration, but, peace and order was wanting throughout Hindusthan. The revivalist spirit amongst the Hindus and the Afghan Mussulmans, the rise of ambitious and enterprising adventurers, both native and foreign, and the diplomacy of the merchants of the West were the causes of anarchy and disorder, chaos and confusion, that set in after Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 and began to reign supreme after the "removal of the recognised heads of the old order", both in the North and the South, in 1748-49. The field of fortune was open to every one who could wield a sword and a gun or use his intellectual gifts and talent for intrigues.

The history of the Eastern provinces, no less than that of the rest of India, is a "complex subject in which personalities and nationalities, diversities and contrarities, are combined and confused." Bengal, the eldorado of the east was specially the scene of repeated revolutions, dark conspiracies, tragic murders and rapid changes of government, due to the tricky ways of the upstart rulers, the gold of the bankers, the veiled hostility of the natives and the political pretensions of the astute foreign traders. Bihar, then a subject and frontier province, would hardly remain unaffected by the political situation abroad. Ambition and intrigue, violence and lawlessness had their full play and political talents often combined with literary predilections to produce heroic figures. The ever defiant Bhojporias, the adventurous Bhumihars, the talented Kayasthas, the martial Afghans, the ambitious Iranis and even a

fugitive Prince-Imperial were the chief actors of the political drama that was played in Bihar from the forties to the sixties of the 18th century.

But by far the most interesting and fascinating personality and one of the greatest personalities of the period in the history of Bihar was a son of the soil of Bihar who was at first a silent spectator of, and very soon a principal participator in, the political affairs whose scene of activities were laid in this province. He was Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn, the poet-politican of Bihar, whose antecedents are shrouded in obscurity.

Contemporary historians tell us little about the early life and family history of this great Biharee. Fortunately, unlike other political characters in Indian history, Raja Ram Narain was an eminent man of letters and a distinguished poet of Persian, and as such, attracted the attention of many such people as had nothing to do with politics. Regarding the parentage of Ram Narain, the standard historians tell us nothing beyond the name of his father and his caste. Only one of them, Ghulam Husain, the Patna historian, refers to his early connection with the family of Aliwardi, Mahabat Jang,[1] but he is silent about the position and personality of Ranglal, who has been mentioned[2] as the father of Raja Ram Narain. Karam Ali[3] and Kalyan Singh,[4] indeed, write about one Ranglal who was "a good chieftain" and who had been "deputed by Aliwardi (in the battle of Gheria, April 1740), with a contingent of troops against Habibullah Khan and Ghous Khan, who led the vanguard of Sarfarāz's army." But we have to ascertain that this very Ranglal was the father of Raja Ram Narain. A gentleman of this name appears in the Calendar of Persian[5] correspondence as late as

1 *Seyar-ul-Mutākhirin* (Nawal Kishore Press, p. 593).
2 *Ibid.*, p. 593; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffari*, Ms. O.P.L. p. 399a.
3 *Muzaffarnama*, Ms. (O.P.L.) p 298.
4 *Khulaṣat-ut-Tawarikh*, Ms. (O.P.L.) p. 80b.
5 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. I, p. 11.

March 1759. But we can dismiss this Ranglal, for he was probably the Brahmin spy referred to by Mr. Hill in his book *Bengal in 1756-57*. It is strange that even Raja Durga Prashad, a representative of Raja Ram Narain, and a compiler of his Diwan,[6] or collection of poems, says nothing about his ancestors, though he furnishes us with the valuable information about village Kishunpur of the Pergana of Sassaram in the district of Shahabad, having been the *Watan-i-maloof* or the dear native place of the Raja. Fortunately about half a dozen manuscripts of the Patna Oriental Library afford us much that is important. We know, for instance, from the evidence of Brindaban Das, Khushgo[7] of Mathura, Mir Ghulam Haider Bilgrami[8] of Patna, Lakshmi

6 *Diwan-i-Mauzūn,* (Rai Mathura Prashad's manuscript). also printed by Nawal Kishore Press, 1870.

7 *Safina-i-Khushgo* (O.P.L. Ms. No. 225-690). A very rare and valuable Taḍkirah of Persian poets by Brindaban Das, a Hindu of Bais caste and a native of Mathura, who had adopted *Khushgo* (eloquent) as his pen-name. Sirajuddin Ali Khan Ārzu, (died in 1169-1755), the well known author and critic, writes in his great work, *Makjma'-un-Nafáis* (O.P.L. Ms. p. 137) that Khushgo enjoyed the company of such eminent poets as Baidil, Sarkhush and Gulshan and was his own constant companion for 25 years. After spending his days in piety at Allahabad till the murder of its Governor, Nawab 'Umdatul-mulk Amir Khan, Anjam, to whom he dedicated his chief work, he began to reside at Benares and Azimabad (Patna). We learn from Khushgo's own work, the biographical dictionary referred to above, that 'when he visited Patna for the first time', he could "set his temper right through the attention of that purchaser of hearts" i.e. (Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn) and that it was through "the Raja's recommendation that he secured service and means of livelihood from the Sarkar of the Martyr-Nawab, Haibat Jang." We read further "Even now when I happen to go to 'Azimabad, I do so to see that incomparable friend and he looks after me even during my stay at Benares." We find mention of "a bill of exchange worth Rs 863, by way of daily allowance for the passed days of Lala Khushgo" in a letter, dated year 5th. i.e. 1752-3, addressed to Raja Ram Narain. According to the author of *Gul-i-Rāna,* Khushgo died at Azimabad (Patna) in 1170/1756 (*G.R.*, p. 269).

8 A contemporary of Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn, whose account of the Raja, sent from Azimabad, has been embodied, verbatim, in his valuable work by Raja Lachmi Narain, Shafiq, noticed below. (*G.R.*, p. 280b).

Narain, Shafique[9] of Aurangabad, Husain Quli Khan Ishq[10] and Wazir Ali, Ibrati[11] of Azimabad, that the father of Raja Ram Narain was Rangalal and that he was a Srivastav Kayastha and a Diwan in the service of Nawab Aliwardi, Mahabat Jang the Nazim of Bengal. The first three state that Diwan Ranglal was distinguished for his bravery and generosity,[12]" was, in fact, "incomparable and unequalled in these and other virtues,[13]" that "he played a prominent part in the country of Bihar and its neighbourhood,"[14] "that" he enjoyed power and prestige in the Sarkar of Mahabat Jang and that he sacrificed his life for his master in the battle fought against Sarfarāz Khan."[15] Thus, though we may regret the silence of the contemporary historians about such an important fact as Ranglal's office and position, yet in view of Aliwardi's association with Bihar as its deputy Governor for about half a dozen years,[16] his expedition, shortly after his assumption of office, against

9 *Gul-i-Rāna* (O.P.L. Ms. 234-701) is also a biographical dictionary of Persian poets with extracts from their work, commenced, by Lachmi Narain, Shafiq of Aurangabad in 1181/1767 and completed in 1180/1768. Besides being the author of a large number of books, Shafiq like the other members of his family, served the Nizam of Hyderabad for a long time and was thoroughly acquainted with the political situation elsewhere. He says about Srivastav Kayasthas that the writers of this community—generally filled up the offices of the kings and nobles of India (p. 273a *G.R.*).

10 *Nashtar-i-'Ishq*. (O.P.L. Ms. 242-717). Perhaps the fullest and the most extensive of the biographical dictionaries of ancient and modern poets, compiled between 1224-1809 and 1233-1818 by Husain Quli Khan, Ishq, of Patna. Only the Index of names of both the volumes of this monumental work covers 30 pages.

11 *Riyād-ul-Afkār*. (O.P.L., Ms. 1783), a book of epistolary specimens (with brief notices) of their writers, including Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn, and compiled by Wazir 'Ali, Ibrati, of Patna, who was a well known figure in the literary circle of the early 19th century in Bihar." A manuscript copy of his work, "Jame-i-Jahān Nūma, a history in Persian of British domination from their advent to the defeat of Sher Singh of the Punjab, and belonging to Madrassā Sulaimānia, Patna City, is just before the writer of these lines. The copy is dated 1272/1855.

12 *S.K.*, 21b; *G.R.*, 180b. 13 *S.K.*, 216b.

14 Bilgrami, quoted in *G.R.*, 280b.

15 *G.R.*, 280b; T. N. I. p. 1713a; *S.K.*, 21b.

16 *M.N.*, 140; 27b; Wāqi'āt-i-Mahābat Jang (Patna College Ms.).

the refractory Zamindars of Bhojpore and Shahabad,[17] a district so full of Srivastava Kayasthas and reputed to be the home of Raja Ram Narain,[18] his attempt to restore and re-organize the government with the help of the Hindus whom he favoured so much,[19] and lastly the admitted financial and administrative abilities[20] of the Kayasthas, we have little or no reason to doubt the authenticity of several contemporary works of literary criticism, specially when they are practically unanimous on the point.

There is no such unanimity, however, in regard to the home and birth-place of the Raja. We have already referred to the solitary evidence in favour of village Kishunpur of Sassaram Pergana. This is practically supported by a very reliable authority named Brindāban Dāss, Khushgo of Mathura who died at Patna in 1170/1756 and was indebted to and intimate with, Raja Ram Narain.[21] He writes in his work that "the Sarkar of Sassaram was the Watan-i-qadim or the original home of "Mauzūn." "Ibrati, a writer of the early 19th century, gives an altogether different version when he says that Mauzūn was born in one of the villages in the suburbs of Patna[22]." A much more vague and perplexing information is supplied by Lachhmi Narain, Shafiq, who is closely followed by Husain Quli Khan, Ishq. We are told that Raja Ram Narain was one of the inhabitants of Mag or Magha, among the dependencies or environs (Tawabe) of the Subah of Azimabad.[23] Magha presents a difficulty as the term is sometimes applied to the whole of South Bihar, especially Patna and Gaya. However, in view of the family tradition as represented by "Raja Durga Prasad and supported by

17 *M.N.*, 15b. 16a; the date given is 1146-47 A.H.
18 *D.M.*, (Preface), *S.K.*, 216b.
19 R. Orme's *Hindostan*, vol. II, p. 53; Mill, III, p. 172.
20 *G.R.*, 273a vide footnote above.
21 *S.K.*, 216b vide footnote above.
22 *R.A.*, (Ms. O. P. L.) p. 104b.
23 *G.R.*, 280b, *T. N. I.* 1713a.

Khushgo's evidence one cannot help to come to the tentative conclusion that the ancestral home of Raja Ram Narain was in the district of Shahabad but the family had migrated to Patna and settled down in its suburbs. In fact the remains of his family residence are still pointed out by his representatives in *Rānipore ki khirki,* beyond the railway line south of Mahalla Mughalpura of Patna City, which is still in their possession.

A more obscure point than those of parentage and accestral home is the birth date or the age of the Raja. There are certain facts, however, which may help us in ascertaining his probable age. The author of the Seyar writes that the Raja, "had been bred and brought up from his very youth in Aliwardi's family".[24] This is confirmed by the Raja himself, as is evident from numerous expressions in his own letters.[25] A further corroboration is available in

24 *S.M.,* 593 (Persian text).

25 Such as "your hereditary slave", "one bred and instructed by your excellency and the martyr Nawab", "the child of your slave," "I swear by the cherishing I owe," "the fostering shadow of his excellency and the martyr Nawāb."

Dastur-ul-Inshā (pp. 214b, 212a, 161a, 210a, 200b etc.). This very valuable manuscript contains a large collection of disarranged private and official letters, sanads, short orders and news letters, mostly written by or addressed to Maharaja Ram Narain and other contemporary personages, regarding the transactions in Bihar and Bengal, and occasionally throwing light on historical events elsewhere. Sifdar Jang's expedition to Bihar, 1742-43 (pp. 271b-272a) is the subject of probably the earliest letter in the collection and the latest event recorded in the body of the book appears to be that connected with Ram Narain's replacement by Raj Ballabh as deputy governor of Bihar in 1174/1761 (169a, b). The bulk of the book is devoted to the affairs concerning the regime of, the celebrated Naib Nazim of Bihar, 1752-61. Munshi Bijay Singh, son of Kesari Singh of Lucknow who compiled the work with the assistance of his son Lekhraj, says that he was a companion of Rai Mansa Ram, the Foujdar of Tirhut, (a cousin of Rai Basant Ram, the son in law of Raja Ram Narain—*S.M.,* 708, *D.I.,* 328a) "whose overthrow by Mir Quasim in 1175/1761 led to the dispersal of all the old letters and documents." Some of these were collected in 1183/1769 when Syed Wali-ullah Khan was the Foujdar of Tirhut, by Qazi Shaikh Salabat Ali for "the elementary education of his sons and brothers" (315b-316a). The copy is dated 1201/1786-87 and belongs to the (rather ruined) library of Maharaja Ram Narain, now in possession of his representative, Rai Mathura Prashad, of Maharajghat, Patna city.

the copy of a Parwana of Aliwardi, Mahabat Jang, appointing the Raja, Naib of Bihar, at the beginning of 1752.[26] Now, Aliwardi had no connection with Bihar before his appointment as its deputy governor in 1145/1732, according to Karam Ali[27] or in the 15th year of Muhammad Shah's reign, that is 1145-46 which is the date suggested by Yusuf Ali.[28] Even if we accept as a fact rather the vague and undated reference in the Diwan to the Raja's visit to Murshidabad, there is no evidence at all of his coming into contact with or entering the service of Aliwardi during the latter's stay in Orissa (1132/1719—1140/1727)[29] or in the period of his Faujdari of Akbarnagar (1140/1727—1145/1732).[30] Two letters of the Raja definitely tell us that he began his life as a 'Moharrir' or writer on Rs. 5/-[31] which, considering the family status and the position of his father, must have been at a very early age and just as a sort of apprenticeship to fit him for more responsible jobs which, as we shall see, he was soon favoured with. That his talents and good fortune enabled him to rise almost beyond his age to the important position of the Diwan of the province of Bihar may be conceded. Lala Khushgo, who completed his valuable work sometime between 1748 and 1752,[32] makes very significant remarks:—"*He* (*Mauzun*)

26 You refuge of eminence and dignity who have been brought up by me in place of a son and are the strength of my arms". *Dastur-ul-Inshā* 21a.

27 *M.N.*, 14a.

28 *A.A.*, 64; Stewart's date 1729-30 is decidedly wrong. *History of Bengal*, p. 420.

29 *M.N.*, 9b.

30 *Ibid.*, 12b. The author of Seyar is wrong in mentioning Zainuddin (Mirza Mohd. Hashim) as Foujdar of Akbarnagar or Rajmahal (*S.M.*, p. 447*2*) for Yusuf 'Ali, (*A.A.*, 4), Mohammad 'Ali (*T.M.*, 214), Ghulam Husain (*Reyāḍus salatin*, p. 194) Salimullah (Gladwin's Translation, 77) Scott. (Deccan, 314) are unanimous that Aliwardi was given that post by Shujā'uddin.

31 Dastūr: 172a, 209b.

32 This is to be inferred from Khushgo's mention of Haibat Jang as the "Martyr Nawab" and of his patron, Raja Ram Narain, as a "Diwan of the Subedar of Azimabad". This Subedar was obviously Raja Janki Ram a Bengali, who was appointed as such on the murder of Haibat Jang in 1748 with Raja Ram Narain

is a young man endowed with excellent qualities, both external and internal. Very courteous and kind, he is ever a faithful and sympathetic friend. *He always shuns the company of the wicked and the vicious*.....one of his good qualities is the appreciation of verses and the patronage of poets. Straightforwardness is his another virtue. *He has been distinguished for sometime by holding the post of the Diwān of the Subedār of Azimabād.*[33]"

According to the compiler of his Diwan, the "Raja was married in his *Shabāb* or "bloom of youth" to the daughter of Rāy-i-Rāyān, the Diwan of Sultān-i-Hind, at whose recommendation he repaired to Murshidabad and succeeded in obtaining within a short time his appointment as the Naib-Nazim of Bihar.[34] "There are obvious flaws in this statement. In the first place, the bare mention of Rāy-i-Rāyān, rather a common title of the Chief financiers, cannot help us in establishing the identity of the Raja's father-in-law. Secondly, there is the sudden promotion to Naibship and a certain confusion which ignores the necessary links. Thirdly, there is no mention of the position and the services of the father which must have prepared the way, to a great extent, for the son's exaltation as is evident from such statements of Husain Quli Khan and Wazir Ali, Ibrati as:—(a) "He became a recipient of the Nawab's favour in recognition of the services of his father",[35] (b) Mauzūn's claim for his father's office

as his Peshkar or Diwan till his death at the beginning of 1752. The compiler of the catalogue of O.P.L., Patna, has blindly followed Rieu in giving wrong dates for the completion of Khushgo's work between 1147/1734 and 1155/1742. This may be the date of the first two parts of *Safinae Khushgo*, which, according to Ārzus' *Majama'-un-nafāes*, completed in 1164/1750, (see p. 112a, b) was dedicated to Nawab Amir Khan, Anjām of Allahabad (murdered 1159/1746 *SM.*, 858) but the rare Patna Manuscript which forms the third part and contains a short account of Mauzūn must be assigned to a much later date, specially because of the personal note struck therein regarding the author's relation with Raja Ram Narain, the Diwan of Patna.

33 *S.K.*, p. 116. 34 *D.M.*, (Preface). 35 *T.N.I.*, 1713a.

was based on the services of the latter".[36] Moreover, Ram Narain's own capacity and attainments and Aliwardi's natural leanings cannot be ignored altogether. But the time of the marriage and the position of the father-in-law are certainly two valuable points that emerge out of the quotations.

Now there are numerous references and several letters addressed to Rai Basant Ram of Lucknow, who had married the only issue[37] of Raja Ram Narain, named *Mainā Bibi,* but none of these take us back earlier than the year 1758. In fact, the sudden appearance and ceremonial receptions of Basant Ram and the characteristic greetings of the respective fathers-in-law in the 5th year of the accession,[38] that is, 1758-59 naturally lead us to presume the performance of the marriage about that very year. Ordinarily 14 is the marriage-

36 *R.A.,* 104b.

37 *D.M.*. Exhibits nos. 545, 546, 547, of the Historical Exhibition held at Patna in December, 1930.

38 Dastur: 70a to 86b. We learn from the letters that Rai Basant Ram set off from Lucknow, leaving Rai Gulab Rai (presumably his father) there, on the 5th Rabi I, year 5th of accession, and after paying his obeisance to the great Persian Poet, Hazin, at Benares, as recommended by Raja Ram Narain (77a) he proceeded to Patna, where, on his arrival on Wednesday, the 4th Rabi II, year 5th, he was made to put on his *Jorah* or the marriage suit (79a). The mention of *Muklāvā* ceremony (bringing home a wife for the first time) and of the escort provided by the father-in-law (73b, 79a), of the passionate yearnings after seeing the beloved ones soon (80a, 83a etc.) and the attitude of helplessness shown by the bride's father in the matter of Rukhsati tell their own tales. Again references to the "thick air and the cloudy sky" and "want of ease and tranquility of mind" (81b) and to the "unsettled state of the Subah" and "the constant anxiety about money" even though His Excellency had bestowed on the writer a pearl necklace before his departure" (75b) are very significant about the time and the occasion. A letter dated 8th Shaban year 5th refers to performance of the inevitable ceremonies connected with marriage in Baisakh "and reminds the writer of the promise to send back the light of the eyes" (Basant Ram) and also incidentally mentions that His Excellency had left the city for Murshidabad but was yet encamped at Baikunthpore (almost 8 miles from Patna) and had not granted him leave to depart (79b-80a). Another letter dated 13th ziqa'd year 5th informs us that the writer lay at a distance of 70 kos from the city and was engaged in fighting and capturing the forts of Bihsun Singh, the Zamindar (of Seres Kutumba).

able age of girls in this part of the country and if the daughter is the first born, then the age of the father may be reasonably fixed between 35 and 40. The fact that Basant Ram's influence with Raja Beni Bahadur of Oudh is referred to as salutary to the government of Bihar and that he was recommended for the title of Raja to Mir Jafar[39] show that this was not a case of early marriage.[40] In fact, Raja Ram Narain, when Khusgo wrote his work and spoke about him as a Diwan, may have been somewhere between 29 or 33 and 34 or 38, and, therefore, his admiring biographer was not unjustified in describing him as a young man. Taking everything into consideration we may not be far from the truth if we take the year 1714 or 1719 or thereabout as the probable date of Raja Ram Narain's birth. At any rate, we have reasons to presume that the Raja was within his teens when he first came into touch with Aliwardi and his nephew and could be therefore bred and brought up by them. There is no doubt that the unfortunate Raja met his watery grave in 1763 when he was not yet fifty.[41]

Now we know that Nawab Mir Jafar had his last interview with Raja Ram Narain at Barh about 34 miles east of Patna, on the 30th May 1758 (Broome, p. 200) and that soon after the departure of the Nawab, the Naib of Patna had marched out to punish the refractory Bishun Singh of Seres Kutumba (*S.M.*, 657). These things as well as the mention in the succeeding letters of the commotions caused by the Shahzada in Bihar leave little doubt about the date of the Muklāvā or the Rukhsati ceremony of marriage.

39 Dastūr: 108b, 109a.

40 *Ibid.*: 103b, 110b. Even if we allow the first preliminaries of marriage to have taken place on a much earlier occasion, the final ceremony or the consummation of marriage cannot but be dated about the year 1758-59.

41 The Raja was drowned to death by Mir Qasim in 1177/1763 (*S.M.* 734). Thus, we may summarize the results as follows:—

(A) 1719-1724 probable birth date

(B) The *evidence of youth*:—

		Probable age
Circa 1734—First contact with Aliwardi's family (*S.M.*, Dastūr): Began life as a clerk of Rs. 5/- under Aliwardi (Dastūr)		15-20.
„ 1740-1748 *Khasnavis* and *Peshkar* of Haibat Jang (*S.M.*, Dastūr)		21-29 or 26-34
„ 1748-1752 "A youngman" liable to go astray	(*S. K.*)	26-34

Like most of the Kayasthas of the time, Raja Ram Narain appears to have received his education mainly through the medium of Persian which was the official language of the day and a sure passport for securing posts under the Government and elsewhere. Raja Durga Prashad says:—"On attaining the age of discretion he (Raja Ram Narain) acquired knowledge of Persian and Arabic and accounts and gained great proficiency in writing both verse and prose." We are further told that he derived much benefit from and became a pupil of Shaikh Ali, Hazin of Isfahan.[12] The Raja's

Also "the Diwan of the Subedar of Azimabad" (*S.K., DA.*)	29-33 or 34-38
1752-1761 Naib Nazim of Bihar Subah	33-42 or 38-47
1763 Death	44-49

1719-1724 probable birth date

(C) *Evidence of own marriage*:—

Married in the "bloom of youth" (Diwan)—	probably when about 25 years old.
Birth of the first and the only daughter	do 27 years old.

(D) *Evidence of daughter's marriage*:—

1758—Daughter, probably aged 14, when first taken to his home by her husband. Father was probably 41 years old at the time. This gives 1717 as the year of the Raja's birth.

42 The Raja's Diwan or collection of poems is full of beautiful lines often combining the pen names of both the pupil and his great poetical guide, Maulana Shaikh Mohammad Ali, Hazin, 1692-1766, a name to conjure with in the history of Persian literature, fled from Persia into Hindustan to avoid the persecution of Nadir Shah in 1146/1733. His valuable memoirs, written in 1741, and translated and published in English by Balfour in 1830 contain an interesting account of his travels and throw much light on contemporary historical events but naturally make no mention of Benares or Azimabad nor of Ram Narain and his other Indian pupils (Tazkera-i-Hazin, Kujhwa Ms.). Khushgo, however, writes in his work, completed before 1753, that Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn, submitted his verses to Hazin from whom he got his pen name. *Tazkirai-Shcara* of Durga Das, completed in 1761 (O.P.L. Ms. p. 189) contains the important words "Hazin lived for some time at Azimabad whose ruler Ram Narain, is his pupil. As the climate of the place did not suit him, he left it for Benares. He is highly esteemed, admired and honoured by all, including kings and nobles." Hazin's visit to Patna has been noticed by numerous other contemporary writers but the date and duration of stay are nowhere to be found. Even a modern Urdu biographer who had access to the state library of the Maharaja of Benares fails us. His statement is that Hazin incurred the

association with, and his indebetedness to, Hazin[43] has been noticed by almost all contemporary biographers. We learn from one of

displeasure of the Delhi poets (at the time of Nadir's invasion) and he left that place after a stay of three years and some months is probably incorrect when we are told by a contemporary scholar and an intimate friend and admirer of the poet named Azad Bilgrami that the great Persian left for the east (Benares and Azimabad) after having lived at Delhi and its neighbourhood for about 14 years of his life in India (Sarva-Azad). This gives (1147 and 14) 1161/1748 as the date of Hazin's advent in Benares. But more definite and first-hand information are available in the copies of the letters written by Hazin himself which we find in Dastūr (220a-235b, 276b-281b; 289b). One letter says that Hazin was present in *Haveli* near *Idgah* in Patna City in the 6th Zilhijja year 5th of the accession, i.e. 15th November 1752 (180b) and another undated letter also speaks of his arrival at Patna (284b). The poet writes one of his letters from Azimabad (222b) and in another, apparently sent from Benares in 1753, September, (for the Civil War of Delhi and the Jats' struggle and his retirement to Faridabad are alluded to) he says that being sick of his 20 year's stay in this land he wished to sail for his native country (Persia) from the port of Hugli and on the way he proposed to stay for 2 days at Azimabad to see the addressee (230b). The poet adds that though till then he had given trouble to none, he felt compelled to request the addressee to arrange for boats on hire which might take him straight upto Hugli and to write to Fakhrut-tujjar (Khawja Wajid) to allot him a berth in the vessel bound for Basra. We may infer from them another visit of Hazin to Patna at the end of 1753, specially because the well-informed author of the *Seyar* tells us that the illustrious man came several times to Azimabad on his way to his own country of Iran, and always found himself opposed by fate" (*S.M.*, II, 177 Eg. tr.). In another characteristic letter the poet speaks of his having spent 19 years in this country (India) and of "the trying 10 months 2 years before in this very place (Benares). The letter was presumably sent to Raja Ram Narain, some time in the beginning of 1752, in response to his invitation to come to Patna for we read how the writer realised the difficulties of the summer and specially of the approaching rainy season" (289b-291a). This gives us a clue to the date of the first arrival of Hazin at Benares (1733+19−2) which may have been 1750 though it does not accord with the version of Azad given above. As regards Hazin's stay at Patna on the occasion of his first and second arrival it must have been short. Tradition says that the sight of the Ganges on the north and the Jalla water on the south of the city reminded the poet of the Mathura flood (noticed by him in his Tazkira) and consequently he left Patna for Benares where he resided till his death at the age of 77 in 1180/1766. The accomplished poet was honoured alike by Hindus, Muslims and Christian inhabitants. His letter in the Dastūr may yield more interesting materials when closely examined. Many of them have got a certain political importance for they show the subtle ways of securing diplomatic ends through non-political channels.

43 *G.R.* 250b; *S.K.*, 116; *N.F.*, *S.M.*, *M.N.*, *T.M.* etc.

them that he was already the author of a Diwan[41] when the renowned Persian poet paid a visit to Patna, probably in 1752,[45] and that it was Hazin who gave him his very appropriate poetical pen-name of "Mauzūn"[46] or well-measured. It is better to reserve for a later occasion a critical examination and a comparative study of the literary productions of Raja Mauzūn. We may only refer here to the *Diwan* and the Maktubat or the collections of poems and letters which serve as a standing testimony to the scholastic attainments and the eminent position in the sphere of literature held by "the most sagacious of the sons of Ranglal." "The ruler of the kingdom of poesy," "a glance at whose work proves his lofty imagination and erudite and polished scholarship".[47] We shall consider later the appreciative but critical remarks of such standard writers as Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, Khushgo, Ishq and others but we cannot resist the temptation of referring to the great Urdu poet and biogropher, Mir Hasan,[48] Debi Prashad and others who have not only described Raja Ram Narain Mauzūn as a poet of Persian but also of Hindi and Rekhta (Urdu) and have quoted some of his Urdu verses. Literary pursuits, however, formed only the side issue of Raja Ram Narain's life. Let us consider his political career which is of prime importance.

II

According to Ghulam Husain, the Patna historian, Raja Ram Narain's father[49] was responsible for the commencement of his official career as the private secretary or accountant of Nawab Zainuddin, Haibat Jang, the Nazim of Bihar, since the very beginning of his administration (in 1740). Perhaps this was the first

44 *G.R.*, 250. 45 Dastūr 280. *Vide* ante.
46 *G.R.*, *S.K.*, *T.N.*, *T.S.*, *D.M.*, etc. 47 *R.A.*, 194a.
48 *Tazkira-i-Mir Hasan*, Aurangabad, text p. 172.
49 *S.M.*, 593. The English translator has omitted to mention this fact p. 117, II.

important post which the Raja obtained just after the death of his father at Gheria. We do not know anything about the intermediate steps between the clerkship of Rs. 5/- and the *Peshkari* of the Bihar Governor, both referred to in several letters.[50] But that he was much more attached to the account office than to the Nawab as his private secretary is borne out not only by the evidence of Ghulam Hussian that he was appointed *Peshkar* of the Diwan,[51] but also by the fact that instead of accompanying Haibat Jang to Bengal in 1742, he was left at Patna with the historian's father, Syed Hedayat Ali Khan, who acted as the deputy governor of Bihar for a period of 8 months, 1742-1743.[52]

This is the time when Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, was sent by Emperor Muhammad Shah, to relieve the Viceroy of Bengal of Marhatta pressure. A letter of Raja Ram Narain,[53] addressed obviously to Haibat Jang, just after Safdar Jang had left Bihar, in January 1743, practically corroborates Ghulam Hussian's[54] version of the incident in respect of the mediation of Murid Khan, the Imperial Agent at Patna, the terror felt by the people of Bihar on account of the rapacity of the ferocious soldiery of Oudh, Safdar Jang's pompus entry into Patna after clearing the castle and occupying the Nawab's *Haveli* and his misappropriation of Patna elephants and cannon, etc. We also get an additional information that Raja Ram Narain was all along present in the city but had already secured his safety through Shaik Abdullah in whose garden at Mithapur the Oudh Nawab had encamped. The letter says further that though the Patna populace were panic-stricken for full 10 days "no one suffered any harm," and that

50 Dastūr: "Your slave was no better than a Moharrir (or a clerk) of Rs. 5/-" (172a) "My humble self is the same Moharrir of Rs. 5/-" (209b).

51 *S.M.*, 593.

52 *Ibid.*, 516, 520, 526. Hedayat Ali left Azimabad on the 15th Rajab 1156 i.e. Aug. 1743.

53 Dastūr: 271a-272b.

54 *S.M.*, 520-522.

Hedayat Ali Khan had taken his residence in the *Haveli* of Chintamani Das. There is a veiled[55] attempt to shield the Naib for surrendering the fort into the hands of the intruder and an emphatic contradiction of his own reported flight from the city. We may agree with Raja Ram Narain that "Patna was threatened with a great peril but fortunately escaped it" (in Dec. 1742) for Safdar Jang had to hasten to his own province to save it from Balaji Baji Rao.

We do not find any mention in the letter of the march of Balaji Baji Rao through south Bihar into Bengal, (Feb. 1743), the sack of Daudnagar, and the escape of Patna from the Marhatta incursion owing to the influence of Govind Naik, a Benares Marhatta merchant and a friend of Hedayat Ali Khan. There is also no reference to the return of Haibat Jang, the feverish anxiety with which he constructed walls, dug moats and adopted other defensive measures against another Marhatta menace which did not materialize on this occasion. We read elsewhere[56] that the Nawab crossed the Ganges and sojourned with his wife and children for more than a year, in the *Sarkar* of Tirhut, which consequently showed a marked improvement in revenue and population. We do not know if his secretary or accountant was with him during his stay in Tirhut. Haibat Jang was not destined, however, to enjoy the fruits of his labour and good work, for he was soon called back across the river to Patna to prevent its forcible occupation by the redoubtable Mustafa Khan. We cannot but admire the boldness with which he rejected the advice of his uncle, Aliwardi, to leave for Murshidabad by another route so as to avoid Mustafa Khan and made up his

55 "The keys of the fort passed into the hands of the Nawab's men without being delivered". My humble self was all along present and still remains in the City" (Dastūr, 272a, 272b). Karam Ali and Mohammad Ali, however, charge Hedayat Ali with having sought an alliance with Safdar Jang (*M.N.* 58b) and given him an access to the fort of Azimabad" (*T.M. 216b*).

56 *S.M.* 527, 528.

mind, instead, to fight down the valiant Afghan.[57] He got valuable help from his allies and official subordinates, including Raja Ram Narain.

On the occasion of the two-fold assaults on Patna by Mustafa Khan, in Safar 1158 (March, 1745) Raja Ram Narain was one of those persons of note "who were commanded to raise forces and recruit the best armed and best accoutred horsemen".[58] We find his name "fourth in the list of six commanders, each put in charge of the several brigades composing the Nawab's army, and placed at the foot of the entrenchment or rampart which they had to watch day and night."[59] Despite his first reverse near the garden of Jafar Khan owing to the spirited stand of Haibat Jang, his father Haji Ahmed and others and his own abandonment of his elephants, the wounded but intrepid Afghan appeared again after a week on Friday, the 25th Safar, 1158 (March 1745).[60] After shaking and shattering the enemies' army he, made straight towards the Nawab who valiantly held his ground but was thrown into a critical situation. Fortunately, as we are informed by Karam Ali, Raja Kirat Chand and Raja Ram Narain hastened with an effective artillery[61] and this checked the furious onset of the raging lion, who, having suffered another grievous wound, again turned back. He was chased as far as Zamania, near Ghazipore,[62] specially because

57 *S.M.*, 534-535; *M.N.*, 620. 58 *Ibid.*, 535.

59. *Ibid.*, 536. The six commanders were:—'Abdul Ali Khan (the historian's maternal uncle), Ahmad Khan, Quraishi of Daudnagar, Gaya, Raja Kirat Chand, son of Rāy-i-Rāyān Alamchand, and then the Diwan of the Patna Nazim, Raja Ram Narain, Khadim Hussian Khan of Purnea fame and Naṣir Ali Khan.

60 *M.N.*, 64a. We get a very ditailed account in Seyar, 540-542.

61 *M.N.*, 65a. Their bold and resolute action on this occasion was perhaps meant to retrieve their lost prestige, for according to Seyar, (p. 540) partly supported by *Muzuffarnāma* (64b), Raja Kirat Chand, Raja Ram Narain, Zulfiqar Khan Mewati and others had been put to flight in the very first charge by the Afghan invader.

62 *AA.*, Aliwardi wanted to penetrate into the territory of the Oudh Nawab as a retaliation for the latter's misbehaviour at Patna three years back, but the Bangarh campaign of the Emperor stood in his way.

Aliwardi had arrived in the meanwhile and joined his victorious nephew in the pursuit. After an interval of about 3 or 4 months Bengal witnessed another incursion of the Bargis at the invitation of Mustafa Khan, which necessitated the hasty departure of the Nawab of Bengal towards Murshidabad. The vanquished Mustafa Khan had, in the meanwhile, gathered a large army of the Rohillas, reinforced by the turbulent Rajputs of Bhojpur, headed by Babu Udwant Singh, the ancestor of Kunwar Singh of the Sepoy Mutiny fame.[63] The bold Nawab bearded the lions in their own den and the battle of Jagdishpur on 20th June 1745 in the district of Sahabad recorded another triumph over the rebels. Mustafa Khan, Baber Jang, was killed after performing prodigies of valour and with his death ended the first great attempt at the revival of the lost Afghan power in Bihar under the later Mughals.

It was followed, 3 years later, by another under the leadership of Shamsher Khan, Sardar Khan and other discontented and dismissed officers of Aliwardi's army. The vindictive spirit of revenge for the blood of Raushan Khan[64] Tarahi and Mustafa Khan, the treasonable intrigues of Ataullah Khan,[65] the Afghan lust for power in the province of Bihar, and, above all, Haibat Jang's eagerness to

63 *Calcutta Review*, 1870, p. 120.

64 *Ad.*, 558. This Afghan had been treacherously murdered at the instance of Haibat Jang for interceding on behalf of the Rajput zamindars of Bhojpur and Shahabad. See also *W.M.*, *M.N.* etc.

65 *S.M.*, 565. *M.N.*, 70b; *W.M.*—Ataullah Khan, a sister's son of Nawab Shujā'uddin of Bengal, and a nephew-in-law of Aliwardi, had been invested with the Government of Akbarnagar, Rajmahal and promoted to the rank of six thousand. He incurred the displeasure of Aliwardi by conspiring against him with the famous Mir Jafar. On being banished, he entered into the service of Safdar Jang of Oudh and was killed along with Nawal Rai in the battle of Khudaganj in 1750. According to Yusuf Ali he had instigated Sham Sher Khan and Sardar Khan against Haibat Jang which resulted in the tragic murder of the latter. For a detailed account see Seyar and *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi* by Yusuf Ali, pp. 9, 11, 21, 35, 45, 61, 62, 65, 69, 77, 85, 86, 98, 114-117.

66 *S.M.*, 558; *W.M.*, 72b.

enlist the Darbhanga Afghan in his service to strengthen himself against his future rivals,[66] all these combined to produce the revolution which resulted in the assassination of the confiding Nawab in his own palace of 40 pillars on 23rd Moharrum 1161/, 15th January 1748.[67] When the whole palace had been denuded by Nawab's order of all men, to disarm the suspicion of the service-seeking but faithless Afghans, we find Raja Ram Narain, "the Diwan', (*S.M.*, 593) being present along with other penmen in the *Munshikhāna* or account office and as they were rather taken unwares and were without arms, they were stripped to the skin and suffered to depart, some wounded and some not.[68] Only Murlidhar made the best of a bad bargain by taking care to decamp with the casket of jewels belonging to the Nawab.[69]

The Afghan rule of violence and extortion over Patna and the adjoining places was brought to a speedy end after 3 months[70] by the old but still spirited Nawab of Bengal, thanks to the gold poured at his feet by the prince of bankers of Bengal and the unstinted support given by his Hindu subjects at the time of his dire calamity.[71] No wonder, then, that after the battle of Barh and the restoration of peace and order everywhere, the grateful and experienced Nawab disregarded the importunate claims of his nearest relations,[72] and

67 *S.M.*, 560. The palace of forty pillars was built by Haibat Jang (*S.M.*, 649).

68 *Ibid.*, 559-560. 69 Shaad's *History of Bihar* (Urdu).

70 Sarkar's *Bihar and Orissa etc.*, p. 88. 13th Jan. to 16th April, 1748.

71 *S.M.*, 564. The non-Afghan elements also stood by the old Nawab. But the loyalty of the Hindus is of special significance for they might have joined hands with their co-religionists, the Marhattas, who were present in large numbers in Bihar as nominal allies of the Afghans, and thus taken advantage of the dissensions of the Mussulmans to promote their own interests.

72 *S.M.*, 571-572. Saulat Jang, the second nephew and son-in-law of Aliwardi, who put him in charge of Patna when he marched out to punish the zamindar of Bettiah in 1748, was fully confident of being confirmed in the vacant Nizamat. The government of Purneah which he got, instead, was but a poor substitute. Orme is not correct in hinting that Mir Jafar was also a possible candidate for Bihar in

appointed his own Bengali Diwan, Raja Janki Ram, to act as the deputy governor of Bihar, on behalf of his beloved grandson, Sirajuddaula, the son of the murdered Nawab. As regards the Dewani of the Bihar Subah, it appears to have already fallen vacant on the departure of Raja Kirat Chand for Benares in association with the banished Ataulla Khan in 1160/1747.[73] Raja Ram Narain writes in one of his letters[74] that he acted as the *Peshkar* of the "Martyr Nawab (Haibat Jang) and of Maharaja Janki Ram. A reliable authority [75] speaks of Raja Ram Narain as a "Diwan of Haibat Jang" and we know definitely that he acted as the Diwan of Janki Ram during the latter's Naib Subadari of Bihar.[76] We have no proof of any appointment of Janki Ram in Bihar after the departure of Aliwardi from Bengal in 1740. According to Seyar he was specially sent for in the year 1748 in order to be invested with the Khilat of *Niābat* (*S.M.*). Thus we are forced to the conclusion that Raja Ram Narain was mainly responsible for the financial department of the Bihar Subah, during the last days of Haibat Jang, and

1748 and that the Nawab would not trust the Government of such an important and frontier province to him but gave it to a gentoo, "Ram Narain". (*Indostan*), 1153).

73 *S.M.*, 592-596. Kirat Chand was the son of Rāy-i-Rāyān Ālamchand. A man with a sound knowledge of Persian and an expert in financial matters, he was taken by Haibat Jang from Bengal to Patna in 1743 and appears to have served under him as a Diwan till 1746-47. Thereafter he attached himself to Ataullah Khan and lived for some time at Benares. He was recalled by Aliwardi in 1750, did him good service as a successor of Birudatta and afterwards recovered more than a crore of lost money from the Seths and the zamindars of Burdwan and died in about 1753 (*S.M.*, 592, Dastūr, 286 a.b.). The Dastūr contains some letters addressed by Raja Kirat Chand to Raja Ram Narain, including one, dated as late as Jamadi, II, of the 6th year of accession, i.e. April or May 1753 (Dastūr, 283a—287b).

74. Dastūr: 200b.

75 Dastūr-ul Amal, Mushta-mil-bar-Dastūr-i-Padshahān,—a miscellaneous collection containing statistical accounts of Indian Subahs and other valuable information and belonging to Babu Chotu Lall, Harmandil Lane, Patna City. The copy is dated 1274/1835 A.D.

76 *S.M.*, 593, Dastūr, 200b.

his loyalty and good services were recognied by his confirmation as Diwan under Janki Ram.

Very good relations appear to have existed between the Bengali deputy governor and his Bihari Diwan. Despite difference in age and experience, each was indebted to, and felt admiration for, the other. Raja Ram Narain frequently refers to the experience he gained under, and the training he received from, Raja Janki Ram,[77] and there is no doubt that the latter owed much of the success of his regime to the local knowledge and influence of the former. The five years' rule of Raja Janki Ram was characterized by good and efficient administration[78] and wise and clever handling of the affairs of Delhi and Murshidabad. Attempts were made to suppress the refractory Zemindars and check political disorders. Revenue was not only realised but also regularly remitted to the Delhi court after meeting the expenses of the provincial Government and keeping something for emergency.[79] The Jagirdars of the Imperial court were specially kept pleased by the regular remittance of their respective dues from their estate in Bihar, so much so, that they recommended and secured for Janki Ram the rank of 400 Zat and 3000 horse and the title of Maharaja.[80] Indeed, he eminently deserved

77 Dastūr, 270a. 78 *M.N.*, 80a; Dastūr, 21a.

79 Dastūr, 172 we read of "4 lacs surplus."

80 Dastūr, 126. According to Karam Ali a rank of 6000 was conferred upon him. (*M.N.*, 80b.).

81 *JASB.*, 1885, p. 164. Raja Janki Ram was the son of Rajballabh who at one time served as Kanungo under the Muslim Governor of Orissa. He must have attracted the notice of Aliwardi during the latter's stay in Orissa between 1132/1719 and 1140/1727 (*M.N.*, 8a-12b) and continued to rise in his favour with the corresponding rise in the fortunes of the Nawab till he was appointed the latter's Diwan. This is in a way, supported by the Patna historian. According to him Janki Ram who was the old Diwan of the house of Aliwardi was appointed (after the battle of Gheria, 1740) Diwan of Muster and other registers (*S.M.*, 495). He rendered valuable services to his master and became a minister of the highest trust and credit specially after the part that he played in the treacherous murder of Bhaskar Pandit in the plains of Mankara, March, 1744 (*S.M.*, 529). No wonder then that he was specially sent

all such elevations. We know that Todar Mal's settlement of the territorial divisions and revenue of 1582, which had been revised by Aurangzeb in 1685, was superseded in 1750 by fresh settlement made under the order of his master, Aliwardi, by Maharaja Janki Ram.[81] He must have carried out the details with the help of Raja Ram Narain whose "ability and knowledge of accounts" and "tact in managing other transactions" has been testified to by the author of the Seyar.

Incidental references in the letters show the part played by Raja Ram Narain and the identity of interests existing between the two. We may, for example, cite the Parwanas and letters suggesting that Raja Ram Narain had been performing certain work or everything since the time of Raja Janki Ram. We[83] shall also refer to a reply to a Parwana, addressed directly to Raja Ram Narain, in which the writer assures Aliwardi that the petitions and despatches from the Maharaja (Janki Ram) were really those of himself, "the well-wishing, hereditary slave" but "as he had been ordered to write separately, he would do so whenever necessary."[84] One such necessity appears to have been provided by the inspired but futile attempt of Sirajuddaula in 1750 to seize real power for himself by removing his Deputy, Janki Ram, from Bihar. Raja Ram Narain submitted a report[85] of the incident which corroborates and amplifies the version of the contemporary historian Ghulam Husain. This was the most critical moment in the life of the Deputy and his Diwan but was got over by tactful management. The old Nawab came to Patna and effected a reconciliation between the parties concerned[86] and left again for his capital with his favourite grandson, Siraj, leaving the

for from Bengal and appointed deputy governor of Bihar Subah in 1748 (*S.M.*, 572). He was invested with a title and a *Mansab* by the Emperor (Dastūr, 126a.).

83 Dastūr, 197a—200b.

84 *Ibid.*, 215a.

85 *Ibid.*, 213a to 215a. *S.M.*, 585-588.

86 Dastūr, the famous letter of Aliwardi to his beloved but errant grandson, referred to, in Seyar on p. 585 is found in full in Dastūr, 212-213.

existing arrangements intact in the hands of Raja Janki Ram who continued to govern Bihar efficiently for less than two years, dying at the beginning of 1751.

The fact that the services of the Bihari Diwan were indispensable to the Bengali *Naib Nazim* which made the future of the former well assured is borne out by the information supplied by Karam Ali[87] that even before his death Raja Janki Ram had handed over the government of the country to his *Peshkar* or *Diwan*. In fact 'he had sent a petition to the Nawab to the effect that as he had found his sons unfit and unworthy for the responsible work he had, therefore, entrusted that into the hands of Raja Ram Narain. His Excellency also approved of the arrangement.'' It reflects great credit upon the Bengali Naib Subadar for he had the sense of justice and recognition of true merits to prefer the well-deserved claims of a Bihari to those of all of his four sons, including one, namely, Durlabh Ram, who had already been invested with the rank of 3000 horse and appointed temporarily a deputy governor of Orissa in 1749,[88] and another, Ras Bihari,[89] who was actually present in Bihar till after his father's death. His choice was fully justified by the subsequent events, for, whilst his ablest son, though at one time the first minister of Bengal, proved himself to be only a priest ridden sluggard and a cowardly intriguer''[90] and a betrayer of his *de jure* master, Raja Ram Narain, showed his ability by his active and efficient administration and his fidelity by his constant submissiveness to Aliwardi and his sincere attachment to his grandson and successor. Indeed, Aliwardi's policy was fully vindicated by the subsequent events in Bihar.

(*To be continued*).

S. H. Askari

87 *M.N.*, 89b. 88 *S.M.*, 534.

89 Dastūr, 170b. This Ras Bihari was sent to Purneah by Serajuddaula in 1756, with a letter to his cousin, Shaukat Jang, to take the delivery of the Foujdari of Gondwarah and Birnagar which belonged to the Nizamat of Bengal. This set ablaze the fire of enmity between the two cousins (*S.M.*, 627). 90 *S.M.*, 546.

Vāmadeva the Śaiva Saint

While reviewing Dr. H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India* (vols. I & II) published by the Calcutta University, in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV, pp. 269-71, I suggested that Vāmadeva, mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalacuris and later Candellas, was probably a Śaiva saint. In connection with my study of the Kākatīya records, I have noticed a reference which satisfactorily solves the problem. In the present note, I propose to elucidate the point that was enunciated in the review just referred to.

From A.D. 1042, the date of the Benares grant of Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa, onwards, several Kalacuri and later Candella kings refer to themselves as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta*, and sometimes Vāmadeva is given the additional epithet, *paramamāheśvara* (*Dynastic History*, II, pp. 775ff.; 789; 793ff.; 797ff.) I have elsewhere suggested that the passage *pād-ānudhyāta* should be translated as "favoured (or, blessed) by the noble (or, by the feet of)....."[1] So, in the Kalacuri and later Candella records, the kings are described as blessed or favoured by Vāmadeva who was a Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārāj-ādhirāja, Param-eśvara and also a Parama-māheśvara.

That this Vāmadeva was a Śaiva saint is proved beyond doubt by the Malakāpuram stone inscription of the Śaka year 1183 (A.D. 1261-62)[2] of the time of Kākatīya Rudradeva (i.e., Rudrāmbā, 1258-96 A.D.). The record gives a very interesting account of a Śaiva monastery called Śrī-Gomulakī-maṭha (or Goḷakī-maṭha) in the Ḍahala-maṇḍala, between the Bhāgirathi and the Narmadā.

1 "Meaning of the word Anudhyāta" in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 229.

2 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 152ff; *Kākatīya-saṃcika* (Telugu), Inscription No. 31.

The monastery was established by a Śaiva saint named Śadbhāva-śaṃbhu. He received an estate comprising three lacs of villages from Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva, who appears to be Yuvarāja I who reigned in the second half of the tenth century A.D. and is known to have favoured the Śaivas.[3]

The successor of Sadbhāva-śambhu was Soma-śambhu who composed the *Soma-śambhu-paddhati*, a work on *āgama*.[4] Soma-śambhu's successor was Vāma-śambhu who must have flourished about the middle of the eleventh century. Vāma-śambhu was thus a contemporary of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmī-Karṇa (1041-70 A.D.) and possibly also of his father Gāṅgeyadeva (1030-41). Lakṣmī-Karṇa was probably a disciple of Vāma-śambhu = Vāma-

3 *Dynastic History*, II, p. 762 ff. The Chandrehe (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1221) and Gurgi (No. 1873) records prove that the Śaiva ascetic Prabhāvaśiva of the Mattamayūra sect, who was "greatly honoured by Yuvarājadeva", was brought to the Dāhala country by Yuvarāja, son of Mugdhatuṅga. Prabhāvaśiva was "made to accept a monastery." The Mattamayūra teachers mentioned in the Kalacuri records are Purandara, his disciple Śikhaśiva, his disciple Prabhāvaśiva, his disciple Praśāntaśiva, his disciple Prabodhaśiva. Purandara was possibly also called Mattamayūranātha (Nos. 1577, 1872); he is mentioned with a king named Avantivarman who resided at Mattamayūra. Śaiva ascetics mentioned with him are Kadambaguhāvāsin, Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati, Terambipāla, Āmardakatirthanātha, Kavacaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛdayeśa and Vyomaśiva; but it is not impossible that the first four names are actually surnames of Purandara. According to the *Mahābhārata* (II, 32, 4-5) the Rohitaka country beloved by Kārttikeya and inhabited by the Mattamayūraka chiefs was conquered by Nakula in connection with his *dig-vijaya* in the western region; the country was also conquered by Karṇa (*ibid*, III, 253, 20).

According to the Bilhari inscription, Nohalā, the queen of Yuvaraja I, built a temple of Śiva which she endowed with seven villages. She is also said to have given two villages to the Śaiva teacher Īśvaraśiva, disciple of Śabdaśiva who was the disciple of Pavanaśiva. The common name-ending *śiva* appears to suggest that these teachers also belonged to the Mattamayūra sect. Vāmaśambhu and his teachers, whose names end in śambhu, probably belonged to a different sect. This suggestion is however not quite beyond doubt, as the names of some later spiritual descendants of Vāmaśambhu sometimes have *-śiva* for *-śambhu*.

4 It is interesting to note that a verse from Somaśaṃbhu's work has been quoted by Mādhava in the Śaiva-darśana section (v. 26) of his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*.

deva, and this fact would explain why he is called *vāmādeva-pādānudhyāta* in inscriptions. It must however be noted that reference to Vāmadeva is also found in much later records, e.g., in the Rewa grant of V.1297 = A.D. 1240 of the time of Candella Trailokyavarman who reigned in the first half of the thirteenth century.[5] This difficulty is however solved by the Malakāpuram record of Śaka 1183 = A.D. 1261-62 which describes Vāma-śambhu as:

atha nṛpa-śekhara-mālā-lālita-pado = tra vāmaśambhur = abhūt,
ady = āpi Kalacur-īśā yac-caraṇ-ārādhakāḥ praśasyante.

Vāma-śambhu's feet are here said to have been embellished by the garlands on the heads of kings and it is also said that "even now (*ady = āpi*, i.e., in 1261-62 A.D.) the Kalacuri kings are prospering by worshipping his feet." There can therefore be no doubt that Vāmadeva of the Kalacuri and Candella records is the same as Vāma-śambhu of the Malakāpuram record.[6] In connection with

5 *Dynastic History*, p. 724 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 530. The reference to Vāmadeva in the above Rewa grant of Kaurava Kumārapāla, feudatory of Trailokyavarman, may possibly be explained by the fact that the grant actually belongs to the feudatory Kaurava dynasty of Karakareḍi, which was previously subordinate to the Kalacuris. Kumārapāla's grandfather Sallakṣaṇa is known to have been feudatory of Kalacuri Vijayasiṃha (*c.* 1180-97). A Rewa grant of A.D. 1174-75 shows that Sallakṣaṇa's brother Kirtivarman was feudatory to the Kalacuri king Jayasiṃha. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 432,530, 533,1144, etc. It is interesting in this connection to note that, in the above record of Kumārapāla (No. 530), Trailokyavarman has also been called *Trikaliṅgādhipati* which is a peculiarly Kalacuri title. This fact appears to show that the Kauravas of Karkareḍi sometimes used the titles of their old masters with the names of their new suzerains. Bhandarkar's suggestion that "the adoption of this Kalacuri title probably indicates his (i.e. Trailokyavarman's) occupation of the Kalacuri dominions" is not convincing, because the occupation of the whole or major part of the Kalacuri kingdom by Trailokyavarman is improbable. In this connection it may also be pointed out that the date of No. 533 of Vikrama 129 [8?] should possibly be read as 1296

6 Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests to me that the designation *Vāmadeva* might have been continued by the apostolic successors of the first great teacher of that name in the same way as the appellations *Saṅkarācārya* and *Nānak* were conti-

such mention of a king as *anudhyāta* by a religious teacher, it is interesting to note that in the Nirpan and Nausari grants (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 352, 358n, 361, 364) Cālukya Vikramāditya I is described as *anudhyāta* by the noble (or by the feet of) Nāgavardhana who is supposed to have been a religious teacher.

Vāmadeva was no doubt a Parama-māheśvara, "a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva)". But why should a Śaiva ascetic be mentioned in the Kalacuri and Candella records as Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara?

The word *bhaṭṭāraka* means "revered, worshipful", etc. That saints and religious teachers were called Bhaṭṭāraka is proved by a number of inscriptions. A Navamuni cave inscription (Bhandarkar s List, No. 1573) mentions Bhaṭṭāraka Kulacandra who was an *ācārya* of the Deśi-gaṇa sprung from the Graha-kula belonging to the Ārya-saṃgha. In the inscriptions of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti we have one Muḷḷa-Bhaṭṭāraka who was a teacher in the Kāreya sect of Mailāpatirtha.[6] Vāmadeva's epithet Parama-bhaṭṭāraka may be explained by the fact that sometimes religious teachers are known to have prefixed the word *parama* to their titles. The Veraval inscription of Caulukya-Vāghelā Arjunadeva (Bhandarkar's List, No. 565) describes the Śaiva teacher Gaṇḍaśrī-Paravirabhadra as a Parama-pāśupat-ācārya. It should further be noticed that when the disciple (the king) who is far inferior in position to his preceptor is called Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, his preceptor cannot properly be called simply Bhaṭṭāraka.

The above suggestion also holds good with Vāmadeva's epithet Mahārājādhirāja. Heads of monasteries are generally called Mahā-

nued by the spiritual successors of the great exponent of Advaitism and the illustrious founder of the Sikh sect. Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu who edited the Malakāpuram record also suggested that Vāmaśambhu may be the same as Vāmadeva of the Kalacuri records.

6 *Bombay Gazetter*, I, ii, p. 552.

rāja (Mahanta-mahārāja) all over Northern India. This custom seems to have its origin in the fact that the word *Mahārāja*, according to Sanskrit lexicons, means "a deified Jain Teacher" (Hemacandra), "a respectful mode of addressing kings or other personages (my lord, your majesty, your highness)", etc., and according to Hindī lexicons a meaning of the term is "a form of address used to a Brāhmaṇa or a superior." It must also be noticed that a Maṭhādhipati, "lord of a Maṭha or monastery" is also the lord of the villages granted by kings in favour of that monastery. Vāmadeva was virtually a Mahārāja to the inhabitants of the villages granted by Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva in favour of his predecessor Sadbhāvaśambhu. His epithet Mahārājādhirāja is evidently due to the fact that it was not considered proper to give him an epithet less grand than that of his disciple the king. A Mahārājādhirāja had to bow down his head to a Monk-Mahārāja; but since the disciple could not claim superiority over his *guru*, the *guru* had to be given an epithet as grand as his own.[8]

The word *Īśvara* may mean "a lord, master", "a rich or great man", etc. Vāmadeva was lord of the Gomulakī-maṭha, with all its belongings, and also of the saints residing there. Moreover, a *guru* is no less than God (*iśvara, parameśvara*) to his disciples. It was therefore proper that Vāmadeva was not denied the epithet Parameśvara, specially when his royal disciples used that title.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

8 Prof. Raychaudhuri thinks that as there is no early instance of the application of the tiltle Mahārājādhirāja to a purely spiritual functionary, the use of such an epithet in reference to Vāmadeva may point to the fact that the *de facto* secular rulers referred to in the paper considered themselves as mere lieutenants of the supreme Śaiva Pontiff or Priest king of the region in the same way as certain Rajput and South Indian princes regard themselves as deputies of Ekliṅgji and Padmanābhasvāmin. It however seems to me possible to get early instances of a monk being called *Mahārāja*.

Some Folk Goddesses of Ancient and Mediaeval India*

An interesting account is given of the Rākṣasī Jarā in the *mantraṇā* or *rājasūyārambha parvādhyāya* of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. She, according to the story narrated there, was instrumental in bringing to life the dead and discarded child of Bṛhadratha, the king of Magadha. The two queens of Bṛhadratha gave birth to two halves of one male child, which were thrown by the maid-servants outside the palace near a *catuṣpatha*. The Rākṣasī Jarā, who belonged to Rājagṛha and its environs and who used to feed on blood and flesh, happening to come by that way put the two halves of the child together and thus brought it back to life. Though she used to feed on children, she thought of restoring this particular child to its parents; assuming the shape of a beautiful female figure she approached Bṛhadratha and handed it over to him and his queens who had come outside their palaces on hearing the vigorous cries of the revived child. When the grateful king to whom she appeared as a divine being asked her who she was, she answered him thus:—

Jarā nāmāsmi bhadraṃ te rākṣasī kāmarupiṇī/
Tava veśmani rājendra pūjitā nyavasaṃ sukham//
Gṛhe gṛhe manuṣyāṇāṃ nityaṃ tiṣṭhāmi rākṣasī//
Gṛhadevīti nāmnā vai purā sṛṣṭā svayambhuvā//
Dānavānāṃ vināśāya sthāpitā divyarūpiṇī/
Yo māṃ bhaktyā likhet kuḍye saputrāṃ yauvanānvitām//
Gṛhe tasya bhaved vṛddhir anyathā kṣayam āpnuyāt/
Tvadgṛhe tiṣṭhamānāhaṃ pūjitāhaṃ sadā vibho//
Likhitā caiva kuḍyeṣu putrair bahubhir āvṛtā/
Gandhapuṣpais tathā dhūpair bhakṣyabhojyaiḥ supūjitā//
Sāhaṃ pratyupakārārthaṃ cintayāmy aniśaṃ tava//

* Read in the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum.

1 *Mahābhārata*, Calcutta Edition, *Sabhāparva*, ch. 18, vs. 1-6.

The above couplets can be freely translated thus:—

'I am rākṣasī Jarā by name and can assume different shapes at my will. I live happily in your house and I am worshipped there. I was created of yore by Svayambhū and my name is Gṛhadevī; I was established with a divine shape for the destruction of the demons. Whoever draws my youthful figure with my children on the walls of his house, plenty reigns there; he who does not do so scarcity afflicts him. My figure, accompanied by those of my many children is painted on the walls of your palace and is well worshipped with various offerings (*upacāras*) such as sweet-smelling flowers, incense and eatables. I am always mindful of doing good to you in return"

Certain interesting features of this account of Jarā can be analysed thus:—She was a rākṣasī and worshipped by the people of Rājagṛha for plenty and prosperity; particular emphasis is laid on the mode of worshipping her which consisted of the practice of painting or carving her figure along with the figures of her children on house walls and offering her flowers, incense and various eatables. There can be no doubt that we recognise in her a divinity who had already endeared herself to the people of Rājagṛha and even had come to enjoy some status in the household of no less an august personage than the king of Magadha himself.

If we place the account of the Yakṣiṇī Hārītī of the Buddhist texts by the side of the above account of Jarā we cannot but be struck with the great similarity as regards origin, character, as well as the method of worship of these two folk goddesses. Myths connected with Hārītī and similar types of secondary divinities are to be found in various kinds of Buddhist literature like the *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda school, the *Saṃyukta-ratna-sūtra* of the Chinese *Sūtra-piṭaka*. The *Dhammapada* commentary while commenting on verse I, 4, (Hatred is not conquered by hatred etc.) of the *Dhammapada* narrates a story

which gives an account of Yakkhini Kāḷi which is reminiscent of Hāritī. Kṣemendra, in his *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* supplies us with a similar account of the latter. The *Mahāvastu* tells us about a Rakṣiṇī, Kuṇḍalā by name, who used to live in the submontane region of the Himālayas (*anuhimavantapradeśe*) and who died after giving birth to 1000 children. These, after their mother's death, went to Vaiśāli in search of food and began to feed upon its children.[2] The Vaiśālians sought the aid of the well-known religious men of the time like Purāṇa Kāśyapa, Maskari Gosāla, Ajita Keśakambalin, Sañjaya Velaṭṭhiputta, Niganṭha Nāṭaputta (jñātiputra) and Kakudha Kaccāyana, in order to get rid of this visitation. But when all of them failed to relieve Vaiśāli of these calamities, the people were advised to seek the help of Buddha and on Buddha's visiting Vaiśāli, these *grāhas* disappeared (cf. *Chatravastu* section of the *Mahāvastu*). It is to be noticed here that Yakṣiṇī Kuṇḍalā plays the least important part in this story and all the misdeeds are laid at the door of her children. The story of this Yakṣiṇī has no direct association with the narrative of Jarā recounted above. But a similar story of an ogress which occurs in the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda school (mainly preserved to us in its Chinese translation) has clear affinities with the account of the *Mahābhārata* goddess. Here Yakṣiṇī Hu-anh-si meaning 'joy' (perhaps based on such Sanskritic name as Nandā or Nandinī—Watters) was the tutelary deity of the people of Magadha and resided at Rājagṛha. On account of an unholy wish expressed by her in one of her previous existences she indulged in the practice of robbing the people of Rājagṛha of their children and feeding herself and her 500 sons on them. On account of her heinous practice,

2 They were in the nature of *grāhas* or disease demons; cf. the disease demon attendants of Skanda, the same *grāhas*, an elaborate account of whom is given in the *Vanaparvan*, ch. 249 of the *Mahābhārata*; these impish attendants of Skanda took delight in troubling the children of mankind.

the Rājagṛha people gave her the name of Hāritī, and they resorted to Buddha for the preservation of their children from her clutches. Buddha taught her a lesson by concealing the youngest of her 500 sons and when she enquired from the Master as to the means of subsistence of herself and her children, he ordained that in all monasteries and in the houses of all right minded people, her figure and the figures of her children are to be carved or painted and eatables should be offered to them. We cannot trace the history of Jarā in the Brahmanical narrative in later texts, but the cult of Hārtī, its probable Buddhist counterpart had a long history of its own both in India and outside India. We learn from the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuan Thsang, how her cult was acclimatised in ancient Gandhāra (the Chinese traveller refers to the Hāritī Stūpa said to have been erected by Aśoka and which was located by Foucher at *Sare-Makhe-ḍheri* in the Peshwar district) and how her worship migrated outside India to eastern China (through Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir), Korea and Japan, though in a somewhat transformed character. In China, the deity Kwan-yin, Avalokiteśvara in female aspect absorbed this Indian goddess while in Japan she came to possess both the form of saint and ogress, holding the child, where she is worshipped under the name of Koyasu Kwan-non as saint, and Kishi-mo-jin as an ogress.[3] The popularity of this cult in the extreme north of India is fully vouchsafed by the discovery of numerous sculptures in the various archaeological sites excavated there; she is sometimes depicted singly along with her children while at other times accompanied by her consort Kuvera, the Yakṣarāja (sometimes described as Pañcika, the general of the Yakṣa king) as well as her playing children.

Side by side with the folk divinities mentioned above is to be placed the goddess Jyeṣṭhā once mainly worshipped in southern

3 Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 76.

India. The wide prevalence of her worship at one time in the south is proved by T. A. G. Rao. One of the *Ālvārs* (Tamil Vaiṣṇavite saints), Toṇḍarādippoḍi (Sans. Bhaktāṅghrireṇu), by name complains in his songs about the foolishness of the people paying their homage to such goddesses of lowly origin for happiness and prosperity, when they could easily obtain the fulfilment of their desires and supreme bliss by praying to Lord Viṣṇu. To a devout Viṣṇu-bhakta this mental attitude of the general mass of the people could certainly appear as extremely erratic in character. But, it is none the less true, undeveloped human mind is very much prone to believe in the practical utility of such worship; the force behind this belief is at the same time so strong that the higher section of the people, cannot but succumb to it at times. It is no wonder then that we find an entire chapter devoted to the consideration of this goddess-cult in the *Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[1] where elaborate instructions are laid down for the worship of this divinity who is variously described as Jyeṣṭhā, Kapila-patnī, Kuṃbhī, Kumbhinī, Jyāyā, Hasti-mukhā, Vighna-pārṣadā, Nirṛiti, as having lions attached to her chariot and tigers following her (*yasyassiṃha rathe yuktī vyāghrāścāpyanugāminaḥ*). A very interesting account also noticed by T. A. G. Rao is given about the origin of Jyeṣṭhā and her deification in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*. During the churning of the ocean by the *devas* and the *asuras*, poison first came out of it and then this inauspicious Jyeṣṭhā. She was married to a *ṛṣi* named Dussaha who soon found out that she was loath to hear the praises of and prayers to the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva and was averse to encourage a good deed. The poor Brahmin in his distress consulted Mārkaṇḍeya who advised him to humour his wife's inclinations and to take her to such places where all sorts of evil and inauspicious things are being done (the shrines where Bauddha and non-Vedic

4 *Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, ed. by Shama Sastri, pp. 294-96.

forms of worship are performed are among these places). The Brahmin, however, freed himself from the company of his wife by a ruse and advised her to sustain herself till his return, by the *bali* (oblations) offered to her by good women. Dussaha, so runs the story, never afterwards returned to his wife and 'ever since that time, this poor abandoned wife is said to have been wandering here and there and making the hills and plains outside inhabited villages her abode from time to time.' Once asked by her how she would pass her lonely days, Viṣṇu advised her to visit those people who were his exclusive worshippers and who did not pay homage to Śiva and other gods. Viṣṇu muttered the Rudra-mantra to protect himself from the baneful influence of Jyeṣṭhā also known as Alakṣmi. It is sometimes especially enjoined that Viṣṇu-bhaktas and women should offer her oblations.

This popular myth evidently concocted with a deep sectarian bias unwittingly hints at the manner of the introduction of this goddess-cult among the orthodox sectaries. The mode of her sustenance as laid down by Dussaha is reminiscent of that of Jarā and Hārītī mentioned above. Gopinath Rao tells us that the worship of this goddess is practically obsolete now in southern India; and if it is so, explanation can be found in the remarkable popularisation of the orthodox sectarian religious systems like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism by the efforts of the Ālvārs and the Nāyanmārs. But it is a curious fact that what ground Jyeṣṭhā lost in her original homeland, she gained under another form or name in eastern countries of India like Bengal and Orissa and Western ones like Gujrat. We do not fail to recognise her in a new form in Śītalā, the goddess presiding over small-pox and similar diseases, because the latter is characterised by many of the features associated with the former. Some of the different names given to Jyeṣṭhā in the old Tamil Nighaṇṭus are Mugaḍi, Tauvai, Kālāḍi, Mudevi, the crow-bannered, the ass-rider, keṭṭai, the bad woman and Ekaveṇi and her weapon

is said to be the sweeping broom.[5] The well known Praṇāma mantra of Sitalā in Bengal, viz. *Namāmi Śitalāṃ devīṃ rāsabhasthāṃ digaṃvarāṃ/, Mārjanīkalasopetāṃ śūrpālaṅkṛtamastakāṃ//,* contains a few notable characteristics of Jyeṣṭhā. In the eastern countries of India, the worship of Hāritī mainly associated with small-pox, was already well established and the presiding deity of this disease absorbed many of the outstanding features of the south-Indian Jyeṣṭhā and perhaps then came to have the new designation Śitalā. At what time this absorption and actual transformation took place, it is difficult to determine at present; but it may not be wholly unreasonable to suppose that the change might have owed its inception to the time of the Sena Kings of Bengal who hailed from Karnāṭaka and during whose period, the cult of the south Indian Sadāśiva was also introduced there. This inauspicious Jyeṣṭhā may also be partially recognised in the *kṣaṇika* image of Alakṣmi made of cowdung which is worshipped first in the *Dīpānvitā Lakṣmī pujā* night (Kāli-pūjā night) and then taken outside the house with the beating of winnowing fans.[6]

The Yakṣas, rākṣasas, pretas, bhūtas, etc., are those classes of divinities, belief in whom is ingrained in the folk mind. The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* says that these are worshipped by the people imbued with *rajas* and *tamas guṇas*.[7] The Jaina literature refers to

5 T. A. G. Rao, *ibid.*, part II, p. 395. In some South Indian and a few North Indian Sanskrit texts, there is to be found a distinct attempt to omit many of these outlandish details, almost none of which are mentioned therein. In them she is mostly described as a fat, square, thick lipped goddess with large hanging breasts (a characteristic feature of the rākṣasi Pūtanā of *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas, and ink-like skin, holding a *nīlotpala* and *abhaya* in her only hands. In a variant reading of the *Suprabhedāgama* text we are told that she is *'Kharārūḍhā Kaleḥ patnī'* and in the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* she is *'Kākadhvajasamāyuktā.'*

6 This ritual is very much in vogue in several districts of Bengal especially W. Bengal. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* particularly stresses the inauspicious character of this divinity—*Jyeṣṭhālakṣmīriti śriye.*

7 *Bhagavadgītā*, ch. XVII, V, 4.

eight different kinds of *vyantara devatās,* viz., Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas and Gandharvas.[8] The Pali Buddhist literature also speak of similar types of semi-divine beings—divinities worshipped by the lowest order of people. Jarā, Jyeṣṭhā, Hāritī and others fall under this category of devatās, (to which also belong Culakokā, Mahākokā, Candā and others of the Barhut railings). One must take note of another interesting trait marking the character of some of them. Several of these undoubtedly had originally been personified diseases such as small-pox and the like. We have seen that this is easily demonstrable in the case of Hāritī; in the case of Jyeṣṭhā, this is clearly recognisable in her particular form becoming current in some eastern and western provinces of India.[9] In the case of Jarā, it is presumable that we find an implicit reference to this character when she describes herself as fond of blood and flesh and especially children's flesh; and, in any case Jarā means old age which is certainly a sort of disease.[10] The epic description of the origin of Skanda and his attendants, the disease demons (*grāhas*) is also to be considered in this connection.[11] The mythical stories concerning Skanda and his attendants are extremely varied and confused in character. But what can be drawn out of this tangled skein is a reference to the personification and deification of many of these diseases which are called *grāhas*. The seven mothers of infants who are associated with Skanda are Kākī, Hālimā, Mālini, Vṛṃhilā, Āryā, Palālā and Vemitrā by name.

8 Cf. the Niddesa passage quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaisnavism* etc. p 3. Among the Vedic and sectarian gods are mentioned such objects of worship as Supannas, Yakkhas, Asuras, Gandhabbas, an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow etc.

9 For the worship of Śitalā, the goddess presiding over small-pox, in Gujrat, see *Bombay Gazetteer,* vol. IX, pp. 368-72.

10 Pūtanā Rākṣasi in the myths connected with early life of Kṛṣṇa as narrated in the *Harivaṃśa* and the Purānas is as her name and characteristic features imply a similar divinity, if not the same in a different garb.

11 *Mahābhārata, Vana Parva,* ch. 217, 1-2.

Indra smiting Skanda with thunderbolt, numerous *Kumāras* and *Kumārīs* were born who steal and kill children of people. Mārkaṇḍeya says:

'Skandapāriṣadān ghorān śṛṇuṣvādbhūtadarśanān/
Vajraprahārāt Skandasya jagmus tatra kumārakāḥ//
Ye haranti śiśūn jātān garbhasthāṃś caiva dāruṇān/
Vajraprahārāt kanyāśca jajñire-'sya mahābalāḥ//[12]

Devasenā, who became the consort of Skanda is given such names as Ṣaṣṭhī, Sukhapradā, Lakṣmī, Sinīvālī, Kuhu and Aparājitā. All these and many other interesting details given in this chapter of the *Mahābhārata* throw considerable light on the origin of such divinities and there can be very little doubt as regards the sameness of their character.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

12 *Mbh., Vana Parva*, ch. 28, V. 50

Doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism

II*

(iv) Acquisition of moral purity is not mental (*sīlam acetasikan ti; sīlaṃ na cittānuparivattī ti*). *Kvu.* X. 7. 8.

The Mahāsaṅghikas imply by the above opinion of theirs that purity in speech (sammā vācā), actions (sammā kammanto) and means of livelihood (sammā ājīvo) is a corporeal property and as such is non-mental and requires no ārammaṇa (basis).[71] The M. mean that the observance of sīlas transforms the bodily constituents of a being in such a way that it can no longer commit any wrong, i.e., cannot be *dussīla*.

(v) The collection of sīlas (merits) is not associated with mind. (*Cittavippayuttaṃ sīlopacayaṃ*). *Kvu.* X. 9.

Buddhaghosa explains this as due to misapprehension of the sense of the passage in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I. p. 33): ārāmaropā vanaropā ye janā...tesaṃ sadā puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati (the merits of those who plant park and woods increase at all times).

(vi) *Maggasamaṅgissa rūpaṃ maggo ti.*[73] *Kvu.* X. 2.

(vii) *Maggasamaṅgī dvīhi sīlehi samannāgato ti.*[73] *Kvu.* X. 6.

A maggasamaṅgī is an advanced adept who has reached one of of the maggas, i.e., sotāpattimagga, etc., by following the eightfold path, and is engaged in *maggabhāvanā* (higher meditations). His mental states are transcendental (lokuttara). The question is whether the sīla practices[72] completed by him in the pre-sotāpanna

* Continued from p. 580 of vol. XIII.

71 *Kvu.* I, p. 422. Cf. *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 569, re. Anusaya.

72 Transl. "That the physical frame of one who is practising the eightfold path is included in that path." *Points of Controversy*, p. 244.

73 Transl. "That one who is engaged in the path is practising a double morality" *Ibid.*, p. 248. *Vism.*, p. 6: Sīlena sotāpanna-sakadāgāmibhāvassa kāraṇaṃ pakāsitaṃ hoti. Sotāpanno hi sīlesu paripūrakārī ti vutto, tathā sakadāgāmī.

74 See *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, p. 60.

stage and still possessed by him should be regarded as lokuttara or lokiya (belonging to the spheres of Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpa)? The M. contend that the rūpa of a maggasamaṅgī (or maggaṭṭha) remain lokiya while his mental state (citta) become lokuttara, hence his sīlas which belong to the category of rūpa as shown above remains lokiya. Of the eight factors of the aṭṭhaṅgika-magga, three, *viz.*, sammā vācā, kammanta and ājīvā of a sotāpanna are sīlas and as such they are lokiya but the remaining five which are mental (arūpa) may be lokuttara A sotāpanna therefore is in possession of lokiya sīlas but if he practises sammāsati, sammāvāyama, etc. he may be said to have lokuttara-sīlas. The Th. do not make any such distinction, for, all the eilght sīlas, according to them, emanate from mind;[75] so the sīlas of a sotāpanna, who has lokuttara-citta, are lokuttara.

(viii) Acts of intimation are virtues (viññatti sīlan ti). *Kvu.* X. 10.

(ix) Acts not intimating a moral purpose is immoral[76] (aviññatti dussīlyan ti). *Kvu.* X. 11.

Sīla, according to the M., must be positive action and not mere restraint (saṃvara), so any *viññatti* (intimation) by means of body or speech is sīla. Salutation, rising to welcome, folding hands, etc., are sīlas. The M., in view of their opinion that there may be accumulation of demerits without the association of mind (*cittavippayuttaṃ apuññupacayaṃ*), contend "that acts not intimating a moral purpose are immoral."

(x) Insight is dissociated from mind (ñāṇam cittavippayuttaṃ). *Kvu.* XI. 3.

(xi) One should not be called 'ñāṇī' (possessed of insight) though his *aññāṇa* (spiritual ignorance) is gone when his mind is dissociated from perception. (Aññāṇe

75 Cf. *Vism.*, p 6: Kiṃ sīlan ti? Cetanā sīlaṃ, cetasikaṃ sīlaṃ, saṃvaro sīlaṃ, avitikkamo sīlan ti (quoted from *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, I, p. 44).

76 See *P. of C.*, p. 252. For definition of *Viññatti*, see *Atthas.*, pp. 83 ff.

vigate ñāṇavippayutte citte vattamāne na vattabbaṃ 'ñāṇī' ti). *Kvu.* XI. 2.

In this controversy *ñāṇa* means maggañāṇa (insight belonging to the adepts who are in one of the four maggas). The M. contend that at the moment when an adept has cakkhuviññāṇa, etc., he can not have maggañāṇa. In other words they mean to say that it is only when an adept develops maggañāṇa and stops his sense perceptions (viññāṇas), he may be described as 'ñāṇī', hence ñāṇa is not associated with mind (citta = viññāṇa).

(xii) *Akusalamūlaṃ paṭisandahati kusalamūlan ti.*[77] *Kvu.* XIV. 1.

The M. contend that as the same object may be the cause of both *rāga* (attachment) and *virāga* (detachment) and as one may follow the other immediately, it may be stated that kusala is the *aṅantarapaccaya* (contiguous cause) of akusala and *vice versa.* The Th. point out that cultivation of kusalamūla must be made deliberately (yoniso manasikaroto) while that of akusalamūla does not require any such thinking (ayoniso manasikaroto), and also that *nekkhammasaññā* (renunciating thought) does not always follow *kāmasaññā* (worldly thought) and *vice versa,* and so kusalamūla cannot be regarded generally as the contiguous cause of akusalamūla and *vice versa.*[78]

(xiii) *Paccayatā vavatthitā ti.* ("One phenomenon can be related to another in one way only"). *Kvu.* XV. 1.

The M. now enter into the problem of *paccayas.* There are twenty-four kinds of paccayas, viz., hetu, ārammaṇa, adhipati, sahajāta, anantara, etc.[79] They raise the question whether one object

77 "That a basis of bad thought is consecutive to a basis that is good, and conversely." *P. of C.*, p. 282.

78 Cf. *Tikapaṭṭhāna*, pp. 168 ff.

79 See *Atthas.*, p. 9; *Dukapaṭṭhāna*, p. 3; *P. of C.*, App., pp. 390-2; *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 194 ff.

can be placed under two or more kinds of paccayas of another object, or a clear line of dstinction should be drawn between any two paccayas, in other words, one can be related to another by one relation only. The Th. hold that one object may be two kinds of paccayas, e.g., *viriya* may be both *adhipati* and *sahajāta; vimaṃsā* may be both *hetu* and *adhipati*. The M. do not subscribe to this view.

(xiv) Avijjā paccayā pi saṃkhārā, na vattabbaṃ "saṃkhārā paccayā pi avijjā ti."[80] *Kvu*. XV. 2.

This view of the M. is only a corollary to the previous one. The M. hold that avijjā is the *hetu* (cause) of saṃkhārā and as such there cannot be any other relation between the two. The Th., however, argue that avijjā and saṃkhārā are related to each other both as hetu and sahajāta (co-existent) or aññamañña (reciprocal), hence it may be stated that saṃkhārā are sahajātapaccayā of avijjā, and *vice versa*.[81] In the *Vibhaṅga* (pp. 156 ff.) the sampayutta (associated) and aññamañña (reciprocal) relations between any two consecutive links of the chain of causation are exhaustively dealt with, showing clearly the attitude of the Theravādins to the problem.

This concludes all the opinions attributed to the Mahāsaṅghikas in the *Kathāvatthu* but not referred to by Vasumitra. In the *Kathāvatthu* there are several other opinions attributed to the Andhakas and the Uttarāpathakas, the later sub-sects of the Mahāsaṅghikas, but as many of these coincide with those of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sammitiyas, we propose to deal with them after the exposition of the doctrines of these two schools in a subsequent issue of this journal.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

80 "That whereas actions are conditioned by ignorance, we may not say that ignorance is conditioned by actions." *P. of C.*, p. 294.

81 Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 54-55: avijjā samudayā āsavā āsavasamudayā avijjā; also *Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 56-57: viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpam, nāmarūpapaccayā viññāṇan ti.

Doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism

In the history of the secession of schools, Sarvāstivādins are found to be a branch of the orthodox group, the Theravādins, hence there are many points of agreement between the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda doctrines. The latter had its sphere of activity in Northern India extending from Kashmir to Mathura and was responsible for the propagation of Hinayāna Buddhism in Central Asia whence it was carried to China. The Tripiṭaka of this school was written in mixed Sanskrit. Its Abhidharma works are quite different from those of the Theravādins, while its Vinaya text contains many matters not to be found in the Pāli Vinaya, but there is a commonness in the topics of the Abhidhamma and the rules of the Vinaya. So far as the doctrines of the two schools are concerned, the principal point of difference is that the Sarvāstivādins maintain the existence of the khandhas in their abstract forms at all times, whether in the past, present or future, while the Theravādins deny any such existence. The former accept the fundamental creeds of Buddhism, *viz.*, *anatta* and *anicca* of things of the world, but their contention is that the things constituted out of the khandhas at a particular time are subject to disintegration but not the khandhas themselves, which always exist in their abstract state. Vedanā, for instance, may be kusala, akusala or avyākata at a particular time and place but the *vedanākhandha* exists at all times.[1]

I. *Do all exist?*

The *Kathāvatthu* (I. 6) presents the arguments and counter arguments of the Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins thus: The Sarvāstivādins maintain that all *dharmas* exist but not always and everywhere and in the same form. In reply to the question whether khandhas which are all different by nature exist uncombined

1 See *Points of Controversy*, Appendix, pp. 375-7.

(*ayogam*), they answer in the negative. This however, gives an opportunity to the Theravādins to show the fallacy that if all exist then both *micchādiṭṭhi* and *sammādiṭṭhi* exist together. Then again by equating past and future to present, the Theravādins show that if past and future exist then their existence should be predicated in the same way as of the present,[2] which the S. deny, saying that past and future exist but not exactly in the same way as one would speak of the present.

The Th. take recourse to the second argument saying that let the 'present material aggregate' (*paccuppanna-rūpa*) be treated as one unseparable object; now, after some time has elapsed, this material aggregate becomes past, i.e., gives up its presentness (*paccuppannabhāva*) to which the S. agree; then in the same way can it be said that the material aggregate also gives up its materiality (*rūpa-bhāva*)? The S. deny the latter inference, reasoning thus,—let a piece of 'white cloth' be regarded as one unseparable object; now, when this cloth is coloured, it gives up its whiteness (like '*paccuppannabhāva*' in the former case), but does it give up its clothness (like '*rūpabhāva*' in the former case)? This disarms the opponents .The Th. however follows up this argument of the S. by the *suddhikanaya* saying that if the material aggregate (*rūpa*) does not give up its materiality (*rūpabhāva*),[3] then *rūpa* becomes parmanent. eternally existing like nibbāna—a conclusion not accepted by the S., as according to the latter *rūpabhāva* is different from *nibbānabhāva*.

The next question put by the Th. is whether past (*atīta*) gives up its pastness (*atītabhāva*)? The S. answer in the negative, but takes care to note that when they say that *atitabhāva* exists they mean that *anāgatabhāva* (futurity) and *paccuppannabhāva* (presentness) do not exist like the *atītabhāva*, and similarly when they pre-

2 This is repeated with ecl. of the khandhas.

3 Cy. rūpakkhandhena samgahitattā.

dicate existence of *anāgatabhāva*, they mean *atītabhāva* and *paccuppannabhāva* do not exist like *anāgatabhāva*. This general statement is then applied to each of the khandhas. The Th. round up the discussion by their usual *suddhikanaya* saying that *atīta* or *atītabhāva* then would be the same as *nibbāna* or *nibbānabhāva* a conclusion rejected by the S. The Th. then take to the *vacanasodhana* saying that (i) if the existence of past (*atīta*) and non-past (*nvātīta*) as also future (*anāgata*) and non-future (*nvānāgata*) is denied then the S. should not say that past and future exist; so also (ii) if they do not accept the identity of *atīta, paccuppanna* and *anāgata,*[4] they cannot say that *atīta* and *anāgata* exist.

The next argument of the Th. is that if the S. admit that *paccuppannañāṇa* (present cognition) exists and it has the function of knowing things (paccuppannaṃ ñāṇaṃ atthi, tena ñāṇena ñāṇakaraṇīyaṃ karoti) and then why not the *atītañāṇa* and *anāgatañāṇa*, the existence of which is affirmed by the S., should not have the function of knowing things in analogy to that of *paccuppannañāṇa*? This the Th. consider as illogical and rejects the contention of the S.[5] that *'atītaṃ ñāṇaṃ atthi'*.

The Th. now takes up the cases of the Arhats, Anāgāmis, etc., and show that according to the S. who state *atīta rāga* exist in an Arhat, that *atīta byāpāda* exist in an Anāgāmī and so forth, an Arhat should be *sarāgo*, an Anāgāmī should be *byāpannacitto* and so on, but this inference is not accepted by the S.

The last argument resorted to by the Th. is that if the existence of *atīta, paccuppanna* and *anāgata khandhas, dhātus, āyatanas* be admitted, then the S. should say that there are (3 × 5) or 15 khandhas,

4 By taking recourse to the discussion whether hutvā hoti hutvā hoti and na hutvā na hoti, na hutvā na hoti, the Th. show logically the untenability of the assertion of the S.

5 In the text, this argument is elaborated by the application of this general statement to each of the sense-organs, (paras 23-28) as also to hattha, pabba, kāya, āpo, tejo and vāyu (paras 47-49)

(3 × 18) or 54 dhātus, (3 × 12) or 36 āyatanas which the S. reject saying that they may accept the position that atīta or anāgata exists from one standpoint and does not exist from another standpoint (*atthi siyā atītaṃ or anāgataṃ or siyā nvātītaṃ or nvanāgatan ti*). The Th. then bring in their *suddhikanaya* by citing the instance of nibbāna and establishes the futility of the assertion of the S. that past and future exist. Both the Th. and S. then quote passages from the Sutta Piṭaka in support of their own contentions, one however remaining unconvinced by the other. From the controversies dealt with above the following may be taken as the opinion of the S.:

1 The past and future, as usually understood, do not exist, though they are perceptible in the present.[6] In the same sense, the non-past and non-future should also be taken as non-existing.

2 It is the *bhāva* of each of the five khandhas and not the khandhas persist in the past, present and future.

3 An object (*vastu*) may lose its pastness, presentness, or futurity but not its objectness (*vastutva*) but that objectness is not identical with nibbāna or nibbānabhāva.

4 An Arhat e.g., for instance, has *atīta rāga* but he is not therefore to be regarded as "sarāgo".[7]

The S. admit impermanency (*anityatā*) of the constituted things but they contend that the "dharmas" (or bhāvas) of the past are transmitted into the present and likewise the "dharmas" of the future are latent in the present. This we may illustrate, by citing the example of a sweet mango—the past mango seed transmits into the present "mangoness" if not the "sweetness" and similarly the "future mango" receives its "mangoness" from the present: the mango seed can never produce any other fruit though there may

6 E.g. anāgataṃ hutvā paccuppannaṃ hoti but *anāgata* is not identical with *paccuppanna* in the ordinary sense, though in *paccuppanna* there is (the dharma of) *anāgata* so in that sense *paccuppanna* is *anāgata*.

7 Cf. the Mahāsaṅghika view re. *anusaya*.

be a change in the quality and shape and colour of the mango. The S. speak of a being in the same way. According to them a being is composed of five dharmas (not five khandhas), *viz.*, (i) *citta* (mind), (ii) *caitasika* (mental states), (iii) *rūpa* (matter), (iv) *viṣaṃprayuktasaṃskāra* (states independent of the mind),[8] and (v) *asaṃskṛtas* (the unconstituted).[9] The five dharmas (not elements as usually

8 In Vasumitra this appears also as a separate opinion of the S.: The phenomena jāti, jarā, sthiti, anityatā are cittaviṣaṃprayuktas but included in saṃskāraskandhas. One of these four items, *viz.*, *jarā* is discussed in the *Kvu.* (VII. 8) in the topic "jarāmaraṇaṃ vipāko ti?" an opinion of the Andhakas, the *Kvu.* supporting the opposite view that jarāmaraṇaṃ is not *vipāka*.

9 These five are sub-divided into seventy-five thus:—

I. Rūpa (11)— (a) *viṣaya* (5) (b) *indriya* (5) (c) *avijñapti* (1)

(i) rūpa	(i) cakṣurindriya
(ii) śabda	(ii) śrotrendriya
(iii) gandha	(iii) ghrāṇendriya
(iv) rasa	(iv) jihvendriya
(v) sparśa	(v) kāyendriya

II. Citta (1)

III. Caitasikas (46)—

(a) *Mahābhūmika* (10)

(i) vedanā
(ii) saṃjñā
(iii) cetanā
(iv) sparśa
(v) chanda
(vi) mati or prajñā
(vii) smṛti
(viii) manaskāra
(ix) adhimokṣa
(x) samādhi

(b) *Kuśalamahabhūmika* (10)

(i) śraddhā
(ii) vīrya
(iii) upekṣā
(iv) hrī
(v) apatrāpya
(vi) alobha
(vii) adveśa
(viii) ahiṃsā
(ix) praśrabdhi
(x) apramāda

(c) *Kleśa-mahābhūmika* (6)

(i) moha
(ii) pramāda
(iii) kauśīdya
(iv) aśrāddhya
(v) styāna
(vi) auddhatya

(d) *Akuśala-mahābhūmika* (2)

(i) ahrīkatā
(ii) anapatrāpya

understood) persist in a being, the present being the resultant of the past, and potential of the future. An adept after becoming a *sotāpanna* remains so in his following existence proving thereby that his past dharma continues and the three saṃyojanas[10] remain ineffective. It may be argued by the Th. that the three saṃyojanas have altogether disappeared; the Sarvāstivādins may cite the instance of the Sakadāgamin as a better illustration. A Sakadāgamin reduces rāga, dosa and moha to the minimum, and in his following births that

	(*e*) *Upakleśa-bhūmika* (10)	(*f*) *Aniyata-bhūmika* (8)	
	(i) krodha	(i) kaukṛtya	
	(ii) mrakṣa	(ii) middha	
	(iii) mātsarya	(iii) vitarka	
	(iv) irṣyā	(iv) vicāra	
	(v) pradāśa	(v) rāga	
	(vi) vihiṃsā	(vi) pratigha	
	(vii) upanāha	(vii) māna	
	(viii) māyā	(viii) vicikitsā	
	(ix) śāṭhya		
	(x) mada		
IV. Citta-viprayukta (14)		(i) prāpti	
		(ii) aprāpti	
		(iii) sabhāgatā	
		(iv) asaṃjñika	
		(v) asaṃjñi-samāpatti	
		(vi) nirodha samāpatti	
		(vii) jivita	
		(viii) jāti	
		(ix) sthiti	
		(x) jarā	
		(xi) anityatā	
		(xii) nāmakāya	
		(xiii) padakāya	
		(xiv) vyañjana-kāya	
V Asaṃskṛtas (3)		(i) ākāśa	
		(ii) pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha	
		(iii) apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha.	

See Rosenberg, *Die probleme der buddhistischen philosophie*, pp. 128-9. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, *Abhidharma-kośa*, Table III.

10 *Viz.*, *sakkāyadiṭṭhi, sīlabbataparāmāsa, vicikicchā.*

state continues, proving thereby the continuity of past dharmas. Now we may pass on to the case of Arhats. The Arhats, it will be seen, become completely free from rāga, dosa and moha; according to the Th. they are destroyed for ever but according to the S., these rāga, dosa and moha persist though in an ineffective form and these may reappear and cause an Arhat fall from the Arhathood—a topic discussed in the *Kvu.* (I. 2) and attributed by Buddhaghosa to the S., *viz., Parihāyati arahā arahattā ti*?[11]

(*To be continued*).

NALINAKSHA DUTT

11 For its exposition, see the Doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas, *IHQ.*, XIII, p 565.

Adverbs in -taram, -tarām

From the time of the Ṛgveda an adverb is formed by means of a suffix *-tarám* attached to preverbs: *vitarám* and *pratarám*,— which are further joined by the isolated forms *avatarám* and *parātarám* in maṇḍalas I and X. The use of this adverb is precise: it intensifies the value of the preverb which it supports, and which is given in its pure form at its side, either before (*prá táṃ naya pratarám* X. 45. 9 "lead him ahead, further ahead") or after (*vitarám ví bhāhi* VI. 1. 11 "glow at a distance, more at a distance"). The fact has been briefly noticed by Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 195; the rule applies throughout to *vitaram* and *avatarám;* in *parātarám..... jihītām* of maṇḍala X (59, 1-4) the preverb is wanting: on account of its heaviness the form *parātarám* alone takes the place of the excepted *parātarám parā*: how can *jihītām* alone mean "to cede" (Grassmann, *Wörterb.*, s.v.)? Finally for *pratarām*, both the types *pratárám...prá* and *prá...pratarám* are equally well attested; the verse X. 42.1 in which the verb (with *prá*) and the adverb *pratarám* belong to two different clauses is due to an extension of the use as is often resorted to by the authors of maṇḍala X. Other extensions have however also taken place: the common formula: *prá tāry agne pratarám na áyuḥ* IV. 12. 6; X 126. 8 has induced on the one hand *áyuḥ pratarám dádhānāḥ* in maṇḍalas I and X (and even *áyuḥ pratarám*, without the verb, II. 32. 1); on the other hand, by successive semantic approximation, *jīvátave pratarám* I. 94. 4, *pratarám dadhātana* V. 34. 1 and *dádhānāḥ* I. 141. 13, *ye vāvṛdhúḥ pratarám* X. 66. 1 and *pratarám vāvṛdhur náraḥ* V. 55. 3, and finally *pratarám didhyānaḥ*. X. 10. 1. We are quite favourably situated here to be able to trace the gradual development and multiplication in the Ṛgvedic vocabulary, which took place round the central idea represented by *áyuḥ prá tar*.

Finally, the maṇḍala X presents a case of *-tarám* on an adverbial stem: *téna gacha parastarám* 155. 3: here too we are semantically very close to what would be given by a formula with preverb *parā́ gaccha.*

This adverbial formation is isolated: no neuter in *-tara-* functions as adverb in the ṚV., and moreover the use of a preverb as the stem, as well as the oxytonous accentuation, would suffice to distinguish the type *pratarám*, from the adjectives like *tavástara- madíntara- vidúṣṭara-*, or like *úttara-*.

It appears that the type *pratarám* was easily able to maintain itself in post-Ṛgvedic Sanskrit, supported as it was by the mass of adverbs in *-am*, and more particularly by the neuters in *-taram*, the use of which was developed after the ṚV.: they are in fact rare in the Vedic texts (*áśrutataram* TS. II. 5. 11. 1, *pratyaktaram* ĀśvGs. I. 10. 17, *nitatatamam* KS. XII. 10: 172. 11 according to Caland *ZDMG.* LXXII p. 14, *úttaram* passim), but are quite frequent in the classical literature: *bahutaram, mandataram, pūrvataram, ciratarам*, etc., cf. also the element *-ak-* "infixed", *bhinnataram, chinna-tarakam Mahābhās.* V. 4. 4. In fact the rapid decline of the autonomy of the preverb brought with it also the decline of adverbs in *-tarám* in so far as they owed their existence to the function of this autonomy.

The AV. too offers some examples of *pratarám* (references in Whitney, Index, s.v.) but exclusively in formulas of the Ṛgvedic types; moreover with the MS. it shares the form *saṃtarám* in the mantra *sáṃśitaṃ cit saṃtarám sáṃ śiśādhi* (references in *Ved. Conc.*), and the form *uttarám* (distinguished from the neuter *úttaram*) in the mantra *úd enam uttarám naya*: both the mantras are in conformity with Ṛgvedic diction. One would be tempted to attribute to the MS. a third form in *-tarám*, masquerading under the aspect *áva tara* of the manuscripts (*ávataram* of the *padapāṭha; ávattaraṃ* TS., *ávattaro* AV.) ad II. 10. 1: 131. 9; it has to be con-

fessed however that the reading *áva tara,* which is given along with the MS. also by VS. and TS., give the most natural syntactical construction (Whitney-Lanman ad Av. XVIII. 3. 5. *Vedic Variants,* II § 833),—a fact which in question regarding mantras does not signify that it is also the best.

If the mantras of the MS. are the only ones of the YV. showing this formation, the prose of the same Saṃhitā (of the YV.) is the only one which has retained any trace of it,—a precious proof of linguistic homogeneity between the mantra and the brāhmaṇa within the sphere of the same text. But the use made of these adverbs in prose already tends to differ from their use in the mantra: the value of the "preverb" is much less clear in them. The forms in question are firstly, *abhitarám* and *apatarám* in one and the same passage of the MS. (I. 4. 12: 61. 10), *yáṃ kāmáyetābhitarâṃ vásīyāñ śréyān t syād íti tásyābhikrâmaṃ juhuyāt téna so 'bhitarâṃ vásīyāñ śréyān bhavaty átha yám kāmáyetāparatarâṃ pâpīyān t syād íti tásyāpakrâmaṃ juhuyāt tena so 'patarâṃ pâpiyān bhavati* "the person, of whom he wishes that he might become richer and more happy, should offer the oblation by advancing towards him, and he of whom he wishes that his condition may grow worse should offer the oblation by receding from him." This is the passage which has inspired the ĀpŚs. II. 17. 5 with its formula *abhitaraṃ vasīyān syāt.....avataraṃ pāpīyān syāt.* Caland in his translation of the latter text explains *abhitaraṃ* and *avataram* as two namuls: but it is quite clear that the sentence in its more complete form as found in the Saṃhitā forbids this connection. The two adverbs pleonastically strengthen the following adjectives. It is a case of *-tarám* gliding into a simply adverbial value: moreover Rudradatta too interprets it in this way, for he glosses the forms by *sutarām* and *avakṛṣṭataram* respectively.

Even *pratarám* is purely adverbial in MS. I. 8. 4: 120. 6 *pratarâṃ vā yajñásyābhíkrāntyai* (opposed to *ná paścâd úpa sādayet*).

On the other hand *saṃtarám* remains a preverb in III. 7. 10: 91. 5 *saṃtarám mékhalām á yacchate*: on comparing it with the parallel passage in TS. VI. 2. 2. 7, which gives the verbal locution in the more complete form *samâ yacchate*, it will be evident that the sentence follows the phraseology of the ṚV. itself, type *vitarám ví bhāhi*. It is true that in this passage Schroeder's text reads *saṃtarâṃ;* but the manuscripts, have *saṃtaran* (sic), and the forms in *-tarám*, cited above suffice to compel the restitution *saṃtarám*.

Last of all let us mention *avāntarám* MS. II. 5. 1: 47. 3; IV. 5. 8 bis: 75. 21 and 76. 2 (likewise also in TS. VII. 4. 5. 4=5. 4. 2; TB. II. 3. 5. 4): but the original preverbial character of **an* (for inspite of its meaning, the word belongs rather to *antár* and *ántara-*" situated in the interior', that is to say, to the preverb **an*, than to *ántara-* "other, different", which is attested only towards the end of the Vedic period) was lost already before the historical period, and the form gains currency as adverb, safeguarded moreover by the neuter *ántaram* which functions already from the ṚV.; the adverb *abhyantaram* of the classical language, of which the structure seems to be the same at first sight is a specialisation of the substantive *abhyantara-*.

The type in *-tarám* which disappeared so early, was replaced and extended by a formation in *-tarâm*. Although this formation, as also the other, finds a theoretical justification in the original Indo-European (see further below), yet, from the philological point of view, it gives the impression of being born in the Vedic period, then growing up progressively and finally diminishing after the Vedic period. Compared with the type in *-tarám*, it has the aspect of a new formation aiming at replacing the preceding one.

The ṚV. offers only one example of it, and that in a fragment of a hymn which has been considered to be recent (Grassmann, *Übers.;* cf. Arnold, *Ved. Metre*, p. 282), which however it will be doubtless more proper to consider as belonging to a linguistic niveau

distinct from that in which the Vedic hymns have been normally composed. The passage concerned is VIII. 33. 19,—the verse in which, in course of an obscene description, it is said *saṃtarâm pādakaú hara* "press well together your small feet"; the usage is visibly a familiar one, doubtless even vulgar: the "diminutive" *-tarâm* associated with the diminutive *-ká*. The form has been correctly analysed already from the time of Roth; it is difficult to see why in Grassmann's dictionary alone an illusory nominal stem **saṃtarâ* has been installed; *saṃtarâm.....hara* is formed exactly like *parâtarám.....jihîtām* X. 59. 1-4, and cf. Ludwig, *Commentar* ad loc., as well as Gaedicke, *Accusative*, p 227. It may be recalled in this connection that Gaedicke, *op. c.*, p. 230, and afterwards Oldenberg, *Noten ad* V. 34. 9 have vindicated also for the form *upamâm* in V. 349 the character of an adverb in *-âm*: the meaning still remains very uncertain; even more uncertain is the meaning of *mahâm* II. 24. 11 which Oldenberg was inclined to regard as an adverb. *Upamâm* at all events occurs in a passage of the aspect of "dānastuti",—a type which, as is well known, is characterised by certain traits suggestive of modernity or familiarity. *Saṃtarâm* is very probably quite isolated; but the AV. resumes the formation by giving the adverb *parastarâm* three times (cf. *parastarám* of the ṚV.): V. 22. 7; 30, 9; VI. 67. 1. These are truly Atharvavedic passages, and on the other hand the use is also truly adverbial. As the AV. possesses, as has been noticed already, preverbs in *-tarám* in its hieratic portions, this text becomes the theatre of a conflict between the two formations, though at the same time it reveals clearly what had been their proper spheres originally: *-tarám* a preverb proper, employed in mantras of the *śrauta* type, and *-tarâm*, rather adverbial, and representing a more familiar aspect of the vocabulary. Here again it will not be possible to depend on the form *upamâm* XVIII. 3. 65 (also SV.), which must have been secondarily substituted for the *upamân* of the ṚV. (*upa mâm* TĀ.,

in order to legitimatise the new form), though it could furnish no plausible sense, cf. *Vedic Variants,* III§ 495.

The situation of the other mantras is clear: *-tarâm* occurs in them only in passages borrowed from ṚV.-AV. or modelled after the fashion of these Saṃhitā. The tendency towards *-tarám* is clear,—not only in the new mantras (*pratarām ĀśvŚs.* I. 4. 8), but also in the variants of ancient mantras. If the *vitarám* of ṚV. (AV.) is maintained throughout without any change in the YV.. the better known form *saṃtarám* AV. MS. (in the mantra already quoted; see the reference for this form and the following ones in the *Vedic Variants* III§ 823, jointly wth the *Vedic Conc.*) changes into *saṃtarâm* VS. TS. KS.; but above all it is *pratarám* which is subjected to a systematic variation: the first case of *pratarám* RV. MS. KS.: *pratarâm* TS.; the second case of *pratarám* RV.: *-âm* SV.; the third case of *pratarám* ṚV. AV.: *-âm* TĀ. (and *pratiram* MGS.); the fourth case of *pratarám* RV. KS.: *-âm* ĀpŚś.; the fifth case of *pratarám RV. AV.*: *-âm* SV.; the sixth case of *pratrám* RV. VS. MS. KS.. *-am* TS. (Oldenberg, *Prolegom.* p. 305). Finally, without the participation of RV., *pratarám* AV. MS.KS.: *-âm* VS. TS. Only may, add further *uttarám* AV. MS. (mantra quoted already: *-âm* VS. TS. KS., which is given in the *Vedic Variants under* §814. Lastly upamam RV.: *-âm* SV. (§819). The distribution of the forms is quite clear: AV. and MS. retain the short final vowel, SV. goes over to the long like TS. (and tributary texts); VS.—and KS. above all—exhibit an irresolution in this regard, Kap. exactly follows KS.

It is from this clear cut state of things that the oldest prose makes a new departure: it has been noticed that the Brāhmaṇa portions of the MS. were practically the only ones to use *-tarám*: it could be well anticipated that they would ignore *-tarâm*. It is true that Schroeder's text I. 8. 2: 116. 13 gives the form *natamâm*. That would be a grave and double innovation: for hitherto we

have met with "comparatives" only, not with superlatives, and on the other hand the basic stem was hitherto furnished either by a preverb, or by an adverb of direction. In fact, the passage has been certainly altered and its meaning remains doubtful; if the reading of the mss. is adhered to, which is *ná tamắṃ ví dahati*, one, would be rather inclined to think that a **vitamắm* (imitation of **vitarắm*, the later form of *vitarắṃ*) in the negative clause, where the tmesis was not permissible, was somehow divided and finally developed into *ná tamắṃ ví d°*.

If the MS. does not seem to employ this formation, the other Saṃhitās, which do not know the use of *-tarám*, offer several adverbs in *-tarắm*: the TS. has *saṃtarắṃ mekhalắṃ samá yacchate* VI. 2. 2. 7 (Cf. above *saṃtarám* of the MS. in the same sentence),—a formula (of the familiar type?) which has been resumed in KS. XXIV. 9: 100. 20 = Kap. XXXVIII. 2. Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax* p. 195 says that in the prose he could not find any case of the usage represented by Rgvedic *vitarắṃ ví bhāhi*: but the example above is quite clear. Cf. also *saṃtarắṃ.....úpa dadhyāt* TS. V. 7. 10. 3, *pratarāṃ karoti* KS. XXV. 7: 112.4 = Kap. XXXIX. 5. On the other hand *paras-tarām* KS.XXXV. 17: 63. 7 = Kap. XLVIII. 15 as well as *uttarām* (but probably derived from the adjective *úttara* rather than from the preverb *úd*) opposed to *dakṣiṇatas* KS. XXIX. 8: 176. 16 is adverbial.

The TB. offers only one *parastarắm* (in the same mantra as KS. cited above), and a new formation *nitarắm* II. 1. 10. 2: *nitarắm arcír upắvaiti* "the flame goes down inside it"; the adverb strengthens *upa*.

The PB. has only *parastarām* XVII. 14. 3 bis; the same form in the published portions of JB. (5 times; references in the Index of Vishvabandhu Śāstri),—a text which further knows *atitarām* (Auswahl, p. 205, l. 5): this last word is used in connection with verb

"to be", which marks the completion of the semantic decline of this formation.

The only form which with full certainty can be attributed to the KB. is *nitarām* (XV. 4) functioning as a preverb; *uttarām* (X. 6) quoted by Oertel in this connection *ZII.* V. p. 113 is certainly a feminine of the adjective: cf. Keith's translation ad loc., as well as Caland, *AO.* X. p. 315. If the reading is authentic, the same text would furnish the first example of a base constituted by a verbal adjective: *anudāyitatarām* XV. 4 (reading of one manuscript and of the text *ĀnSS.*). The form comes after *nitarām* and can only signify "in still lower a tone" (Keith). On the other hand the use of adverbial comparatives on verbal stems is not unknown cf. *áśrutataram* quoted above. But, from the morphological point of view, one would expect **anudāttatarām*. Only two Brāhmaṇas furnish some extension of this type of adverbs,—AB., and above all, ŚB. AB. has *abhitarām* III. 44. 5 used in a clearly "preverbial" sense: the proposition *yadābhitarām eti* resumes the preceding expression *yadābhyeti* in order to strengthen it. it favoured the development of the adverbs *uccaistarām* III. 7. 10-11; 24. 4, *śanais°* 7. 10-11, 45. 6, *nīcais°* 24. 6-7. *Uttarām* VII. 20. 4, has less to do with the *uttarám* of the AV. than with the stem *úttara*,—"on his upward course" (Keith). If as we believe, the form **natamám* of MS. has to be rejected, it is AB. which furnishes the earliest examples of adverbs in *-tamám*: e.g. *pratamām* (in adverbial use) I. 9. 8; III. 47. 6; 48.4; 49.8 and *jyoktamām* II. 8. 4. The fixation *natarām* is made at last in IV. 25. 3: the sentence *te natarāṃ pāpmānaṁ apāhata* gives the negative counterpart of what would have been something like **te pāpmānam apatarām ahata;* with the exception of the uncertain *uttarām* the pañcikās V—VIII, it may be noted, have no forms in *-tarām* (*-tamām*).

But the text which develops this formation to the highest degree is the ŚB.: this is of a piece with the traits of linguistic intensifica-

tion which so often characterise this Br. Thus we have, on preverbs (references in Oertel, op. c. p. 113) *atitarám* (with ablative construction: the first appearance of this usage), *anutamām, abhitarám* (semi-preverb), *avāntarám* and *vyantarám, ātamám* ("superlative of (*ákhāyate*)" as justly remarks Eggeling ad X. 1.2.5), *uttarám* K. (=*uttarávat* M. in the sense of "the following day", opposed to *saṃprati*), *pratamám, pratitarám, vitarám, saṃtarám*. Forms on non-preverbial stems: of the forms attested before: *parastarám, jyoktamám, uccaistarám* (K.), *natarám*; of new forms: *addhātamám* (typical adverbial use, as predicate of a nominal sentence: *agnir vai devánām addhātamám*, and analogues), *adhastarám* (at the side of *pratitarám*), *āvistarám* (with ablative construction). But the ŚB. goes on developing the form still further: it imposes this constructon on an adjective stem *pratyakṣatarām* (as adverbial predicate) and even on a superlative *nediṣṭhatamám* and perhaps *nediṣṭhamám* III. 1. 1. 5, (likewise as predicate). This formation tends more and more to become the adverbial counterpart of the adjectives in *-tara* and *-tama-*: we find (references in Vishvabandhu Śāstri) *addhātama* -AĀ. *pratyakṣatama* -AB. *āviṣṭama-* JB., etc., not to speak of *úttara-uttamá*.

For the Gop B. see some forms (without innovations) pointed out by Oertel l.c.

The formation now declines rapidly: apart from *uparām* I. 58. 4, which is a question apart, the JUB. has only *atitarām* IV. 21. 2=3 (with object in the accusative) and *nitarām* I. 38. 2 bis,—types already known before. The ĀpŚS., of which form *abhitaram* (II. 17, 5), as has been pointed out, owed its existence to its usage in the MS., uses in its own language *abhitarām* VI. 8. 4; *parastarām* on the other hand, IX. 1. 18, is derived from TB. (Cf. Caland ad loc.), as *saṃtarām* XI. 2. 1 from TB. and ŚB. (Cf. Caland ad. loc.); likewise *vitarāṃ* XI. 18. 5. where the use is definitely "preverbial"—*vitarāṃ mekhalāṃ visraṃsate* (whence, ibid., *vitarāṃ muṣṭī karṣate*)

—is based on the model of a Brāhmaṇa (Cf. *saṃtarám mékhalām á yacchae* MS., quoted above. In other words, the language of the Sūtras, in their autonomous portions, take resort to this procedure in a very limited degree, and did not call forth any innovation.

The Baudh. ŚS. has *saṃtarām* and *vitarām* V. 12. The ĀśŚs. has *śanaistarām* V. 1. 1 bis, the KŚS. *nīcaistarām* VII. 2. 31. The *nitarām* of ŚŚS. VII. 20. 10 is derived from KB.: in the same text, in course of the episode of Śunaḥśepa in Brāhmaṇa style, the formula *nitarāṃ pāśo mumuce* XV. 22 replaces *vi* (to read *vitarāṃ*? Cf. Keith ad loc.; the tmesis in fact is not in normal place) *pāśo mumuce* AB. VII. 16. 13. The formula would have replaced a tmesis felt to be something fallen into disuse.

The Gṛhyasūtras operate only with banal adverbs, *uccaistarām* Ś. (also ĀpDh. I. 8. 8) and *nīcaistarām* ibid. (references in Stenzler's index). The AĀ. has only *āvistarām* II. 3. 2 ter: the quite unusual form *annatamām* (on a substantive stem), which in I. 4.1 was suggested to be an adverb by Max Müller, has been explained in a satisfactory way by Keith ad loc. as a substantive of which the gender was influenced by *virājam*. The *Prātiśākhyas* have *uccaistarām* and *nīcaistarām* TPr. I. 41 and 44.

For classical Sanskrit it is important to note at first that the use of preverbs as stems to *-tarām* is extremely restricted: *atitarām* occurs in Kenop. (with object in accusative, in a sentence analogous to that of the JUB. quoted above), Kālidāsa, Amaru, Vedāntas., etc. (for this word and the following look up the references in BR. and pw.; *atitamām* Nārāyaṇa ad Naiṣadh.); *nitarām* Rām. Mhbh. Bhartṛh. Amaru, Pañc. etc. (*nitamām* Hammīra, references in Barth, *Oeuvres* III, p. 396). Apart from these there are only adverbs, of which the enumeration follows:—

alaṃtarām Kumār. (later portions), Śiśup.;

uccaistarām Pāṇini, Mahābhāṣya, Kām-Nītis., Kumar.

(in reference to which the Durghaṭavṛtti, p. 91 gives the different

readings *uccaistaram*, that is to say, the adjectives but the reading *-tarām* is better attested cf. möhrke, Vallabhadeva's *Comm. Zu Kum.*, p. 67);

uccaistamām Rāvaṇārj. XVII. 41;

kaccittamām Naiṣadh. VIII. 57 (Cf. Nārāyaṇa ad loc.; wrongly taken to be an independent example of *tamām* by pw.);

kathaṃtarām Sarvadarś.;

kutastarām Sāṃkhyaprav.;

natarām in the philosophical commentaries and at an earlier age in the Mahābhāṣ. I. 3. 1: 253. 10;

punastarām Śiśúp., Haravij. XXIX. 18;

prātastarām Bhaṭṭik.;

bahutarām Caurap.;

bhūyastarām Rām. (reading very uncertain, the recension of N.-W. reads II. 109. 15 *bhūyās tathā*); sutarām (the only form of this series which has a truly living usage) MnBh., Kālidāsa, Purānas, etc., also Mahābhās. VII. 3.14: 320. 22, Arthaś. X. 6.7, Divy., p. 526. l. 2 (the only example in Buddhist Sanskrit?);

sutamām is noted by Monier Williams without giving reference.

The Vedic commentaries know moreover forms like *viprakṛṣṭatarām* and *samnikṛṣṭatarām* as glosses of *vitarām* and *saṃtarām* BaudhŚS. V. 12, cf. Caland's Index ad loc. It is doubtful whether this extension occurs in texts other than those which move within the Vedic sphere.

At the end let us note that, very curiously, the Bhāgav. Pur., X. 46. 43 gives *vastu tarāṃ na vācyam* (comm. *nitarām*): "nothing exists which can be designated by a name" (Burnouf). The liberation of the element *tarām* must have been understood by the author to be a Vedism, connected by him with the autonomous preverbs of the Veda, and perhaps more directly with the (uncertain) form *ná tamám* of the MS.

Pāṇini's rule (V. 4. 11) about *-tarâm* (*-tamâm*) refers to a state of the language only partially represented by the Vedic texts. In comformity with the orientation which we believe to have discovered in the RV., it was certainly a formation properly belonging to a linguistic niveau socially inferior to that which can be apprehended by means of the religious texts preceding or contemporaneous with Pāṇini. Let us for the present leave aside the question of the personal verb. Pāṇini prescribes *-tarâm* (*-tamâm*) also after *kim* (Cf. *kaccit*,° *katham*° and *kutas*° of the later classical texts cited above); after the words in *e* (for which the commentators give the example *pūrvāhṇetarām -tamām;* Abhayacandrasūri ad Śākaṭ. adds prāhṇe°, as also Vop.; others *aparāhṇe*)°; and finally after "avyayas", for which none of all the commentators can give any example other than *uccaistarām -tamām*. The case of preverbs has not been noted, and Pāṇini justly separates the ending *-ám* (alternative of *-âm*) as belonging to the chandas (*sūtra* 12): the sūtra is glossed by *pratarám* of the RV., but it is equally justifiable to think that the author of the sūtra had in mind the short finals in the prose of the MS.

In the same passage (V. 4. 11) Pāṇini also prescribes the use of *-tarâm -(tamâm)* after the personal forms of the verb. The grammatical commentators give examples of this type in great abundance because they serve to delimit for them the proper field of the final elements: thus it is that we find in the Mahābhāṣya (passim, see the index published) *pacatitarām* and *prapacati*°, *jalpati*° and *prajalpati*° *bhindyus*° and *chindyus*°, *akāri*° and *ahāri*°; the Bhāṣāvṛtti ad V. 4. 1, gives *yāti*°, *vakti*° and *gacchati*°, Abhayacandrasūri ad Śākaṭ gives *paṭhati*°, etc.

It is hardly necessary today to justify Pāṇini against the attacks of Whitney (*AmJPh.*, XIV, p. 191; cf. also his Grammar §473C), who refused to recognise those forms and declared them to be "barbarous", but who was combated from the beginning in an effective way by Böhtlingk, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.*, 1893, p. 253. (Cf. also Liebich,

Pāṇini, p. 61, Speyer, *Skt Syntax*, p. 189, Dellbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, I, p. 624). As was already anticipated by Ludwig, *Rgveda*, V, p. 158, the formation is explained immediately when viewed in the light of the Vedic usage of *-tarám* after preverbs: from the day the conjunction of preverb and the verb became compulsory an old* *pratarám*(*prá*) *pacati* became *prapacatitarám* by the force of circumtances. The formulas cited above from the later Brāhmaṇas—*abhitarām eti, ātamāṃ khyāyate*—are constructions half-way to this final form. And for the general procedure of the affixation to a verb one may compare the parallel formations of the grammarians, such as *pacatikalpam, pacatirūpam, pacatigotram, jalpatibruvam, pacataki*, etc.

Had it been possible to trace the origin of this movement, it is quite probable that it would have also shown that it was in operation at first where the verb was furnished with a preverb. But the attestations that we have are so much later than Pāṇini that it is not possible for us to reconstruct its genesis. This formation moreover appears almost exclusively in the poetical texts, and above all in those texts which also otherwise present such traits of literary refinement that the types in *-tarām* teach us less about the real productivity of a traditional usage than about the grammatical culture and pedanticism of the authors.

The following are the examples which we have been able to collect:

For the Rāmāyaṇa Böhtlingk (BR. s.v. *sad-* and *Ber. Sächs. Ges.*, 1887, p. 216) quotes *sīdatetarām* II. 64. 72; it is necessary to know however if the form is authentic; in the current editions it has been replaced by *sīdatīva me*, which may be the product of a recent normalisation; the N.-W. recension does not contain the parallel passage.

Kālidāsa does not use this formation: *prabhavatitarām Vikramorv.*, V. 18 is for this reason problematic,—all the more be-

cause the textual tradition is uncertain. After Kālidāsa and particularly in the Jaina poetry the forms increase greatly: *ramayati°* Ratnāv. st. 53, *prathayati° tirayati° jaḍayati°* st. 53 Cappeller (but *tapati.... sutarām* st. 54, in a simpler passage); *dahati°* Pañc. Kielhorn I. 324 = Sprüche[2] 4092; *prasarati°* Bhartṛh., Bohlen (Vairāgyaś. st. 17); *kathayati°* (var: *sthagayati°*) Bhāminiv., II. 78; *vitarati°* Mayūra Quackenbos (Sūryaśat. n° 28 p. 143); *eti°* Rāvaṇārj. XVII. 41; *vyathayati°* Prabodhacandr. IV. 22 = Sprüche[2] 3045; *rājati°* Haravij XXII. 9; udyāti° Mārk-Pur. according to Pargiter's translation LXIX. 60 (not confirmed by a part of the texts); *karoti° racayati° vidadhati°* Subhāṣitasaṃd. of Amitagati (quoted by R. Schmidt *ZDMG.* LIX. p. 267). It is clear therefore that the present (3rd sing.) act. is by far the most dominant form in the field; yet however imperfects appear in the Kathās. (*alabhata°* XXVI. 285; also the present *praśaṃsati°* CIV. 218) and in the Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hem. (acintayat° VI. 108 Hertel *ZDMG.* LXII p. 364); an aorist in *vyaśvasīt°* Hammīra IV. 92; a future in Kathās. (*hasiṣyati°* LXVI. 92); forms of the middle in the same texts (*śraddadhe°* XXI. 47; CII. 35 apart from *alabhata°* quoted above), and, in a manner which seems to be quite systematic, in the Jaina narrative texts: see the forms quoted from Śālibhadracar. by Bloomfield *JAOS.* XLIII. p. 314, and the Pārsvanāthacarita (in which this usage of the verb in general is very frequent. Bloomfield transl. p. 238, who cites *akārayat°* I. 430) we have noted *śuśubhe°* VI. 1252 *labhate°* I 712. Cf. also *sasṛje°* Anargh. I. 23; *kṣiyate°* Mahāvīracar. VI. 55 (thus, in the non-genuine part of the work!); *īkṣate°* Rāvaṇārj. XVII. 23, and more in the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

The prose lays far behind: *kariṣyate°* Śukas. orn. Schmidt p. 13 l. 11 and (imperative!) *uttaraya°* p. 21 l. 13; *kurvanti°* and *nivartayasva°* Tantrākhy. (Hertel, *Über d. Tantrākhyāyika*, p. XVII). Finally, in a very unexpected fashion, we find *upapadyate°* in Śaṅkara in his commentary of the Brahmasūtra (Deussen, *System*

des Vedânta, p. 39, note). All the forms cited have *-tarām* in final; in order to get examples of *-tamām* we have to come down to Hammīra (Mahākāvya in Jaina style), from which quite a mass of such forms has been fished out by Barth, *Oeuvres*, III. p. 368 = Rev. crit. 1881 I. p. 447. The very fact that *-tamām* is rare contributes to strengthen the case for *-tarām*.

It is evidently in imitation of this usage of the personal forms of the verb that a Jaina author, Nemidatta, takes the liberty of affixing *tarām* to the nominative of a verbal noun functioning as the predicate of a nominal sentence: *mantrī śrīśakaḍālākhyo jainadharme ratastarām* "(his) minister Ś. was devoted to Jaina religion" (verse quoted by Alsdorf Kumārapālapr. p. 189 v. 2). It remains doubtful if this mode was ever imitated by many.

A few words may suffice for the origin of *-tarám*/, *-tarām*. If the final short vowel does not require any linguistic justification, the long final—which renders it even more strange—does not lack analogies either among Vedic adverbs or beyond the domain of Indian languages (Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II. 2 p. 687) though however we need not seek refuge in the hypothesis of an instrumental in *-ām* (literatur in Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Al. Gramm.*, III. p. 35) or a particle *-ām* (Hirt *Idg. Gramm.*, III. p. 97). Ancient Iranian was able to independently constitute similar adverbs,—on the one hand *apataram* in old Persian (Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm. du v. perse* p. 232; Cf. also *aparam* p. 235), and on the other *fratarām -ān* in later Avesta (Nīr. 79; *ibid.* also *aparām*).

But it appears that the limitation of the alternation *-tarám*/, *-tarâm* (*-tamâm* comes into play only at a later date and that secondarily) and the conditions themselves under which this alternation takes place suggest that these final elements were tentative superpositions resorted to for the sake of normalising the older adverbial forms in suffix *-tar*: those which have been accidentally preserved in *antár, prātár* and *sanutár* (forms of which the stem was obscured

or unknown), and which have been concealed in various ways by the forms *antará, antári°*, *abhítas* (devoid of ablative value, and secondarily integrated to the category in *-tas*). In the last analysis, the starting point must have been *-tar*: this formation in its turn is but a member of a more general group of Indo-European forms as has been shown by Benveniste in his *Origines de la formation des noms* p. 100 et seq., and particularly p. 105.

L. Renou

MISCELLANY

Dr. Banerji on Śakas and Kuṣāṇas

In this Quarterly vol. XIII, no. 2, pp. 199ff., Dr. A. Banerji Sastri has published a paper *Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in the I and II centuries*, which seems to be intended to explain the short article "Date of Kaniṣka vindicated" that appeared over the same scholar's name in the *JBORS.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 113ff. Having already sent a short rejoinder to the latter contribution to the editor of the *JBORS.*, I shall not here repeat myself. But it seems to me that the new study gives rise to some doubt about certain details.

The most important results to which Dr. Banerji claims to have arrived, mainly in agreement with the late lamented Mr. Jayaswal, are that Nahapāna was not a Śaka, but an Indian that his date is earlier than the Vikrama era, and that the Śaka era of 78 A.D. was founded by Kaniṣka. I shall take these points in the same order as the learned author.

We are told, p. 200, that "there is not a trace of evidence in (?) either literary (Purāṇic and Jaina) or archæological (symbols on Nahavāna's coins) in support of the contention that Nahavāna was a foreigner."

I have always thought that we had an indication of Nahapāna's foreign origin in his name, and I am still convinced that Thomas' explanation of the same[1] as Iranian and meaning 'people protecting' is right. Dr. Banerji, however, tells us, p. 207, that "as a matter of fact the name is not foreign." He does not try to explain its meaning but only gives some illustrations of the well-known fact that intervocalic *-kh-* and *-bh-* both become *-h-* in Prakrit. Since the proper form is *Nahapāna* and not *Nahavāna*, it would perhaps be well to

1 *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 211.

state why the intervocalic *p* is retained, and certainly to tell us what a *nakhapāna* or *nabhaḥpāna* could possibly mean.

Another indication might be found in the names of Nahapāna's son-in-law and the latter's father, *Uṣavadāta* and *Dīnika*, respectively. The explanation of the name *Dīnika* has been found by Lüders,[2] and nobody seems to have contested it. It is derived from *dīna-*, which would be the regular Saka form of Avestan *daenā- 'religion'*, with the suffix *ika*, which is well-known from Saka.[3] The *ī* of *dīna-* goes back to old Iranian *ai* and may point to the conclusion that the form does not belong to the oldest Saka stratum. For *ai* is still *e* in the Maralbashi dialect of Saka,[4] while it has already become *ī* in *hinaza-*<*hainā̆za-* 'army leader' in the Endere document of the Khotan *maharaya rayatiraya hinaza dheva Vijidasiṃha*.[5] But it is hardly permitted to lay much stress on this feature.

The name of Dīnika's son *Uṣavadāta* presents greater difficulties. There can be no doubt with regard to the proper form, which must be *Uṣavadāta*, as given in his own and his wife's inscriptions, *Nasik* No. 10-14[a].[6] The forms *Uṣabhadāta*, occurring in the Karle inscription no. 13,[7] and *Usabhadata*, which is used in the inscriptions of his son Mitadevaṇaka[8] and of Gotamiputa Siri Sadakaṇi,[9] seem to point to a tendency to explain *usava* as corresponding to Sanskrit *ṛṣabha*. Modern scholars have adopted the same explanation, and Nahapāna's son-in-law usually figures as Ṛṣabhadatta. There has even been a tendency to draw the inference from this supposed name that he was a Jaina, an inference which cannot be supported by anything

2 *SBAW.*, 1913, p. 414.
3 Cf. my *Saka Studies*, p. 61.
4 Cf. *SBAW.*, 1935, p. 784.
5 Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, No. 661, cf. my remarks *Acta Orientalia*, xiv., p. 234.
6 Senart's edition, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, pp. 78ff. The reading *ṭasa* for *tasa* in the beginning of No. 14a is a mere slip.
7 *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 57, no. 13.
8 *Ibidem.*, pp. 56, no. 10.
9 *Ep. Ind.*, viii, pp. 71ff., no. 4.

we know from his inscriptions. Lüders[10] has rightly remarked that the forms *Usabhadāta* and *Uṣavadāta* cannot be explained as Prakrit form of *Ṛṣabhadatta*. He identified *dāta-* with Saka *dāta-* 'law' and saw in *uṣava-* a Saka loanword from Skt. *ṛṣabha-*. This analysis is certainly much superior to the usual one, but is not beyond doubt. We must ask why *ṛṣabha-* should become *uṣava-* when *ṛṣi-* is borrowed as *riṣi-*, and it is further not advisable to separate *dāta-* from the element *dāta-* which is known from Iranian names in *dāta-*, where it is hardly possible to avoid thinking also of the participle *dāta-*. The only thing which seems to me to be certain is that the last part of the word, *dāta-*, is Iranian, and *a priori* it is likely that the same is the case with *uṣava-*, and, as I have stated elsewhere,[11] it would be possible to derive *uṣava-* from *usrava*<*husrava-* 'well-famed', cf. Avestan *husravah-* and *Kavi-Husravah-*. The name of Uṣavadāta's father, *Dīnīka-*, might also lead us to think of Zoroastrian notions.

I think, however, that it is not safe to attempt to etymologize. Even if *uṣava-* is a Saka loanword from Skt. *ṛṣabha-*, it is not at all necessary, or even likely, to think of Jaina association. *Ṛṣabha-* occurs among the designations of Buddha (*Mahāvyutpatti* i. 18).

A third indication to the effect that Nahapāna was an Iranian, and most probably a Śaka, what his son-in-law is expressly stated to have been in the *Nasik Inscription* No. 14[a],[12] seems to be contained in his designation *Kṣaharāta*.

It has usually been taken for granted that this word is the name of a family, because Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa in his mother's inscription of the 19th year of Siri Puḷumāyi Vāsiṭhīputa[13] is characterized as *Khakharātavasaniravasesakara* 'rooting out the Khakharāta (i.e., Kṣaharāta) race.' It can hardly be doubted that

10 *Loc. cit.*, pp. 413f.
11 *Journal of Indian History*, xii, p. 38.
12 *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 85.
13 *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 60.

vasa- here corresponds to Skt. *vaṃśa-*, and it is *a priori* likely that it means 'family, race', though it can also be translated 'lineage.' But there are other indications which seem to point to the conclusion that *kṣaharāta* was a title and not the name of a family or clan.

The oldest certain occurrence of the word is in the Taxila copperplate of the year 78, during the reign of the *maharaya mahaṃta* Moga. It records the establishment of relics by Patika, the son of Liaka Kusalaka, and Liaka is described as *kṣaharāta Cukhasasa ca kṣatrapa.*[14] The most natural explanation is that *kṣaharāta* and *kṣatrapa* are both titles of Liaka, and *kṣaharāta* then evidently the higher one. I have therefore[15] proposed to explain *kṣaharāta* as *xšaθrarāta* 'realm-caretaker', wherewith I must leave it Iranian scholars to decide whether the *r* or *xšaθra* could disappear before the following *r*, or a difference of dialect should be stated.

I am convinced that this explanation is essentially right, and that we should translate the word as 'regent' or 'viceroy', and the term *khakharatavasa-niravasesakara* as 'making an end to the lineage of the viceroys'.

But who were those 'viceroys' who were done away with by Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa? In my opinion light is thrown on the question by the well-known passage in the Hou Han-shu: "His (i.e. Kujūla Kadphises') son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead reconquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration." The kṣaharātas of Kathiāwāḍ and Mālva etc. were the 'generals' who administered the country after Wima Kadphises' reconquest.

This will of course be denied by Dr. Banerji, who places Nahapāna "before the end of the Śuṅga dynasty *c.* 75 B.C." His explanation of how Nahapāna and his "father (or predecessors, the

14 With regard to the syntax cf. my remarks in *Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India*, iv, p. 267.

15 *Journal of Indian History*, xii, p. 39 note 85a.

relationship not being known)" came to use the title *kṣaharāta* cannot be said to be based on solid ground. He says, p. 202, that it "can be easily explained by the influence of the contemporary Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthians from Kabul to Broach," and quotes the late Professor Rapson's statement that "early in the first century, *c.* 90 B.C., we find evidence of diplomatic relations between Vidiśā, which was still under the rule of the Śuṅgas, and the Yavana house of Eucratides at Takṣaśilā in the north-west of the Punjab." Well, this might be quoted if we had to do with a Greek title, but I do not suppose that Dr. Banerji will deny that *kṣaharāta*, as well as *kṣatrapa*, is Iranian. And we have no traces of an early Iranian element in Kathiāwāḍ and Mālva in the time when Nahapāna and his predecessors are stated to have ruled.

Our learned author, it is true, tells us much about early Śaka invasions on pp. 208ff., and partly things that are new to me and probably to many others. The first Śaka horde which he mentions is said to have originally belonged to the south of China. It might have been well to let us know on which foundation this absolutely new statement is based. Then we are told that, when the Yüe-chï conquered Bactria *c.* 120 B.C., "the Śakas in turn overran and occupied parts of the possessions of the Śuṅgas. These are the Śakas referred to by Patañjalī." This seems to me to be a thoroughly gratuitous assumption,[16] but I do not think it is necessary to discuss it before we learn something about Dr. Banerji's reasons. That this Śaka conquest, of which we do not know anything whatever, might account for the fact that Nahapāna had a son-in-law who was a Śaka, seems to me to be a *pis aller*. To me this Śaka son-in-law would be impossible at so early a date as assumed by Dr. Banerji, not to speak of the somewhat startling idea that a ruler, who is believed to have been so thoroughly Indian, should have given his daughter in

16 Cf. *Indian Culture*, ii, pp. 189ff.; iii, pp. 1 ff.

marriage to a member of the people whom Patañjali considered to be Śūdras. It is more likely that Nahapāna was himself a Śaka.

These early Śakas who are supposed to have "overrun parts of the possessions of the Śuṅgas" are stated, on p. 209, to have been 'Scythic', while those of Seistan are said to have been 'Iranian'. I do not understand this distinction. Were not the Scythians Iranians? I am, however, open to conviction, and I look forward to Dr. Banerji's arguments. But I agree with him with regard to the main statements about their Indian conquests, and so far as I can see he does not, no more than I do, assume that "the short-lived Seistan Śaka rule at Ujjain," can explain how Nahapāna could have a Śaka son-in-law or use Iranian titles like *kṣaharāta* and *kṣatrapa*.

I agree with him when he says, Vikramāditya made an end to this Śaka rule, and that the Vikrama era dates from that event.

The only Śaka conquest which can account for Nahapāna's titles and for the fact that his son was a Śaka is, in my opinion, the second Śaka conquest mentioned in the *Kālakācāryakathānaka* that "another Śaka king made an end to his dynasty and established an era of his own, when 135 Vikrama years had elapsed." Here we are distinctly told about a Śaka *re*-conquest, just as Wima Kadphises is said to have *re*-conquered T'ien-chu and just as the latter is said to have appointed a general to administer the country, so we find *kṣaharāta kṣatrapas* in Kathiāwāḍ and Mālva: Bhūmaka and Nahapāna.

Bhūmaka is, as has repeatedly been stated, an unusual name. I do not know how Dr. Banerji explains it. But to me it looks like a barbaric formation from *bhūmi* and *ka*. And if such should be the case, it is tempting to assume that it is an attempt at Indianizing a foreign name, and then it is a curious fact that the Saka word for 'earth' is *ysama*, from which we would naturally form *Ysamotika*, which we know as the name of Caṣṭana's father.

The only objection to dating Nahapāna so late and referring his dated inscriptions to the well-known Śaka era is that *two* Purāṇas and some Jaina sources assign a higher date to him. With regard to the Purāṇas, it ought to make us suspicious that only two of them contain a name which can, with probability, be connected with Nahapāna. As to the Jaina sources, there are discrepancies,[17] and the ascent of the Guptas is dated 240 years after Naravāhana, i.e. probably Nahapāna, in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa,* one of the sources relied on by those who place Nahapāna in the first half of the first century B.C., and it is not easy to reconcile this with the early dating, or to see why the older portion of the list should be more reliable than the later one. So far as I can see it is not possible to arrive at reliable results at the hand of these sources, and the old view, which is probably held by most scholars, that Nahapāna belongs to the second half of the first century A.D. has not been weakened by the ingenious combinations based on the two Purāṇas and the Jaina sources.

I have no doubt that Boyer was right[18] in identifying Nahapāna with the ruler whose name, in the genitive, occurs as *Manbanou* in the 41st chapter of the Periplus, and that the Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa who made an end to the lineage of the *khakharātas,* i.e., the *kṣaharātas,* was rightly assigned to the first half of the second century A.D. by the late Professor Rapson and others.

Nahapāna's predecessor Bhūmaka is styled *kṣaharāta kṣatrapa* or *kṣatrapa kṣaharāta,* i.e. in my opinion 'regent *kṣatrapa,*' and this designation corresponds to the governor-general of the Hou Han-shu. The title *kṣatrapa* is in India chiefly used by Śakas. The *kṣatrapa* Maṇigula and his son Jihoṇika may have been Parthians, and at least the latter probably held office under Azes, but it is likely that the title goes back to the time of Moga, the predecessor of Azes,

17 Cf. Jayaswal, *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, pp. 147 and 152.
18 *IA.*, 1897, ii, pp. 104ff.

and the Jihoṇika inscription of the year 191 is dated in the old Śaka era. The title *kṣatrapa* further appears in an[18a] inscription of the year 83, i.e. probably A.D. 25, where we hear of a *kṣatrapa* Tirafarṇa. The Parthian rulers, however, also used another title, evidently in about the some sense, viz. the Greek *strategos,* which has not been found in connexion with Indian Śaka rulers, but which is rendered *hinaza-*, i.e. *hināza-*, in the record of the Khotan king *Vijida-Siṃha,* mentioned above. And this title corresponds to the 'general' of the Hou-Han-shu.

Nahapāna himself is styled *rājan kṣaharāta* in his coin legends and *rājan kṣaharāta kṣatrapa* in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta.[19] The addition *rājan* seems to point to a more independent position than that of Bhūmaka. The last dated record where the title *kṣaharāta* occurs is of the year 42, with an addition of the year 45, i.e., as I think Rapson was right in saying, 120 and 123 A.D., respectively. It must have been about this time that the Sātavāhanas made an end to the lineage of the kṣaharātas.

Later on we find the titles *mahākṣatrapa* and *ṣatrapa*. Caṣṭana, the son of *Ysamotika,* who is mentioned as *rājan,* together with his grandson, the *rājan* Rudradāman, in the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52, i.e., 130 A.D.,[20] is styled *rājan kṣatrapa* or *rājan mahākṣatrapa* in his coin legends. His son Jayadāma, who bears the title *rājan kṣatrapa svāmin* in his coin legends, seems to have died before his father, because the latter is associated with his grandson in the Andhau inscriptions. This grandson, on the other hand, is always designated *rājan mahākṣatrapa* in his coin legends and in the *Junāgaḍh inscription* of the year 72, i.e., A.D. 150,[21] where Rudra-

18a *Acta Orientalia,* xvi, pp. 234ff.

19 In the present connexion it is not necessary to discuss the Junnar inscription of Ayama; cf. my remarks in the *Journal of Indian History,* xii, pp. 40ff.

20 *Ep. Ind.,* xvi, pp. 19ff.

21 *Ep. Ind.,* viii, pp. 36ff.

dāman states that he had twice defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and himself acquired the title *mahākṣatrapa*.

The title *kṣaharāta* accordingly disappeared some time between A.D. 123 and 150, probably on account of the Sātavāhana conquest, and it was not revived when the scales were turned against the Andhras, probably in the time of Caṣṭana, and certainly under Rudradāman. Something seems to have happened which would explain the change of title. And it is natural to think of the Kuṣāṇas, not of the two first rulers, but of the dynasty of Kaniṣka.

Dr. Banerji states, p. 212, that "the great Yüe-chï, Kujūla and Wima used an old extra-Indian era." I thought so myself when I edited the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, because I had come to the result that the word *ayasa* preceding *aṣaḍasa* in the Taxila silver scroll inscription must be an adjective qualifying *aṣaḍasa*. This *aya* might, I thought, correspond to Skt. *ārya*, because there are examples in the dialect of the dropping of *r* before *y*. But I did not think it likely that an Indian month in an Indian inscription would be characterized as Aryan, unless the usual thing was to employ non-Indian names of the month, which is not the case. I therefore tried to explain *aya* as representing Skt. *ādya*, for which we should, it is true, expect *āïa*, but which might have been carelessly written *aya*. If there were two *āṣāḍhas* in a particular year, I thought that a scholar of Indian astronomy might find some indication of date in this fact, and Dr. van Wijk was actually able to do so.

The Kalawān inscription of the year 134, which came to light after the publication of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, shows that my argument was wrong. There we find a similar way of dating, but the word standing before *Śravaṇasa*, the name of the month, is here *ajasa*. Here we accordingly have *aja* corresponding to *aya* of the other record. We might think of Skt. *ādya-*, inspite of the phonetic difficulty, but Dr. van Wijk has told me that there could not be any possibility of an intercalated Śrāvaṇa in 134, if there was an

intercalated Āṣāḍha in 136. These apparent indications cannot, accordingly, be utilized for settling the question about the era used in these records. *Aya* in the silver scroll inscription might, already stated, represent *ārya-*, though *āria-* is the form which we should expect and which actually occurs in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. But *aja-* in the Kalawān plate cannot be *ārya-*, because *ry* never results in this dialect. Dr. Banerji, it is true, has contributed a learned article about "The Aya Months" to the *JBORS.*, vol.XXII, pt. ii, in which he maintains that "*ārya* does become *ajja*", p. 264. It is a well-known fact that such is the case in *some Prakrit* dialects, and it was perhaps superfluous to quote Hemacandra and Dhanapāla in order to prove that. But it is *not* so in the dialect of Indian Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and we ought by now to have got so far that we do not explain words in our Prakrit forms occurring in another.

In spite of Dr. Banerji's severe criticism I think that we must date those two records in an era which was used under Azes, and then in the Vikramā era.

We are, I think, justified in assuming that the Mālava Vikrama reckoning commemorates the establishment of the independence of the Mālavas, after the defeat of the old shortlived Śaka dynasty. In spite of all the arguments advanced in order to prove the contrary, I look on it as the earliest secular era in India, and it spread early beyond the frontiers of Mālava. It was used by the Śaka mahākṣatrapa Śoḍasa in the ear 72,[22] i.e. 15 A.D., the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e. A.D. 65, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, i.e. A.D. 77, and the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136, i.e. A.D. 79, and during the reign of Wima Kadphises we seem to have the Khalatse inscription of the year 184 (or, less likely 187), i.e. A.D. 127. The operations which carried these rulers to the Indus and

22 The reading 72, and not 42, has been convincingly established by Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp. 118ff., in spite of Rapson, *ibidem*, xi, pp. 260ff.

further, at least to Taxila, were gradual, and the era employed under their Parthian predecessors remained in use, side by side with the *ancient* Śaka era.

The expedition led by Yen-kao-chen, i.e. Wima Kadphises, to T'ien-chu, where he appointed a general for the administration of the country, was a different matter. It was undertaken in order to effect a *re*-conquest and nothing would be more natural than to commemorate *this* event by the establishment of a new era, just as the overthrow of the Śakas had been the occasion for instituting a new reckoning. Dr. Banerji passes by this difference in the situation, when he says, p. 215: "The Khalatse inscription disproves the idea of any era by Wima Kadaphises."

If the year 136 of the silver scroll corresponds to A.D. 79, the historical Śaka era must have been introduced during the life of Kujūla Kadphises.[23] The same remark applies to the re-conquest. There is, moreover, nothing to show that Wima Kadphises was the only, or the eldest son of Kujūla. He may have had older brothers, who died during his father's lifetime. His life seems to have been spent outside India, and if Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were his viceroys, as I am convinced they were, we understand how they appear almost as independent rulers.

The events following on the making an end to the lineage of the kṣaharātas by the Sātavāhana king and the disappearance of the title *kṣaharāta* in or shortly after A.D. 123, and especially the re-establishment of the power of the Western Kṣatrapas can therefore hardly have anything to do with Wima Kadphises. We must necessarily think of the next Kuṣāṇa ruler, of Kaniṣka.

Dr. Banerji deals with Kaniṣka on pp. 214 ff.: "It is well-known that a branch of the Yüe-chï did not join in the expedition

23 In order to avoid being misunderstood, I may state here that there is in my opinion, not the slightest reason for assuming the existence of a personal name *Kuṣāṇa*. *Kuṣāṇa* is a regular adjective found from *kuśa-*, cf. Saka *balysāna-* from *balysa-*.

towards the Ta-hia led by the forbears of Kujūla and Wima. The Kuei-shung [!], i.e. the Kuṣāṇas begin to appear in Chinese sources after the Yüe-chï conquered Ta-hia. But what about 'a remainder of them, small in number, who were unable to depart, took refuge with the K'iang in the southern mountains'? The thread of their story lies through Larike (Lāṭa) and Ariaka (Surastra-Mālava) in Sandanes of Periplus and Ptolemy, and Tihan-t'an Kaniṣka, who became the master of Barygaza and the Konkan littoral as well as Mālava-Mathurā, and whose era 78 A.D. replaced the Mālava era of Vikramāditya." There are some points in this exposition which can reasonably be doubted.

That Kaniṣka belonged to the Little Yüe-chï has been maintained by several scholars, and this assumption may have seemed very natural in the days when the Kuṣāṇas were considered to be Yüe-chï. But this has now become more than doubtful. We seem to know that the Kuṣāṇas were in reality Śakas, and since the Śakas are clearly distinguished from the Yüe-chï in the oldest Chinese sources they cannot well have belonged to that stock.[21] Kaniṣka cannot, therefore, belong to those Yüe-chï who did not join in the exodus to the Ta-hia country.

That Kaniṣka proceeded through Larike and Ariaka and became the master of Barygaza and the Konkan littoral as well as Mālava-Mathurā, is a new theory which it is not easy to reconcile with such facts as can be gathered from his inscriptions. If we abstract from the legend on the Kaniṣka casket, where the reading of the year is not certain, we find him mentioned in inscriptions of the years 3 Sarnāth (Lüders Nos. 925, 927), 5, 7, 9 and 10 at Mathurā (Lüders Nos. 18, 21, 22, 23,), 11 at Sui Vihar and Zeda (Kharoṣṭhī) etc. We gain the impression that he first went to the

24 Cf. *Journal of Indian History*, xii, pp. 7 ff. The remarks about the Tokharians in that article can no more hold good. But that question does not interest us in this connexion.

Ganges country, and then retraced his steps westwards, but there is nothing to show that he came to Lāṭa and Mālava. And this explanation finds some support in the Annals of the Li country.[25]

"Originally king Kaniṣka and the king of Gu-zan and the Li ruler, king Vijaya Kirti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named So-ked." Similarly the translation of Kumāralāṭa's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā by Kumārajīva (*c.* 405 A.D.) states that *chen-t'an* (old pronunciation according to Karlgren Nos. 1194 and 967 *t'śien-d'ân*) Kaniṣka conquered Tung T'ien-chu, i.e. Eastern India'.[26] So-ked is of course Sāketa, and we therefore have two independent traditions to the effect that Kaniṣka's way went to the Ganges country. The Annals further indicate that there was a coalition of Central Asian powers which undertook the expedition.

Dr. Banerji accepts the results arrived at by the late Prof. Lévi in his important posthumous paper "Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana", *JA.*, ccxxviii, 1936, pp. 61ff., that the Sandanes of the Periplus is the same word as *chen-t'an,* and that only Kaniṣka can be meant, wherefore Kaniṣka must be the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D., since the author of the Periplus seems to treat him as living, and the Periplus apparently belongs to the later half of the first century A.D.

I quite accept the equation *chen-t'an* = *Sandanes,* but if Sandanes were identical with Kaniṣka, the latter must evidently have been the suzerain of Nahapāna, if that ruler is actually mentioned in the Periplus. For after the author has spoken of the Barygaze bay and the *Ariake khora* as the beginning of Nahapāna's realm (*Manbanou basileia*) in ch. 51, he mentions, in ch. 52, that Kalliena, which was a regular emporium in the days of the elder Saraganes, i.e.

25 Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, p. i, London, 1935, p. 119.

26 Cf. Lévi, *JA.*, IX, viii, 1896, p. 457, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, p. 385.

Sātakarṇa, had been mainly barred after Sandanes had taken it. I do not know how Dr. Banerji explains this state of things.

Lévi has brought together many interesting passages where the term *chen-t'an* or *chan-t'an* occurs. They have been duly registered by Dr. Banerji, even together with Lévi's remarks about the various readings of the term corresponding to Sandanes in Ptolemy.

It is quite clear from Lévi's material that the term is applied to Kaniṣka by Kumārajīva and others, but the fact that Kumārajīva's pupil Seng-chao replaces it by *Yüe-chï-wang* 'Yüe-chï king, or, prince',clearly shows that it is not a personal designation of that ruler, but has a more general meaning. And later on we constantly find the term used about various royal persons, and, so far as one can judge from Lévi's material, comparatively often about the younger brother of a king, who may even retain it after he has himself ascended the throne.

We cannot therefore draw any certain conclusion from the fact that the first time we find the term used in Chinese sources, long after the date of the Periplus, it is applied to Kaniṣka. But we are, I think, justified in inferring from Seng-chao's substitution of *Yüe-chï-wang* that it was a term or title used by the Yüe-chï, i.e. in this connexion certainly the Kuṣāṇas, and I see no valid objection to assuming that it was used about Wima Kadphises, when he undertook his 're-conquest'.

If Yen-kao-chen accomplished his re-conquest of T'ien-chu during the lifetime of his father, as we seem to be allowed to assume from the date of the Taxila silver scroll, he was then not yet king, but a royal prince. If his father is actually mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103, i.e. 45 A.D., as *erzuṇa,* and *erzuna* corresponds to Saka *alysānaa-,* which renders Skt. *kumāra-,* he himself would have undertaken this task as even such an *erzuna-,* and this term would have a similar meaning as *chen-t'an,* so that he could have been known under that title by those who informed the author

of the Periplus about the state of things in India. I must leave it to Sinologists to decide whether the last element of the name Yen-kao-chen can have anything to do with the *chen* of *chen-t'an*. It has never been satisfactorily explained.

The account of the two Kadphises kings contained in the Hou Han-shu is, as is well known, stated to be based on the reports made by Pan Yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Nagan (A.D. 107-125). This statement might lead to the conclusion that Yen-kao-chen was still alive in 125 A.D. But it would not be safe to rely on such an inference. It seems, however, to be supported by the Khalatse inscription of the year 184, i.e. in my opinion A.D. 127. Dr. Banerji, p. 212 refers this date to "an old extra-Indian Śaka era." Since he dates Wima Kadphises *c.* 50-70 A.D. (p. 211), the starting point of this era must have been about 115 B.C., and it would be of interest to learn how our author wants to explain its origin. I have not any doubt that we have to do with the same reckoning as in the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72, the Takht-i-Bāhi record of the year 103, etc., i.e. with the Vikrama era.

But then it is absolutely impossible to ascribe the foundation of the Śaka era of 78 A.D. to Kaniṣka. Kaniṣka must have entered on the Indian stage at a subsequent period. And if the notice in the Tibetan annals of Khotan has anything to do with him, it would seem that his appearance was connected with a general Śaka rally, in which also the ruler of Khotan and other Central Asian chiefs took part.

It is of course a mere guess that this was brought about by rumours of the defeat of the Śaka chiefs of India at the hand of the Andhra king. But it is by no means unlikely. And a great Śaka expedition in Northern India would naturally react on the Śakas of Mālava. It would then not be a mere coincidence that the Śaka name of Caṣṭana's father Ysamotika, cannot be traced with certainty before A.D. 130. Its introduction might very well be due to

the national feeling among all Śakas which found its expression in the common undertaking in India. When Yen-kao-chen made his reconquest, he was content to establish a new era in the reconquered country. But his governors had to live in India, and we can see how Uṣavadāta vied with the most orthodox Indian princes in religious zeal. And it would be nothing extraordinary for the first Śaka regent to translate his name into barbaric Sanskrit.

The Śaka rally in Kaniṣka's days brought a change. The Śakas who had been overthrown by Sātavāhana, became conscious of their nationality and strengthened by the activity of their kindred elsewhere. Caṣṭana, whose own name seems to be Śaka (cf. Pashto *caṣṭan* 'master'), began to use the Śaka form of his father's name and the territories wrested from Nahapāna were retaken. But the new suzerain did not leave India after his conquest, as did Wima Kadphises, and no kṣatrapa was placed in charge of the royal prerogatives, the title *kṣaharāta* ceased to be used.

We have no sufficient reason for assuming that Kaniṣka had the intention to introduce a new era. His records are dated in his regnal years, as was the common practice in Chinese Turkestan during the first centuries of our era, when the rulers also used the same title *devaputra* which we know from Kaniṣka's history. It was only when the same reckoning was continued under his successors that we can speak of a Kaniṣka era.

It is not my intention in this place to repeat the arguments and counter-arguments which have so often been adduced in the discussion of these problems. What I have written above is only intended to draw attention to some details which I think Dr. Banerji has not sufficiently considered. And I should like to add that we have every reason for being thankful to him for giving us such a full exposition of the reasons which have led him to his results.

STEN KONOW

Yāvanaparipāṭī-Anukrama or Patraprasasti

(A treatise by Dalapatirāya on forms of royal letters and orders)

The Govt. Mss. collection at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, contains two Mss.[1] of a work called *Yāvanaparipāṭi-anukrama*. It is a work composed by one Dalapatirāya for a prince named *Mādhavasiṃha*.

The work, as its name indicates, deals with forms of royal letters and orders. It is divided into seven chapters as under: —

(1) प्रसङ्गनिरूपण (2) अभिधेयनिरूपण (3) सन्देशपत्रनिरूपण (4) व्यवहारपत्र-निरूपण (5) निदेशपत्रनिरूपण (6) नानाप्रशस्तिमात्रनिरूपण and (7) राजरीतिनिरूपण.

Analysis of the work

The author starts with the description of his patron Mādhava-siṃha and the description of the Royal Court.

The second chapter deals with different forms of letters and orders issued by the king. They are of three kinds viz. (1) सन्देशात्मक i.e. letters containing messages, (2) व्यवहारात्मक i.e. letters dealing with everyday business and different kinds of deeds, and (3) निदेशात्मक i.e. letters containing royal commands.

After specifying the three kinds of letters, the author proceeds to describe in detail each of the three kinds of letters mentioned above. Thus in the third chapter he describes the *sandeśapatra* or the letters containing royal messages despatched by the king to his subordinate officers such as the minister, the commander of the army, the organiser of the army, the superintendent of weapons, the protector of the town, etc. Besides the royal messages, the chapter mentions also other kinds of messages sent by people to one another. Such letters contain news from a friend, invitation for a marriage ceremony, a condolence letter and so on.

1 No 409 of 1882-83 and No. 517 of 1891-95.

The fourth chapter describes various types of deeds and bonds that are required to be executed by parties concerned in everyday life. The different kinds of deeds mentioned in the chapter are:—

(1) ऋणपत्र (2) प्रतिभूपत्र (3) दानपत्र (4) प्रतिज्ञापत्र (5) साक्षिकपत्र (6) प्रवृत्तिपत्र (7) विक्रयपत्र (8) प्रत्याशापत्र (9) आकृतिपत्र (10) सन्तोषपत्र (11) सद्विद्यमानपत्र (12) आर्तविज्ञप्तिपत्र (13) सम्भावनापत्र।

The king is often required to issue orders to his officers. The manner in which such orders are to be issued is described in chapter five. These orders are written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among the Muhammedans. Some of the officers to whom such orders are issued are:—The *Dharmādbyakṣa*, the *Nagara-gauptika*, the *Sīmāgauptika*, the *grāmoddeśika* and the *Sthāpanika*.

The sixth chapter deals with ordinary forms of letters written by the king as well as by the people to one another. It mentions how letters are to be addressed and the way of addressing a letter differs in each individual case.

The last chapter is an important chapter for, it gives sanskrit eqivalents for Mahommedan political terms which were current at the time when the present treatise was composed. I give below a list of Sanskrit terms along with their Persian equivalents as given by the author:—

Sanskrit	Persian	Sanskrit	Persian
अमात्य, मन्त्री	वजीर	अनलाध्यक्ष	मीर आतश
—	दीवान		तोपखाने का दरोगा
सेनापति	बक्सी	जलाध्यक्ष	मीरबहर
शालापति	मारसामान	शिल्पशास्त्रविशारद	मीर इमारत
	खानसामान	आयतनिक	नजूल का दरोगा
	कोठारी	उद्यानपाल	बागाइत का दरोगा
दूत	एलची, वकील	शस्त्राध्यक्ष	कोरवेगी,
लेखक	मुनशी		मिलाहखाने का
विज्ञापक	अरजबेगी		दरोगा
—	सदर	वैतंसिक	करालवेगी
—	नाजिर		शिकारखाने का दरोगा

विहगाध्यक्ष	कोशवेगी	सीवनागार	किरकिराफखाना
निधिपाल	खजानची भंडारी	नेपथ्यागार	तोशकखाना
—	हलकारो का दरोगा	सुगंधागार	खुशबोईखाना
नगरगौप्तिक	कोटवाल		(=खुश्बोईखाना),
सीमारक्षक	फोजदार		सांघेखाना
धर्माध्यक्ष	काजी	वर्णागार	रंगखाना
प्रवर्तक	मुफती	कलादगृह	जरगरखाना
नीतिदक्ष (?)	मुहतसिब	रत्नागार	जवाहिरखाना
दुर्गपाल	किलादार	प्रहरणकोश	कोरखाना, सिहलखाना
स्कन्धयात्रिक	मीरमंजीलश	संस्तरगृह	फराश(स)खाना
पथकराध्यक्ष	मीरतुजक	श्रीगृह	खजानाभंडार
गणनायक	रिसालेदार	दानकोश	विहला (?)
शय्यागार	सुखसेजखाना	अश्वशाला	अस्त(स्प)वल, तबेला
मज्जनगृह	गुसलखाना, हम्माम	गजशाला	फीलखाना
देवायतन	तसवीह(र)खाना	उष्ट्रशाला	गावखाना, शुतरखाना
पुस्तकालय	किता(ब)खाना	यानशाला	रथखाना
चित्रागार	तसवीरखाना	पालकागार	पालकीखाना
भैषज्यगृह	दवाईखाना	दारुकर्मालय	खातिमबंदखाना
फलागार	मेवाखाना	दीपिकालय	शमैचिरागखाना
कोष्ठागार	अंबारकोटारजर्षारा	ज्योतिरालय	मशालखाना
महौषधीशाला	मोदीखाना	लेखशाला	दफतरखाना
कुप्यशाला	रिकाबखाना	मृगयागार	शिकारखाना
कांस्यागार	ठठेरखाना	शाकुनिकालय	कोशखाना
महानस	बवर्चीखाना, रसोडा	—	दारोगा मुश्रिफ
—	आबदारखाना, पाणेरो	स्थापनिक	तहवीलदार
तांबूलगृह	तंबोलखाना	मूल्यकृत्	मुकीम
—	बिलगौरखाना, लंगर	—	सरवराहकार
क्रयशाला	इवतियाखाना	शाला	कारखाना[2]

Then follows a list of minor terms with their definitions and Persian equivalents.

2 I am indebted to Mr. G. H. Khare of B.I.S. Mandal, Poona for verifying many of the Persian terms in the above list.

The author

The author of the work is one Dalapatirāya who seems to have enjoyed the patronage of some prince named Mādhavasiṃha. He refers to his patron in the following passage:—

कथमपि पूर्वपुण्यप्राग्भारसंदर्शितफलोदयो निखिलराजन्यराजिनीराजितांघ्रिराजीव-श्रीमन्माधवेन्द्राणां परिचारकपदमासवानस्मि दलपतिरायः

He further states that he composed his work at the instance of Vrajabhūṣaṇaśarmā who appears to be his preceptor:— "गोस्वामी श्रीव्रजभूषणशर्मभिर्यंवनपरिपाट्यानुकृत्या गीर्वाणगिरिप्रशस्तिपूर्वकपत्रलेखप्रकारस्य समादिष्टो रचयामि संदर्भममुं।

The date of the work

There is no direct evidence to prove the date of the composition. We have, therefore, to look to the internal evidence which will enable us to determine its date with some reasonable certainty. The author has recorded a date in two places. The passages which contain this date are as follows:—

1. तदणपत्रमेतल्लिखितं। यदपेक्षायां हस्तावलंबः स्यात्। तिथौ पंचम्यां नभस्ये(=भाद्रपद) मासि सितपक्षे विक्रमादित्यराज्यात् १७२० ॥ (fol. 15*a* of Ms. No. 409 of 1882-83).

2. वसुसहस्रं मासिकं वपुर्मात्रस्य भाद्रपद शुक्ल प्रतिपदः संवत्सरे ॥१८२०॥ (Fol. 17*b*—*ibid.*).

In these two passages the date mentioned is '*Bhādrapada* month, Saṃvat 1820' which corresponds to August 1764 A.D. This date is meant, of course, to serve as an example, but since the author has particularly used that date we may safely infer that he must have composed his work in Saṃvat 1820 i.e. in A.D. 1764.

The patron of Dalapatirāya

For want of sufficient information it is not possible to identify Mādhavasiṃha, the patron of Dalapatirāya. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is inclined to believe that "Dalapatirāya's patron must have been Savai Mādhavarao or Hādhavaro II, of the Peshwa dynasty of Poona"[3]. His conclusion seems to have been based on the epithet

3 R. G. Bhandarkar: *Report in Search of Sanskrit Mss. for 1882-83*, p. 41.

'Savai' prefixed to the word Mādhavasiṃha. Mr. P. K. Gode, on the other hand, believes that "the word 'siṃha' has a Gujarāti tinge and therefore the patron of Dalapatirāya must be some Rajput prince." He is of opinion that माधवसिंह सार्वभौम or माधवेन्द्र, the patron of दलपतिराय is identical with माधवसिंह, the patron of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala[4]. I am, however, inclined to believe that माधवसिंह, the patron of Dalapatirāya must be the Mādhavasiṃha of Jaipur. The date of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala and his patron Mādhavasiṃha, is, as pointed out by Mr. P. K. Gode, A.D. 1576[5]; while the date of the present work, as pointed out above is A.D. 1764. The latter date harmonises with the date of Mādhavasiṃha of Jaipur, who reigned from A.D. 1750 to 1768. I am, therefore, of opinion that Mādhavasiṃha, the patron of Dalapatirāya is Mādhavasiṃha, who belonged to the illustrious line of Jaipur princes.

M. M. Patkar

4 P. K. Gode: "*Date of Rāgamālā of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala*," published in the *B.O.R.I. Annals*, Vol.XIII, p. 340.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Minor Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves

[Revised Edition]

James Prinsep was the first to publish these inscriptions with their translations in 1837 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. VI. Prinsep's transcripts and translations were subsequently reproduced *verbatim* by Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa,* Vol. II. Alexander Cunningham's eye-copies of these very inscriptions were published with their texts and translations in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Old Series, Vol. I. Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indraji's edition of three of them (*Actes du Sixieme Congress International des Orientalistes*, Part III, Sec. II) was based upon eye-copies prepared by him. Hari Das Dutta's "inked impressions", reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indica* and also in the present edition, formed an important basis of R. D. Banerji's first systematic and annotated edition in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIII. In 1929. I published a critical edition of these minor inscriptions along with the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela in a book form[1] suggesting improvements in both reading and interpretation. But as a result of further study, and consideration of the subject, I cannot help publishing a revised edition, which I trust, will go a long way to set the disputes at rest as regards the reading, arrangement and interpretation of the epigraphs concerned.

A. Inscription in the Udayagiri Caves

1. *Inscription of Khāravela's chief queen in the Vaikuṇṭhapura Cave*

[The Vaikuṇṭhapura Cave containing this inscription is no other than the upper storey of the Mañchapurī Cave which is situ-

1 *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves.* Calcutta University publication.

ated in front and to the south-east of the Hāthigumphā, and at a short distance from the latter. The cave "was known as Svargapura sometime ago." Prinsep mentioned it simply as the Vaikuṇṭha Cave. The two storeys of the Mañchapurī Cave "are so arranged as not to rest directly one above the other, but the upper recedes so as to have the top of the lower one open to form a terrace." The cave concerned comprises a suite of two inner chambers and a pillared verandah. The inscription in question is incised on the front wall of the cave, and it consists of three lines. An auspicious symbol marks the beginning of the inscription. The record being of the same age as the Hāthigumphā inscription, and practically of the same date, it may be risky to suggest with Banerji that its characters "are slightly later than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela."]

TEXT

Symbol—Arahaṃta-pasādā(n)aṃ[2] Kāliṃgā(na)ṃ sa(m)anānaṃ leṇaṃ kāritaṃ [,—| rājino Lalāka(s)a[3] |I.1| Hathis(i)ha[4]-saṃpa(n)ātasa[5] dhu(t)unā Kaliga-ca(kavatino siri-Khāra)velasa |I.2| aga-mahisi(n)ā (k)a(r)itaṃ |.] |I.3|

अरहंत-पसादानं कालिंगानं समनानं लेणं कारितं [,—] राजिनो ललाकस हथिस(ी) ह-संपनातस धुतुना कलिग- च(क्रवतिनो सिरि-खार)वेलस अगमहिसिना कारितं ।

TRANSLATION

The cave has been made for the Kaliṅga recluses of the Ārhata faith,—by the chief queen of His Graceful Majesty

2 Sten Know, *pasādāya*, a dative form of *pasāda*. Lüders contemplates a similar reading when he renders it in English: "in honour of". Banerji, *pasādāyaṃ*, treating the word as a locative form of *pasāda*, "in the temple or palace", which is out of the question. Cunningham and Indraji correctly read *pasādānaṃ* The disputed letter is either *na* or *pa*, but never *ya*.

2 Whether *Lalāka* is the same epithet as *Lālaka*, *Lālārka*, or *Lolārka* is still the question.

4 Banerji and others, *Hathisāha*. I think the *ī* stroke is almost certain.

5 Banerji, *Hathisāhasa papotasa*, for criticism, see Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 56, f.n. 8.

Khāravela, the overlord of Kaliṅga, the daughter of the high-souled king Lalāka Hatthisiha.

2. *Inscription of Kūdepa in the Pātālapura Cave*

[This record consisting of one line is incised in the verandah of the Pātālapura Cave representing as it does the lower storey of the Mañchapurī Cave corresponding to the upper storey separately called Vaikuṇṭhapura. It is easy to divine that the donor of the Pātālapura Cave was the son and immediate successor of king Khāravela, a son by his chief queen. The lack of exact correspondence or symmetry between the upper and lower storeys may, perhaps, be well accounted for by the hypothesis, that the lower storey was excavated somewhat later, though, beyond doubt, during the reign of Kūdepa. In excavating this cave just below the Vaikuṇṭhapura, the idea of king Kūdepa evidently was to remain even in his meritorious deed under the protective feet of his mother.]

TEXT

Airasa mahārājasa Kaliṃgâdhipatino Māhā(megha)vāha(na)sa[6] Kūdepa[7]-sirino leṇaṃ [.]

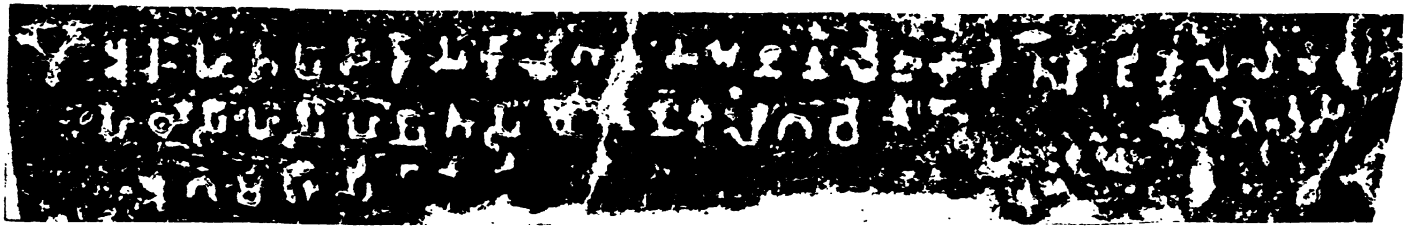
ऐरस महाराजस कलिंगाधिपतिनो माहामेघवाहनस कूदेप-सीरीनो लेणं ।

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of His Graceful Majesty Aira Kūdepa of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, the great king, the overlord of Kaliṅga.

6 I cannot but accept the reading *Māhāmegha*° suggested by Jayaswal.

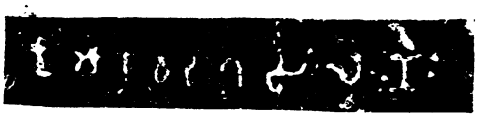
7 Banerji wrongly reads *Kūḍepa*. I now reject the alternative reading *Kaḍaṃpa*. There is obviously no other letter between *sa* and *kū* to justify Indraji's reading of the king's name as *Vakadepa*.



1



2



3



4

From E.I., vol. XIII.

3. *Inscription of Vaḍukha in the Yamapura Cave*

[The Yamapura Cave bearing Vaḍukha's inscription forms just a side-wing of the lower storey of the Mañchapurī Cave. Prince Vaḍukha, the donor of this cave, appears to have been related to king Kūḍepa either as brother or as son, more probably as son.]

TEXT

Kumāro[8]-Vaḍukhasa[9] leṇaṃ [.]

कुमारो-वडुखस लेणं ।

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of Prince Vaḍukha.

4. *Inscription of Bhūti in the Vyāghragumphā*

[The Vyāghragumphā is a small cave which lies to the west of the Hāthigumphā and consists of a verandah and an inner chamber. The record is incised on the outer side of the front wall of the inner chamber and is written in characters that are precisely of the same form and age as those of the inscriptions in the Mañchapurī Cave.]

TEXT

Symbol—Nagara-akhadaṃsa [I. 1]—
sa Bhūtino[10] leṇaṃ [.] *Symbol* [I. 2]

नगर-अखदंस स भूतिनो लेणं ।

8 Here *Kumāro* is just the first member of the compound *Kumāro-Vaḍukha*.

9 I now reject altogether the second alternative *Varikha* suggested before.

10 Cunningham and Banerji agree with Prinsep and Rajendra Lala Mitra in reading the name of the donor as *Sabhūti* (=Subhūti), which is far from correct. Lüders correctly reads it as *Bhūti*. Cf. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 99, f.n. 2 and 3.

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of the Town-judge[11] Bhūti.

5. *Inscription of Kamma, Halakhiṇā and Cūlakamma in the Sarpagumphā*

[The Sarpagumphā which lies close to the Hāthigumphā and almost in front of the Vyāghragumphā is also a small cave consisting of an open verandah and a single inner chamber. On the outer side of the front wall of the inner chamber and over its doorway is incised, to the left, the inscription of Kamma and Halakhiṇā, and to the right, the inscription of Cūlakamma, the two inscriptions forming together a single record of piety. Unfortunately the two inscriptions have so far been treated separately without any reference to their inter-connection and unity.]

TEXT

(a) Kaṃmasa Halakhi—[I. 1]
ṇaya[12] ca pasādo [I. 2]
(b) Cūlakamasa koṭhājeyā ca [.]

कंमस हलखिणय च पसादो
चूलकमस कोठाजेया च ।

TRANSLATION

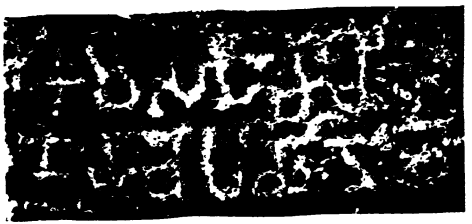
The verandah (of the cave is an excavation) of Karma and Ślakṣṇā,[13] and the impregnable inner chamber (is an excavation) of Kṣudrakarma.[14]

11 *Nagara-akhadaṃsa* is undoubtedly the same official designation as *Nagalaviyohālaka* of Aśoka's S.R.E., and *Nāgarika* of the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 36, Bk. IV, ch. 6.

12 Lüders doubtfully reads *Harakina*. I now accept Banerji's reading as a perfectly correct one.

13 Credit is due to F. W. Thomas for the equation of *Halakhiṇā* with Ślakṣṇā. Cf. *Sakhinā* in Asoka's S.R.E. II.

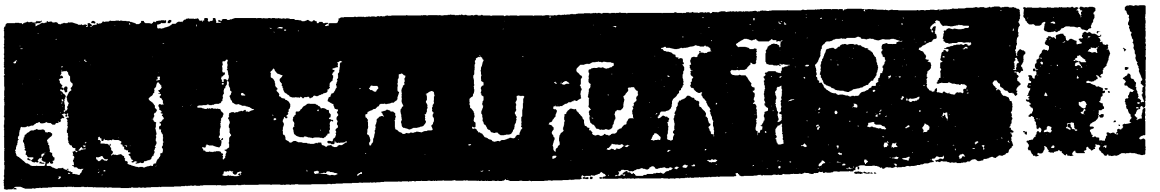
14 It is evident from the record that Karma and Ślakṣṇā who jointly donated the *pasāda* or front portion of the cave were husband and wife, and Kṣudrakarma who donated the inner chamber was Karma's younger brother.



5(a)



5(b)



6



7

From E.I., vol. XIII.

6. *Inscription of Cūlakamma in the Pāvanagumphā*

[The Pāvanagumphā containing this inscription is otherwise called Haridāsagumphā. It lies immediately to the north of the Hāthigumphā. The inscription which consists of a single line is incised 'over one of the three main entrances to the main chamber of the cave from the verandah.' In the opinion of Banerji, "the characters belong to the first century B.C. and are distinctly later in form than those of the Mañchapurī inscriptions." But I do not think that any appreciable interval of time may be reasonably supposed to have elapsed between the Mañchapurī inscriptions and that in the Pāvanagumphā. Cūlakamma, the donor of the cave, appears to have been the same person as the joint donor of the Sarpagumphā.]

TEXT

Cūlakamasa pasāto[15] koṭhāje(yā) ca [.]

चूलकमस पसातो कोठाजेया च ।

TRANSLATION

The verandah and the impregnable inner chambers (of the cave are excavations) of Kṣudrakarma.

7. *Inscription of Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya in Jambeśvara Cave*

[The record is incised on the outer side of the front wall of the inner chamber of the cave. Judged by its palæography, the inscription may be regarded as of the same age as the Mañchapurī inscriptions.]

TEXT

Mahāmadasa Bāriyāya Nākiyasa leṇa[ṃ] [.]

महामदस बारियाय नाकियस लेणं ।

15 Evidently scribe's mistake for *pasādo*.

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of Mahāmada,[16] Bāriyā[17] and Nākiya.[18]

8. Inscription in the Choṭa Hāthigumphā

["The record", says Banerji, "consists of a single line, very much mutilated, on the outer face of the tympanum of the arch over the doorway". Its characters are unmistakably later in age than those of the remaining minor old Brāhmī inscriptions.]

TEXT

(A)tasukha-pradina(ka)sa[19] lenaṃ [.]

(अ)तसुख-प्रदिनकस लेनं

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of Ātmasukhapradātā(?).

B. Inscriptions in the Khandagiri Caves

9. Inscription of Kusuma in the Tattvagumphā

[This "inscription", says R. D. Banerji, "is the oldest of the inscriptions in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves. Most of the caves on the Udayagiri are ancient, as proved by their inscriptions; but, with the exception of Tattvagumphā, No. 1, Tattvagumphā, No. 2 and Anantagumphā, all other Khaṇḍagiri Caves appear to be mediæval, as the inscriptions in them are not earlier than the ninth or tenth century A.D.]

16 I no longer think that *mahāmada* may reasonably be construed as the same official designation as *mahāmatta*, Skt. *mahāmātra*.

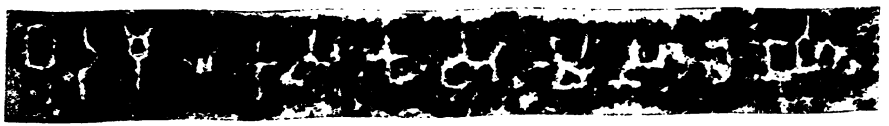
17 I have stated the reason why *Bāriyā* cannot be treated as a mistake for *bhāriyāya*. See my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 105.

18 Obviously the cave was intended to be recorded as a joint excavation of Mahāmada, his wife Bāriyā and his son Nākiya.

19 The reading is doubtful. Banerji, reads, *Agikha*(?).....*sa*.



8



9



10



11

From E.I., vol. XIII.

TEXT

Pādamulikasa[20] Kusumasa[21] leṇani[22] [.]

पादमुलिकस कुसुमस लेणनि ।

TRANSLATION

[The caves (that are excavations) of the personal attendant[23] Kusuma.

10. Inscription in the Anantagumphā

[This record is incised on 'the architrave outside, between the left antæ and the first pillar'. In its original form it consisted of six letters only, while subsequently, at a later age, three letters came to be added at the beginning, a fact which has escaped the notice of Banerji. One must completely ignore four letters found incised on the rock outside the verandah that represent at the most a mason's mark. According to Banerji, "there are three symbols, of which a central one is the Brāhmī letter *ja*, while the other two may resemble, but are not, letters." The letters are really four that might be read as *ra*, (*rā*), *ja*, *ja*.]

TEXT

Dohada[24] Samaṇanaṃ leṇaṃ [.]

दोहद समणनं लेणं ।

TRANSLATION

The cave for the recluses.[25]

20 *Pādamūlika* is not a place-name. It is evidently the same official designation as *rājapādamūlika* mentioned in the Pāli Asadisa-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 181) and Sarabhaṅga-jātaka. Fausböll, No. 522).

21 Banerji, *Kusumāsa*, which may be allowed as quite correct.

22 Banerji, *leṇa*[*ṃ*]*phi*. It is rather *leṇanikhā* than *leṇa* [*ṃ*]*phi*.

23 Banerji takes *pādamūlika* in the sense of a 'menial', lit. a "server of the feet". According to the Jātaka usage, a *pādamūlika* was a personal attendant of a king, a body-guard.

24 The word is evidently a much later addition to the inscription, and, as such, it must be left out of consideration.

25 Treating *Dohada* as an integral part of the inscription, Banerji translates it as: "The cave of the monks of Dohada".

11. Painted Inscription in the Tattvagumphā, No. 1

["The whole inscription", says Banerji, "is written or painted on the back wall of the inner chamber of the cave and on a prolonged examination I found that in addition to a row of letters which I cannot make out, it was a repetition of the Indian alphabet. Some young monk had used the back wall of the cell as a copy book and improved his knowledge of the alphabet by writing on it. The characters belong to the first century B.C. or first century A.D." I have nothing to add to these fruitful observations but this that the first row of letters, of which a few towards the end are still legible, recorded the inscription proper.]

TEXT

.....riputasa (ka)yāna.....[.]

..... रौपुतस कयान.....[।]

Six rows of Brāhmī alphabet below.

B. M. BARUA

Medieval Indo-Persian Literature relating to Hindu Science and Philosophy, 1000-1800 A.D.

A Bibliographical Survey

A relative survey of the Hindu and Muhammedan works on Literature, Philosophy, Arts and Sciences is, perhaps, a prerequisite to a systematic study of their intellectual co-operation during the medieval period of Indian history. Materials for such a survey from the Muhammedan side are far from scarce; apart from the enormous quantity of Persian manuscript literature covering nearly every field of human thought in which Hindu influences may be traced, the number of works admittedly translated or adapted from Hindu sources is not inconsiderable. It is true that many such translations were due to Hindu scholars, but their effect on the contemporary Muslim thought cannot be wholly ignored.

In the following few pages of the Index, which does not claim to be more than an inventory, an attempt has been made to list all the known titles and versions of such translations, adaptations, etc. in so far as they can be ascertained from the catalogues of the different Mss. Libraries of the world. Attention has been confined to India from 1000 to 1800 A.D., and works originating outside that country and period, will, therefore, not be found. One other limitation ought also to be mentioned: the list is confined to Persian only, which accounts for the exclusion of such well-known work on Hinduism as the *Kitāb-al-Hind* of al-Biruni.

It may be worth while to sound a note of warning regarding the exactness of these Persian translations: it is futile to expect a close approximation to the original text. The remarks of Sir William Jones, though severe, are deservedly true. ".....my experience justifies me in pronouncing that the Mughals have no idea of accurate translation, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of both; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write Sanskrit words in Arabic letters;.....from the just severity of this censure I except neither Abul Fazl nor his brother Faizi....." (*Works*, London, 1794, vol. I, p. 422). It ought to be remembered, however, that such variations were unavoidable so long as the text was in manuscript and subject to the copyist's manipulations.

The Arrangement

The Index is in two parts; Part I is confined to the actual translations of work mentioned in the prefaces or titles, while Part II contains all the works professing to be either independent treatises or compendiums, of Hindu Science and Philosophy.

Entires made under the translator or author are classified according to subject and are arranged chronologically, undated and anonymous works being placed at the end. Particulars not found in the work or copy described, but established from other sources are given within square brackets.

To facilitate further investigation, location of one complete and correct available copy is given at the end of each entry; references to authorities are cited in the case of entries, copies of which are not known.

Bio-bibliographical details about the translator or the compiler have been limited to the date and a brief note whenever important; fuller details are usually to be found in the catalogues referred to. The same applies also to the original text, although well-known authors are mentioned within curves.

In a few entries the names of the original Sanskrit works are not known nor are they mentioned by the translator; a comparative study of the extant Sanskrit works on the subject would have been helpful, but apart from the labour involved in this search of doubtful utility, the remarks of Sir William Jones quoted above are enough to discourage even the most patient investigator.

List of abbreviations.

Ali Cat. Pers. Mss. ASB.	Catalogue of Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Pushtu, and Turkish manuscripts in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1837.
Aumer	Die Persischen Handshriften der Hof und Staat-bibliothek in München.....J. Aumer, 1866.
Bankipur	Catalogue of Arabic & Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur. Prepared by Abdul Muqtadir..... Calcutta 1908.
Bib. Lind.	Hand list of Oriental Mss. Arabic, Persian and Turkish, with introduction by M. Kerney. Aberdeen U. Press, 1898. (Library of Lindsay, J. L., 26th Earl of Crawford.)
Blochet.	Catalogue des manuscripts persans, Bibliotheque Nationale,.....par E. Blochet. Paris 1905.
Blochman: Āin	The Āin-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl,.....ed. H. Blochman, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal. (Bibliotheca Indica series no. 52) 1848.
Bodleian	Catalogue of Persian, Turkish etc. Mss. in the Bodleian Library,.....begun by Edward Sachau, ...completed by H. Ethe. Oxford 1889.
Browne: Camb. Cat.	A catalogue of Persian Mss. in the University of Cambridge by E. G. Browne. Cambridge 1896.
Browne: Hand list	A hand list of Muhammedan Mss. in the library of the University of Cambridge, ... by E. G. Browne. Cambridge 1900.
Buhat	Catalogue raisonne of the Buhar library: v. I Persian Mss. completed by A. Muqtadir. Calcutta 1921.

Badauni	Muntakhab . al-Twārikh. Ed. Aḥmad 'Ali and others. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal (Bibliotheca Indica series no. 51) 1848.
Cat. Mejliss.	Catalogue des manuscripts persans et arabes de la Bibliotheque du Madgliss, ...par Y. Etessami, Teheran 1933.
Cat. Pers. Meshed	*Fihrist Kitāb-i-Kutubkhāna Āstānquds-i-Riḍvi.* (Imām Riḍā Library, Meshed) 1345/1926.
Elliot	History of India as told by its own historians, by Henry M. Elliot, ...ed. J. Dowson, London 1867-77.
Ethe	Catalogue of the persian Mss. in the India Office Library, by H. Ethe. London 1903.
I. O. Delhi	Hand list of the Mss. in the Delhi Collection, (Not published)
Ivanow	Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by W. Ivanow, Calcutta, 1927.
Ivanow: Curzon	Catalogue of Persian Mss. in Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1928.
Lee. Coll.	Oriental Mss. purchased in Turkey (by John Lee); a catalogue, London, 1840.
Litho.	Lithographed.
Mehren	Codices, persici. turcici. hindustanici, veriique alli Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis, ... enumerati et descripti ab A. F. Mehren. Hafniae (Copenhagen) 1857.
N. C.	No. Copyist mentioned.
N. D.	No date.
Ousley Coll. Pers. Mss.	Catalogue of several hundred Mss. works in various oriental languages collected by Sir W. Ousley, London, 1831.
Pertsch	Die Handschriften verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliotheken zu Berlin. Band iv, Persische Handschriften, ...von W. Pertsch. Berlin 1888.
Palmer	Catalogue of oriental Mss. in the library of King's College, Cambridge, by E. H. Palmer, London 1868. In Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1868, pp. 105-31.
Sprenger	A catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani Mss. in the libraries of the King of Oudh, by A. Sprenger. V. I. Calcutta, 1854.

Stewart: Tipoo	A descriptive catalogue of the oriental library of the late Tipoo Sultan of Mysore, by Charles Stewart. Cambridge, 1809.
Rieu	Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum, by C. Rieu. London, 1879. Supplement 1895.
Rehatsek	Catalogue of Arabic. Hindi. Persian, and Turkish Mss. in the Mulla Firoz Library (at Bombay) compiled by E. Rehatsek, Bombay 1873.

PART I

Drama

Prabodhacandrodayanāṭaka. (Kṛṣṇadās Miśra)

1. Banwālī Dās. *Gulzār-i-Hāl*....1662-3. Six parts, called Ghamans. Litho. Lucknow, *"Prabodhacandrodayanāṭaka"*. 1877.

History

Rājataraṅgiṇi. (Kalhana)

2. Mullā Shāh Muḥammad, Shāhābādi. *Rājataraṅgiṇi.* 1590. Ethe 508 n.c.n.d. Incomplete. Cf. *Asiatic Researches,* xv, p. 2, Elliot, v, p. 478.

3. 'Abd-al-Qāder, Budaoni. *Rājataraṅgiṇi.* (A revised text of Shāhābādi's version). 999/1591. Rieu, Add. 24032. n.c.n.d Incomplete; extracts from each of the four supplementary parts.

4. Maulānā 'Imād al-Dīn. *Rājataraṅgiṇi.* Not extant, see Elliot, v, p. 478; also Rieu, p. 230.

Jainism

Pancāśata Gai. (Govindācārya)

5. Dilārām (of Bijapur). *Pancāśata Gai.* (Persian commentary of the Sanskrit version of the original Prākṛt collection of 346 distichs). Rieu, Add. 25022. copied 1796.

Karmakāṇḍa. (Ascribed to Nemicandrācārya)

6. Dilārām (of Bijapur). *Karmakāṇḍa.* (Written for Gen. Claud Martin.) Persian commentary of the original Prākṛt text. 1796. Rieu Add. 5022-ii. n.c. 1796.

Dharmaśāstra

7. Zain al-'Ābedīn, Rasāi. *Tarjumah-i-Dharamśāstra.* 1773. (at the request of Warren Hastings, from the original Skt., compiled by a number of Hindu Pandits.) Ethe 2717. n.c.n.d.

8. 'Ali Ibrāhim Khān. *Tarjumah-i-Dib,* that is *Qasm* (Oath). 1783. (for Warren Hastings) Ethe 2005. n.c.n.d.

9. Anonymous. *Tarjumah-i-Khulāṣah-i-Dharmśāstra. n.d.* Condensed paraphrase of Skt. works on manners and customs. Ivanow; Curzon 687-ii. n.c.n.d.

Manusmṛti

10. Anonymous. *Tarjumah-i-Manusānkrit.* (?). n.d. (at the request of Sir William Jones). Pertsch 1082. n.c.n.d.

Mitākṣara. (Vijñāneśvara?)

11. Anonymous. *Tarjumah-i-Mitāḳṣara.* n.d. Before 1729, reign of Muḥammad Shāh. Ivanow 1710. Pratap Rāi. Shahjehanabad, 1729.

Mahābhārata

12. Naqib Khān, 'Abd al-Qāder, Budaoni, Sultan Aḥmad Thāneswari and Mullā Sīri. *Mahābhārat.* 1587. Preface by Abū al-Faḍl. Litho. *"Mahābhārat Fārsi." Ādiparva* to *Droṇaparva.* 5 Pts. Lucknow. 1897-1900.

13. Shaikh Abū al-Faiḍ, Faiḍi. *Mahābhārat.* 997/1589. Elegant version of no. 12. Bankipur 1449. n.c.n.d.

14. Tāhir Muḥammad b. 'Imād al-Din, Shirāzi. *Mahābhārat.* 1602-3. Paraphrase. Rieu Or. 2016-ii. Sunam, 1724.

15. Dārā Shukoh. *Mahābhārat. c.* 1650. Not extant; Bankipur, xvi, p. 127.

16. Hāji Rabi' 'Anjāb. *Mahābhārat.* Not extant; Rieu Add. 16727.

17. Anonymous. *Virāṭparva.* n.d. Rieu Add. 16873. n.cn.d. Fragmentary.

Philosophy: Brahmanic

Amṛtakuṇḍa

18. Muḥammad (of Gwalior). *Baḥr al-Hayāt.* n.d. (At the request of Husain b. Muḥammad Sarini, Husaini of Gwalior). Based on an earlier Arabic recension made by an Assamese Brahmin named Kanama who embraced Islām during the reign of 'Alā al-Din Khalji, c.1300 A.D. Ethe 2002. n.c.n.d.

19. Anonymous. *Nuskhah-i-Sarodh* (chapter II of *Baḥr al-Hayāt*). Extracts. Rieu Add. 5651. Garib Singh, Gorī, 1757.

Ethics

20. Shaikh Abū al-Faiḍ, Faiḍi. No title. On Conduct (*Akhlāq*) translated from Kaspat Rai (?) n.d. Bib. Lind. 628. n.c.n.d.

21. Anonymous. *Tarjumah-i-karm Vipāk.* n.d. Dialogue between Bhrgu Muni and king Bharata on the retributions of sin and rewards of pie after death. Ivanow: Curzon 692-iii. n.c.n.d.

22. 'Abdallah. *Naṣāiḥ-i-Akhlāq.* n.d. Bodleian 1242. 1790.

Gnosticism

23. Kirpal Das. *Muḥiṭ-i-Ma'rifat*. 1754. From the original of Sada Seo's Puthi Sarodi. Bankipur, xv, 1455. Author's autographed copy, 1182/1768.

Cf. Sprenger, Oude Catalogue, p. 171, who mentions Munshi Rāmjas Khatri, Muḥiṭ as the translator of several Sanskrit works on Mysticism, namely (a) *Muḥiṭ al-Haqāiq* (b) *Muḥiṭ al-Asrār* (c) *Gulshan-i- Ma'rifat* (d) *Muḥiṭ al-Ma'rifat*, and (e) *Muḥiṭ-i-Ā'zam*, but no reference to any existing copy is found anywhere.

Māyā

24. Anonymous. *Aṣṭābakragitā*. n.d. Dialogue between the sage Aṣṭābakra and his disciple on the illusory nature of the world. Pertsrh 1077-iii. n.c. 1218/1803.

Vedānta

Jogavāśiṣṭha

25. Anonymous. *Jogavāśiṣṭha*. 1597-8. (At the order of Akbar) abridged version. Rieu Add. 5637. n.c. 1784.

26. Ṣūfi Sharif, Qubjahānī. *Jogavāśiṣṭha*. (Also known as *Kashf al-Kanūz, Aṭwār dar Hall-i-Asrār* n.d.; dedicated to Jahāngir, 1605-1627. Litho. Lucknow; 1788. 116 pp. In *Majmū'ah-i-Rasāil* with the title *Risālah Aṭwār* etc.

27. Nizāmi Pānipati. *Jogavāśiṣṭha*. 1665. Ali: Cat. Pers. Mss. ASB. no. E. 46. n.c.n.d.

28. Habibullah. *Jogavāśiṣṭha*. n.d.; under the direction of *Dārā Shukoh*, (1656 A.D.). Ethe 927. n.c. 1727.

29. Anonymous. *Tarjumah-i-Jogavāśiṣṭha*. n.d. From the abridged version of Pandit Ānandan Kāshmīri. Browne, Handbook p. 363, Palmer, no. 128. Copied at Shahjahānābād 1766. n.c.

30. Mīr Abū al-Qāsem, Qandarsī, Astarābādi. *Kitāb Muntakhab-i-Jog*. n.d. Cat. Mejliss Lib, Teheran. no. 640-xvii. p. 40 n.c.n.d.

Upaniṣads

31. Dārā Shukoh. *Sirr-i-Akbar*. (Also called *Sirr al-Asrār*), 1657. In two parts; 50 *Upaniṣads*, with glossary of Skt. terms. Ethe 1967. Hidāyatullah. 1782.

Purāṇas

Bhāgavata

32. Anonymous. *Bhāgavata Purāṇ* n.d. According to Ethe No. 1952 copied in the viiith century A. H. (xxi century A.D.) Aumer 350. (p. 140) n.c. n.d.

33. Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. 'Imād al-Dīn Bakhsh b. Sultān 'Ali, Shirāzi. *Bhāgwat Purāṇa*. n.d. At the request of Akbar, c. 1590. Extracts; 9 *Faṣls* called *Avatāras*. Ethe 1955. n.c. 1795.

34. Gopāl b. Satrī (Śri Govinda). *Śrī Bhāgwat*. n.d. His translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is dated 1683; see no. 53. Blochet 225. n.c. 1723.

35. Anonymous. *Śri Kitāb Bhāgwat Daśam*. n.d. X *Skandha*, legend of Kṛṣṇa's life. Aumer 351 (p. 140) Folios 92-319. n.c. Gwalior 1080-82/1669-71.

Brahmavaivarta

36. Kiṣan Singh, Nishāt '*Āin al-Zahūr*. 1737. 26 *Adhyāyas*. Ethe 1961. n.c. 1782.

Harivaṃśa

37. Anonymous, (Possibly the work of Mullā Sherī at the order of Akbar, see Blochmann: Āin, i, p. 106). *Haribaṅś Purāṇ*. n.d. Ethe 1951. *Kiṣancānd*. Ahmedabad 1723.

38. Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. 'Imād al-Din Bakhas b. Sultān 'Ali Shirāzī. *Ācārya Parva*. 1602-3 at the request of Akbar. Abridged translation Ethe 1955-iii. 1759, n.c.

39. Dārā Shukoh (1), *Haribaṅś Purāṇ* n.d.; (See no. 28 above.) Ali. Cat. Pers. Mss. ASB. no. Oa 51. n.c.n.d.

40. Anonymous. *Harambansi* (?). Sayings of the Sage Vaiśampāyana to King Khaica (?). n.d. Cat (Pers.) Lib. at Meshed, iii, p. 104, n. 91 n.c.n.d.

Padma

41. Anonymous. No title. Story of Rāma and his ancestors. n.d. Fragmentary Rieu Or. 1122. n.c.n.d.

Śiva

42 Kiṣan Singh Nishāt. *Śiva Purāṇas* n.d.; (see no. 36 above), 74 *adhyāyas*. Ethe 1958. n.c. 1689.

Skanda

43. Kiṣan Singh, Nishāt. *Pañca Krośi:* a part of *Kāśi Māhātmya*. n.d.; (See above). Rieu: Egerton 1028-ii. n.c.n.d.

44 Ānandaghana, Khush. *Bahr al-Najāt*. *n.d.*; (C. 1790; see no. 45 below) 5 Books. Ethe 1959. Bholanath, 1792-4.

Vāyu

45. Ānandaghana, *Khush. Gaya Māhātmya*, Section relating to the holy sanctuary at Gaya. 1791. Ethe 1962. 1791. n.c.

Viṣṇu

46. Anonymous. *Hikāyat-i-Śrī Viṣṇu Purāṇa* n.d. Bodleian 1318. n.c.n.d. (Another defective copy of the same.., Bodleian 1319.., was copied in 1795).

47. Anonymous. No title. Story of King Sāgar and Ṛṣi Aurva. (Book iv of Viṣṇu Purāṇa). Rieu Or 1122, n.c.n.d.

Rāmāyaṇa

48. Naqib Khān, 'Abd al-Qāder Budāoni and Sultān Thāneswari. [*Rāmāyaṇa*]. Completed in 994/1585, at the order of Akbar. Not extant; see Blochman, *Āin.*, p. 105; also Bodleian, no. 1315.

49. 'Abd al-Qāder Budāoni (?). *Rāmāyaṇa*. 999/1590. Abridged version of no. 48 above. See Elliot, v, p. 539. Reiu Or. 1248. n.c. 1710.

50. Girdhar Dāś. [*Rāmāyaṇa.*] n.d.; Dedicated to Jehāngir, 1605-1627. Abridged, in verse. Ethe 1965. n.c. 1723. Cf. Stewart: Tippo, p. 74 no. Cv.

51. Shaikh Sa'dallah Masiḥ, also called Masiḥi Kairānawi Pānipati. *Tarjumah-Rāmāyaṇa;* also named *Rām and Sītā*. n.d.; dedicated to Jehāngir, see above. Litho *Rāmāyan-i-Masihi*. Lucknow, 1899. 329 pp.

52. Candrabhān, son of Śrirām. *Rāmāyaṇa*. n.d. (*C.* 1686). Abridged. Ethe 1964. n.c. 1696.

53. Gopāl b. Śri Govinda. [*Rāmāyaṇa.*] 1683. 173 *adhyāyas*. Blochet 222. n.c. 1776.

54. Ānandaghana of Benares. [*Rāmāyaṇa*] n.d.; (*C.* 1791; see nos. 44 and 45 above). Six *Kāṇḍas* (Books). Ethe 2926. n.c. 1791.

55. Ranjit Rāi, son of Rāmdāś. [*Rāmāyaṇa.*] n.d. I.O. Accessions (Pers. Mss.) no. 3837. (Uncatalogued).

56. Anonymous. [*Rāmāyaṇa.*] n.d. Versified. Ousley Collection, no. 74; also mentioned in Rieu, vol. I, p. 57, Or. 1251. (Untraced).

Romances, Tales, Fables etc.

Hitopadeśa

57. Tāj al-Din Mufti (also known as Tāj-i-Ma'āli, Tāj-i-Mufti al-Māliki Tāj al-Gani, Tāj al-Din b. Mu'in al-Din Māliki, Tāj al-Din Mufti al-Māliki). *Mufarraḥ al-Qulūb*. n.d.; dedicated to Malik Nāṣir al-Din (?), Malik Nāsir al-Din Qubācha, died 1228. Litho. *Mufarraḥ al-Qulūb*. Lucknow 1869. 78 pp.

58. Anonymous. [*Hitopadeśa.*] n.d. Abridged version of no. 57 above. Ethe 1986. Syed Makhdūm al-Husaini, 1867.

Kathāsaritsāgara

59. Abü al-Faiḍ, Faiḍi (?). *Kathāsaritsāgara*. n.d. see no. 13 above. Ethe 1987. n.c.n.d. Fragmentary, ii-ix *Taraṅgas*.

60. Rūpnārāin Khatri. *Tarjumah-i-Kathāsarit* (sic). n.d. I. O. (Per. Mss. Delhi Collection, no. 993. n.c. 1763.

Nala Damayanti (Episode of the *Mahābhārata*).

61. Abū al-Faiḍ, Faiḍi. *Nal Daman*. n.d.; see no. 13 above,, versified (Copied 166, Buhar no. 396). Litho. (a). *Nal Daman-i-Faiḍi*, Calcutta 1831. (b). *Nal Daman-i-Faiḍi*. Lucknow 1843. (c) Part printed in Spiegel's *Crestomathia Persica*, Leipzig 1846. Pp. 131-150.

Padmāvati

62. Malik Muḥammad Jaisi. *Tuḥfat al-Qulūb*. n.d. C. 947/1540. (For a notice of the author and his works, see Garcin de Tassy ii. p. 97). Blochet 232. 'Abd al-Hakim, Jehāngirnagar 1679. The actual version of Jaisi's prose translation is not extant, but this recension by an anonymous author is based on it. Jaisi is better known for his Hindi poetical version of the romance.

63. 'Abd al-Shukūr, Munawwar, Bazmi. 1028/1658, versified. Litho *Padmāvat Fārsi*. Lucknow 1871. 69 pp.

64. 'Aqil Khān Rāḍḍi. *Shama'h wa Parwānah*. 1069/1685. Versified, *Mathnawī* Sprenger, p. 543, no. 469. (Untraced).

65. Husain Chisti, Gaznawi. [*Padmāvati*.] n.d. Stewart: Tipoo. p. 73, no. xcv. n.c.n.d.

66. Husām al-Din. *Husn wa 'Ishq*. 1660. Versified. Pertsch 955. n.c.n.d.

Śūkasaptati

67. Diyā al-Din Nakhshabi. *Ṭūṭi Nāmah*. 730/1330. 52 stories. Pertsch 1027. Mullā Bahādur, Kol 994/1586.

68. Abū al-Faḍl. *Ṭūṭi Nāmah*. n.d.; see no. 12 above. For Akbar. Rieu Add. 10589. n.c.n.d.

69. Muḥammad Khudāvand, Qāderi. *Ṭūṭi Nāmah*. n.c.; 17th century. Abridged version. Ed. F. Gladwin, with an English translation, "*Tales of a Parrot*". London, 1800. 170 pp. (Diyā Nakhshabi, no. 67 above, in his preface mentions an earlier Persian translation of the *Śūkasaptati*. Another version is indicated by Hāji Khalifa, iv, p. 172.).

Vatriś Siṃhāsana (or Vikramacarita)

70. 'Abd al-Qāder, Budāoni. *Khirad Afzā*. 1574-5. Prose and verse. Not extant, but see below, no. 71.

71. 'Abd al-Qāder Budāoni. *Khirad Afzā*. 1594-5. An abridged edition of no. 70 above. Not extant, but both mentioned in Budāoni, i, p. 67; see also Elliot, v, p. 513.

72. Caturbhujdās b. Mihircānd *Kāyath*. *Shāhnāmah or Singhāsan Vattisi*. n.d.; during the reign of Akbar, 1556-1605. Bodleian 1324. n.c.n.d.

73. Behārimal b. Rājmal Khatri. *Singhāsan Vattisi*. *C*. 1610; during the reign of Jehāngir. Ethe 1988. n.c. Lucknow 1780.

74. Kiṣhandāś b. Mulukcand, Tamboli. *Kiṣhan Vilās*. 1620. during the reign of Jehāngir. Pertsch 1087. n.c.n.d.

75. Ibn Harkaran, also known as Bishab Rāi b. Harigarbdās Kāyath. *Singhāsan Vattisi*. n.d.; during the reign of Shāhjahān, 1627-58. Rieu Add. 6597. n.c. 1782.

76. Cand b. Madhurām. *Singhāsan Vattisi*. n.d. Mehren, p. 29. no. Lxxx. n.c.n.d.

77. Anonymous. *Vattis Singhāsan*. n.d. Versified. Browne no. 773 (Corpus 106). n.c.n.d.

78. Anonymous. *Qiṣṣah-i-Vikramjīt*. n.d. Ethe 1991. Defective, but in places has fuller details and the text differs from any other known version of the work.

Vetāla Pañcaviṃśati

79. Anonymous. *Badāi'al-'Uqūl*. 1671-2. Palmer no. 61. n.c. 1783-4.

80. Anonymous, *Betāl Paciśi*. n.d. Browne: Suppl. no. 207 (Corpus 69). n.c. Lucknow 1846.

81. Behārīmal b. Rājmal Khatri. *Afsānah Nāmah-i-Rājah Bhoj*. n.d. Stories from the life of king Bhoja, on a similar plan as in the *Singhāsan Vattisi*. The name of the author does not appear in the work, but he refers to it in his translation of the *Vatriś Singhāsana*, no. 73 above. Rehatsek, p. 217, no. 7. n.c.n.d.

82. Anonymous. No title n.d. Beginning with the fifth story of a collection of moral tales; Sanskrit names given in Devanāgarī characters, and profusely illustrated with fine drawings. Ethe 1994. n.c.n.d.

83. Anonymous. No title. "*An Indian romance; translated from Sanskrit.*" n.d. Ousley Mss. Cat., p. 23, no. 693. (Untraced)

Astronomy. *Bṛhat Saṃhītā*. (*Varāhamihira*).

84. 'Abd al-'Azīz Shams Bahāi, Nūri (Shams Sirāj 'Afif). *Tarjumah-i-Barāhi*. n.d.; translated at the request of Firoz Shāh Tuglaq, 1351-1388. Out of 104 Bābs (chapters) in the original, 8 left out in the translation "on account of the idolatrous matter contained in them." Ethe 1997 n.c.n.d. (Probably the same referred to by Elliot, v, p. 579).

Cosmogony

85. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Cisti. *Mirāt al-Makhlūqāt*. 1041/1631. "Dialogue between Mahādeva and Pārvatī," handed down by Muni Vaśiṣṭha. Rieu Or. 1883-viii. n.c.n.d.

86. Zurawar Singh. *Paramārtha Prakāśa*. n.d.. at the request of Warren Hastings. Browne: Camb. Cat. Add. 752. n.c. 1779.

Divination, Magic and Occult Sciences

87. 'Izz al-Dīn Khālid Khānī. *Dalāil-i-Firoz Shāhi.* n.d.; during the reign of Firoz Shāh Tuglaq, 1351-1358. From a Sanskrit work found in the library of the Rājāh of Nagarkot, captured by Firoz Shāh. Not extant; see Elliot, v, p. 573.

88. Anonymous. *Ratan Mālā,* or *Burhān al-Ikhtirārāt.* 1000/1640. Astrological work on the art of determining the lucky time. Rehatsek p. 23, no. 40. n.c.n.d.

89. Muḥammad Khān Ābrūlūī. *Miftaḥ al-Futūḥ.* n.d. "On magic, containing Cabbalistic formulae in Devanāgarī characters, probably from the Sanskrit work named Devalokajyoti." Ivanow, 1711. n.c.n.d.

Farriery. *Śālihotra*

90. 'Abdallah b. Ṣafī. *Tarjumah-i-Salhotra.* [1407; during the reign of Aḥmad Bahmanī.] Rieu Add. 14057-i. n.c.n.d. (Date of the translation found in another copy, Stewart: Tipoo, p. 29).

91. Anonymous. *Qurrat al-Mulūk.* 873/1468. [mistake for 883/1478.] at the order of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī of Malwa, 1468-1500. Eleven Bābs (chapters). Rieu Or. 1697. n.c. 1843.

92. Zain al-'Ābedin b. Syed Abul Husain Hāshemī. *Faras Nāmah.* 926/1519; at the request of Muzaffar Shāh of Gujrat, [1511-1526.] Ed. Phillot, D.C. *"Faras Nāmah of Hāshemi."* Calcutta, 1910. vii, 116 pp. (Bibliotheca Indica, no. 191).

93. Syed 'Abdallha Fiorz Jang, *ed.* (Actual translation by a number of anonymous Pandits). *Faras Nāmah-i-Hindī,* n.d.; during the reign of Shahjahan, [1627-1658.] ['Abdallah died in 1644-5.] In two parts; 52 chapters. Bodleian 1846. n.c.n.d.

Mathematics

Līlāvatī (Bhāskarācārya)

94. Abul Faiḍ Faiḍī. *Līlāvatī.* n.d.; at the order of Akbar, [1587.] Litho. *"The Līlāvatī*: a treatise on Arithmetic, translated into Persian from the Sanskrit work of Bhāskarācārya, by the celebrated Faizi." Calcutta 1827. 158 pp.

95. Muḥammad Amīn b. Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'īd. *Dastūr al-Hisāb*: *Tarjuma-i-Līlāvatī.* 1678. I.O. Delhi Coll. (Pers.) no. 1483. n.c.n.d. Uncatalogued.

Bījagaṇita (Bhāskarācārya)

96. 'Aṭā allah Rashīdī b. Aḥmad Nādir. *Bījaganita.* 1634-5. dedicated to Shahjahan. Introduction and six topics, called Maqālah. Rieu 16869. n.c. Shāhjahānābād 1728.

97. Anonymous. *Bījaganita.* n.d. Palmer no. 50. n.c.n.d.

Music

Pārijātaka (Ahobala).

98. Mirzā Raushan Zamir. *Tarjumah-i-Pārijātaka*. n.d.; [the translator was a great musician during the reign of Aurangzib who died in 1705.] Ethe 2009. n.c.n.d.

Rāgadarpaṇa (Sanskrit original named Manktihal, written at Gwalior at the desire of Mansingh, d. 1518).

99. Faqirallah. *Rāgadarpaṇa dar'Ilm-i-Mūsiqī*. 1665-6. Ethe 2017. n.c. 1782.

Saṅgita Darpaṇa

100. Anonymous. *Risālah dar 'Ilm-i-Mūsiqi*. n.d. (see also Ousley Oriental Collections, i. p. 75). Bodleian 1852. n.c.n.d. Probably the same translation referred to by Jones, Works, i, p. 422, and also by Mirzā Khān b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the author of *Tuḥfat al-Hind* (no. I Part II below) as being one of his authorities for the section on Music.

Mirzā Khān, in his work referred to above, also refers to Persian translation of such work as *Rāgārṇava*, and *Sabhāvinoda*. Sir William Jones mentions another work named *Rāgabibhoda*, which was found by Col. Pollier with an interlinear Persian translation. Jones, Works, i, p. 422. None of these, however, appear in any of the published catalogues.

Physiognomy

101. Muḥammad Ismā'il. *Sāmudrik Ṛikṣhā*. n.d. Bib. Lind. 728. n.c. 1837.

102. Balarao. *Tarjumah-i-Pūthi Sāmudrik*. n.d. I.O. Delhi Coll. (Pers.) no. 1127. n.c. 1909 (sic). Uncatalogued.

Sexology

103. Diyā al-Dīn, Nakhshabi. *'Ishrat al-Mulūk*. (also named *Lizzat al-Nisā*, see Mehren, p. 15) n.d.. the translator was a well-known writer and died in 1350, see no. 67 above). Bodleian. 1622. n.c. 1610.

104. Barīd Shāh Maḥmūd (?.) "of Bijapur". (Qāsim Barīd, minister of Maḥmūd, the Bahmani King of Bidar, 1482-1518?). *Bhogbal*. n.d. Sprenger, i, no. 637. n.c.n.d.

105. Anonymous. *Koknāmah*. n.d. Bodleian 1628-iii. n.c. 1825. Incomplete.

106. Muḥammad Quli, Jāmi. *Kokasāstra*. 1036/1626. Versified. Rieu Add. 17489. n.c. 1797.

107. Anonymous. *Risālah dar 'Aurat*. n.d. Bodleian 1626. n.c.n.d.

Vedas. *Atharva Veda*

108. Hāji Ibrāhīm Sarhindi. *Atharva Veda*. n.d.; at the request of Akbar, *c.* 1600. Not extant. see Budaoni, ii, p. 212; also Blochmann, Ain, i, p. 105; Elliot, v, p. 571.

PART II.

A Compendium of Hindu Arts and Sciences

1. Mirzā Khān b. Fakhr al-dīn Muḥammad. *Tuḥfat al-Hind*. n.d.; compiled for the instruction of Jahāndār Shāh, grandson of Aurangzib and Emperor of India, 1712-13. (Rieu is inclined to place it before 1675). On the Arts and Sciences of the Hindus: Introduction (*Dibācha*) and 7 chapters (*Bāb*), on (a) Prosody (b) Rhymes (c) Figures of Speech (*Alaṃkāra*) (d) Art of Love (*Śṛṅgāra*) (e) Music (*Saṅgīta*) (f) Sexology (*Koka*) and (g) Physiognomy (*Sāmudrik*). Conclusion (Khātima). Technical terms in Sanskrit. Palmer, p. 118, no. 119. n.c.n.d.

Law and Society

2. Kachari Singh. *Tarjumah-i-Pūthī Sānskrit* (sic). [Not a translation of any of the existing works on Law.] 1782. On "the rights and duties of mankind in every sphere of life." Pertsch, 1083. n.c.n.d.

3. Muḥammad Husian, Qatil. *Haft Tamāsha*. n.d.; [the author died in 1817, but wrote in the reign of S'ādat 'Alī Khān, King of Oudh, 1798-1814]. An account of the different creeds and sects of the Hindus. 7 chapters. Rieu Or. 476. n.c. 1850.

Music

4. Anonymous. *Guniat al-Muniat*. 1374-5, during the reign of Firoz Tuglaq, at the request of Ibrāhīm Husain Abūrajā, Governor of Gujrat. 2 *Qism* (Parts), 4 *Bābs* (chapters), 18 *Faṣls* (Sections). Ethe 2008. n.c.n.d.

5. Bakshāwa. *Rāghāi Hindī*. n.d.. the composer was a court-musician of Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat, [1526-37.]

Ed. anonymous; *Sahasra Rasa* (also, *Hazār Dhrupad*, and *Rāgamālā*) at the order of Shāhjahān, 1624-58; containing the choicest *Dhrupads* of the composer, numbering 1000; preface; arranged in 4 *Rāgas* and 36 *Rāginīs*. Ethe 2015. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ahmedabad, 1656.

6. Hasan b. Khwāja Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad of Daulatabad. *Miṣbāḥ al-Surūr*. 1664. On the Music of the Hindus. 4 *Bābs* (Chapters). Ivanow, 1629. n.c.n.d.

7. Anonymous. *Shams al-Aṣwāt*. 1698. On Indian Music. 6 *Bābs*. Ethe 2022. n.c. 1782.

8 Raicānd Aḥmedābādī *Uṣūl-i-Ginā*. 1764. Buhar, i, 236-i. n.c.n.d.

9. Nahākar Dāś. *Risāla-i-Rāgamāla*. 1774. Tract on the Rāgas and Rāginis. Ethe 2018. n.c. 1779.

10. Hasan 'Alī. *Mufarraḥ al-Qulūb*. 1785; at the order of Tipoo. "On the Music of Mysore and different melodies." 6 chapters and conclusion. Ethe 2024. n.c.n.d.

11. Gulām Riḍā b. Muḥammad. *Uṣula al-Nugmāt al-Āṣafī*. n.d. composed for a certain Wazīr, named Āṣāf (?). On Indian melodies. Buhar, i, 235. n.c.n.d.

12. Anonymous (*compiler*) *Kanz al-Mūsīqī*. n.d.; dedicated to Muzaffar Khān (?) Collection of *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* with their respective Dohras in Hindi, and a Persian preface. Index. Ethe 2021. n.c.n.d.

13. Anonymous. *Nād Pūrāṇa* n.d. Bib. Lind. no. 98.

14. Anonymous. Tracts. *Ilhām al-Ṭarb*. *Munf'at al-Ṭālebīn*. n.d. Ethe 2033. n.c.n.d.

Philosophy

Yoga

15. Anonymous. *Silsilah-i-Jogiān* n.d. On the various sects of the Yogis. Five chapters on 5 *Firqahs* (Sects) and an appendix on the tenets of the Jogis. Ethe 2974. n.c.n.d.

Pantheism

16. Walirām. (a) *Kayā Topi;* (b) *Rām Gītā*. (c) *Misbāḥ al-Hudā;* (d) *Sawal Jawāb-i-Lā'l Bāba wa Dārā Shukoh*. n.d. Tracts on Hindu Mysticism. Palmer no. 14. n.c.n.d. (d) Litho. Delhi. *"Sawāl Jawāb-i-Lā'l Bābā wa Dārā Shukoh."* 1885.

17. Dārā Shukoh. *Majma 'al-Baḥrain*. 1065/1654. Muslim Ṣufic Interpretation of Hindu Pantheism. Ed. Maḥfūz. al-Huq. *"Majmā 'al-Baḥrain"*. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1929.

18. Shaikh Abū al-Faiḍ, Faiḍī. *Shāriq al-Ma'arifat*. n.d.;[c. 1590; see no. 94 Part I above.] Exposition of Vedantic teachings of *Yogavāśiṣṭha, Bhāgavatgītā* and Bhāgavat Purāṇa etc. Lith. *"Shāriq al-Ma'rifat,"* In *'Majmu'ab-i-Rasāil."* Lucknow 1877.

Sciences

Astronomy

19. 'Abd al-'Aziz. *Najjūm al-Hind wa Ṣan'at-i-Asṭarlāb*. n.d. On Indian Astronomy and the construction of the Astrolobe. Two volumes. Stewart: Tipoo, p. 103, no. viii. n.c.n.d.

20. Munshi Kṛpārām. No title; n.d. [On the Astronomical and Geographical systems of the Hindus, with mythological and historical legends.] Written for Warren Hastings. Ricu Add. 5654. n.d.n.c.

Divination, Magic and Occult Sciences

21. Anonymous. *Fāl Nāmah-i-Hindi*. n.d. Lee Coll. (Pers.) Mss. p. 54, no. 167.

Medicine

22. Anonymous. *Jāmi 'al-Qwānin-i-Hindi.* n.d.; [but if the copyist's date at the colophon is correct, it should be placed in 1241 at the latest.] Encyclopædia of Indian Pharmacology. Introduction. Two *Fann* (subjects) and a *Khatimah* (conclusion). Ivanow 1587. n.c. 639/1241 (?).

23. Bhuvah b. Khwāṣ Khān. *Ma'dan-i-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhi.* n.d. author was a court physician of Sikandar Lodi, 1488-1517, to whom the work is dedicated. Introduction, 3 chapters on Therapeutics, Anatomy and Diagnosis; 87 sections. Litho.

(a) *"Ma'dan-i-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhi."* Lucknow 1877. 492 pp.

(b) *Ibid.*, Lucknow 1889. 496 pp. Fol.

(c) Preface, with extracts, and a German translation, published by Haas, in *ZDMG.*,? vol. xxx, pp. 630-642.

24. Banyā b. Hasan Hakim Hasān. *Khulāṣah-i-Banyāi....* 1588. Indian Materia Medica. Ivanow 1549. Shiam Pershad, 1146/1733.

25. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, Ferishta. *Dastūr al-Aṭibyā* (also named *Ikhtiārāt-i-Qāsimi*). n.d.; The author's well-known history of India, *Tārikh-i-Ferishta,* was completed in 1607. Introduction, 3 discourses (*Zikr*) and conclusion. Ethe 2318. Shihāb al-Din of Gauharpur, 1761.

26. Amānallah Khān, Zamāni. *Dastūr al-Hunūd.* n.d.; [it is referred to in the *Tālif-i-Sharif,* no. 27 below, which was completed in 1173/1759.] Bib. Lind. no. 762. n.c.n.d.

27. Hakīm Muḥammad Sharif Khān. *Tālif-i-Sharif.* n.d; dedicated to Shāh 'Ālām, 1759-1806. Indian Materia Medica. Litho.

(a) *"Tālif Sharif".* Delhi 1265/1848. *Alfāz al-Adviyah.*

(b) *Ibid.*, Delhi 1280/1863. Ed. Gulām Riḍa Khān. 228 pp.

28. Anonymous. *Mujarrah al-Shifā.* n.d. A short account of Indian Medical Science. Ivanow 1583. n.c.n.d.

A. B. M. Habibullah

REVIEWS

CONCEPTS OF BUDDHISM by Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., with a Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland, pp. xi, 103. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, for the Kern Institute, 1937.

The Kern Institute, Leiden, which has already done much for higher Indian studies has paid a high compliment to Dr. Bimala Churn Law in publishing his monograph on the essential concepts of Buddhism, and the Marquess of Zetland, whose interest in Indian philosophical thought is fully attested by his own work, has borne just testimony to the merits of the latest addition to his long series of contributions to our knowledge. Dr. Law has once more followed in his regular path; he has aimed at presenting us with a large mass of material, carefully chosen, accurately interpreted, and skilfully coordinated, bearing on the essential ideas of Buddhism as it is presented to us especially in the Pāli texts. It is not his aim to present a sketch of the original philosophy of the Buddha or of his history, but to clarify our understanding of the views which became current in the philosophical circles whose discussions and results are presented to us in the Pāli Canon. The advantage of this procedure is obvious. The original views of the Buddha are unquestionably beyond our power to determine with any certainty, while we can by careful examination of the texts achieve a very fair appreciation of the views current among his followers or at least one important branch among them.

On this basis Dr. Law adheres firmly to the actual assertions of the texts. In discussing *puggala* he insists (p. 45) that the Buddhists deny the transmigration of a soul: rebirth is to be conceived as *kammasantati*, or the continuity of an impulse, and the true illustration of its operation is afforded by the mode in which one lamp becomes lighted from another. How this view can be made

consistent with the equally essential Kammavāda does not appear from our texts, doubtless because the problem proved beyond logical solution. The conception of Nibbāna also in like manner was never brought into really organic relation with the question of the self or of action, or with that of causality. It is impossible for us to work the ideas of the texts into an effective whole, probably because they were never welded into a unity by the Buddha or his followers. We can understand from Dr. Law's citations and analysis the effect of the dogmas, but not their interrelation. That is the reason why it is possible for very different theories to be developed regarding the essential principles of Buddhism and why Dhamma can mean one thing for Mrs. Rhys Davids with her effort to recover traces in the texts of an early doctrine of becoming, and something quite different for Professor Stcherbatsky who would fain have us believe that the conception of *dharmas* as elements of things is the basic conception of Buddhism. A careful study of Dr. Law's evidence will show that in this form of Buddhism we are far removed from a comprehensive or consistent metaphysic of any kind. As a presentation of Buddhist views as they were, as opposed to a reconstruction of what they can be transformed into by the application of modern categories of thought, Dr. Law's work is of permanent value.

A. Berriedale Keith

BṚHATTARA BHĀRATER PŪJĀ PĀRVAN: By Swami Sadananda.

This booklet, together with the author's *Kāmboja*, marks a very happy move towards popularizing in Bengali the knowledge about the ancient Hindu culture still preserved in Indonesia. The Swami, after tremendous labour in toiling practically unaided, through French Indo-China and Dutch East Indies, gives in a lucid style, a vivid description of the various systems of worship, rituals, temples and other institutions of Java and Bali. Those cultural

colonies of India should not only be visited by scholars but by our religious preachers and Swami Sadananda is a pioneer in that sense. His mission should be supported by national organisations so that he may take a batch of promising students from our Indian Universities who may study in detail, the magnificent architecture, sculpture, iconography as well as the inscriptions, texts and other cultural remains in Indonesia. Thus we may get regular and exhaustive narratives, of those monuments, in our Indian vernaculars through which the mass mind of India would be roused to adventure as in the ancient days of Greater India. The booklets published by Swami Sadananda are excellently printed with suitable illustrations for which he deserves our congratulations. These books should have wide circulation in our various types of secondary schools. The Swami is a great traveller and his personal touches in the narrative are sure to create enthusiam among our rising generations.

KALIDAS NAG

A GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI, edited by H. L. Srivastava, M.A., Offg. Superintendent, Archæological Survey. Delhi: Manager of Publications iv + 77 pages. Front. viii plates. Map.

Of all the existing medieval cities, Fatehpur is essentially the product of one single mind, and is, perhaps, the best written to Akbar's lofty imagination. For 17 years the imperial capital of India, and then suddenly deserted, to be, in a few years, a vast wilderness of stone, it has a sad, almost tragic significance, equalled only by Daulatabad, the deserted capital of yet another imaginative monarch, Muhammud ibn Tughlaq. But Daulatabad is no more, and Fatehpur still stands in all its departed glory to compel wonder and admiration of both the tourist and the archæologist. The city

deserves more than a popular monograph on it, and it is a pity that except the voluminous and somewhat diffused *Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri* of E. S. Smith, a railway guide and a few notices by Keene, Latif, and Havell it has had none so far; for J. T. N's *Ruins of Fatehpur Sikri,* published in the fifties of the last century, apart from its many inaccuracies, has been out of print these fifty years.

From this undeserved neglect this handy volume has rescued it and the author has more than earned our thanks. Within less than a hundred pages, he has said everything that interests the ordinary visitor and has done well to do no more than bait at the existence of controversies where they occur. One of them centres on the building known as the *Diwāni Khās.* Inspite of the literary evidences against its identification with the *'Ibádat Khāna,* its peculiar construction leaves one unconvinced as to its suitability for a private Hall of Audience; the absence of any positive literary evidence has also to be noted. Another relates to the apartment ascribed to Birbal—one of the three existing non-royal residential buildings, the other two being the houses of Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi. The inclusion of a photograph of one of these buildings in the otherwise well-chosen series appended to the book would have been appreciated. An Index would also have been welcome. 'Grand Cathedral morgue' is a little too involved an expression to denote a Jame's *Masjid* (p. 49); the choice of the phrase 'against the revolted Uzbek nobles' (p. 63) was not happy. These are, however, very minor points, and can be easily improved upon in subsequent editions which this excellently produced guide should undoubtedly have.

A. B. M. Habibullah

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XVI part III

KASTEN RÖNNOW.—*Vedic Krivi.* The significance of the term *Krivi* and allied expressions occurring in the *Ṛgveda* and the later *Saṃhitās* has been discussed in this instalment of the paper.

F. B. J. KUIPER.—*Indo-Iranica.* Of the twenty words to be dealt with in this philological discourse, *aṅganā, astamana, ādhrá* and *aná* have found place in this issue of the Journal.

STEN KONOW.—*Kabul Museum Stone Inscription of the year 83.* A stone preserved in the Kabul Museum contains a Khoroṣṭhī inscription of five lines in North-Western Prakrit. It records the excavation of a tank in the Mālava-Vikrama year 83 corresponding to 25 A.C. during the time of Tiravharṇa, a Kṣatrapa of Puṣpapura.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XIX, part 1. (October 1937)

SHANKARACHARYA.—*Influence of the Mahābhārata on Hindu Social Life.*

M. HIRIYANNA.—*The Indian Conception of Values.*

S. M. KATRE.—*The Formation of Koṅkaṇī.*

P K. GODE.—*Fragments of Poems pertaining to King Sambhu, son of Shivaji.*

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI:—*Rāmānujācārya, the Author of the Nāyakaratna.* The author under discussion, who is distinct from the celebrated Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of philosophy, has been assigned to the period ranging from 1350 to 1575 A.C.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*Some Minor Purāṇas.* The dates

and contents of the *Garuḍa* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas* have been discussed.

J. C. GHOSH.—*Note on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India.* In support of the theory that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was located in Central India, the writer adduces evidences to show that in ancient times there existed on the border of Madhyadeśa a region called Laṅkā.

V. N. GOKHALE.—*A Note on the Word Gopitha.* Gopitha, according to the writer of this Note, means 'protection of cows.'

B. C. LAW.— *Mind in the Dhammapada.*

P. K. GODE.—*Appayadīkṣita's Criticism of Āryabhaṭa's Theory of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth.*

Archiv Orientalni, IX, no. 3

J. SCHRÖTER.—*Ein Werk über die Philosophie der Sanskrit-Grammatik.*

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. II, part I

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Ṛgveda-vyākhyā.* The editing of Mādhava's commentary on the *Ṛgveda* continues.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI AND T. R. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR.—*Yoga Upaniṣads.* The *Triśikhibrāhmaṇopaniṣad* and the *Darśanopaniṣad,* two short treatises dealing with *Yoga* have been translated into English in this instalment.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Sāmavedasaṃhitā.* An edition of the *Saṃhitā* with the commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmin begins with this issue of the Journal.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Tibetan Versions of the Bhavasaṃkrānti Sūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bhavasaṃkrāntiśāstrā with the commentary of Maitreyanātha.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental studies, vol. IX, part 2

H. W. BAILEY.—*Indo-Turcica.* The transcribed text of a Turkish fragment in Brāhmī script together with its Sanskrit version has been published, and a glossary of Turkish words with Sanskrit equivalents furnished in this Note.

L. D. BARNETT.—*Sātavāhana and Śātakarṇi.* A study of the two expressions along with their cognate forms shows that they are not borrowings from Munda and *Sāta* is a proper name, *karṇi* signifying a 'son.'

Dacca University Studies, vol II, no. 1 (April, 1937)

BENOY GOPAL ROY.—*Bosanquet compared with Bradley and Śaṅkara.*

AJIT KUMAR SEN.—*Background of Hindu Political Thought.* The object of the writer is to show that the *Varṇāśrama* institution and the concept of *dharma* are vitally connected with the political concepts of the Hindus.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.—*Administrative System in Bengal during the Pāla and Sena periods.* This is an account of the system of administration prevailing in Bengal during the Pāla and Sena rules. It deals with the government in the metropolis and the towns, the employment of ambassadors and messengers, the organisation of the guilds, the collection and expenditure of revenues and the military, the police and the judiciary.

Indian Culture, vol. IV, no. 3, (January 1938)

O. STEIN.—*India between the Cultures.* The contact of India with the West on the one hand and the East on the other has been traced black to early times, along with a reference to the important results which have issued from the contact.

SRI RAMA SARMA.—*Jahangir's Religious Policy.* Jahangir in his religious policy continued on the whole Akbar's toleration but a

departure from the wide outlook of his father commenced in his time.

SUSHIL K. BOSE.—*Studies in Gupta Paleography.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. VII, no. 2 (March 1938)

S. S. BHARATI.—*Some Facts and Fables about Karikalan the Great.* Legends relating to the attainments of king Karikalan of the Chola dynasty are discussed in the paper.

A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR. *The Passive Voice in Tamil.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Vijayīndra Tirtha.* This is an account of the life and works of Vijayīndra, a writer of the 16th century and a follower of the dualistic Vedānta system of Madhvācārya.

—.—*Post-Jayatīrtha writers.*

RAMANUJACHARI AND S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Siddhitraya.* The available portion of the *Īśvarasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya on the existence of God is published in this issue of the Journal with English translation and Notes.

—.—*Nyāyakuliśa.* This instalment contains a Sanskrit Introduction to Rāmānujācārya's *Nyāyakuliśa* already published in the previous issues of the Journal.

—.—*Nītimālā.* This Vedāntic work of Nārāyaṇārya is being edited.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. II, no. 1

H. HEARS.—*The Story of Two Mohenjo Daro Signs.* Two signs found in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions have been compared with the signs of the proto-Chinese and the Hittite scripts, and their transformations discussed. The course of development of these signs settles according to the writer the priority of the Mohenjo Daro script over the proto-Chinese and the Hittite scripts.

—.—*The Origin of the Mohenjo Darians.* The writer inclines to the view that the people of Mohenjo Daro were Dravidians, and criticises Dr. Pran Nath's opinion.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Devīcandragupta.* The contents of the drama *Devīcandragupta* which depicts the life of Candragupta II have been analysed in the light of historical evidences which suggest that Candragupta killed his elder brother Rāmagupta and married his wife. The author of the drama is conjectured to have been Viśākhadeva identified with Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa.*

R. RAMANUJACHARI.—*God and the Cosmos.* The views as found in the Vedantic works regarding the relation between the Supreme Being and the world have been discussed.

N. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Sāmagāna.* The rules as to how the Sāma hymns are to be set to music are interpreted.

BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYA.—*Social India as depicted by Kālidāsa.* The topics discussed in the paper include the following:—the structure of the society, Saṃskāras, marriage with its different forms, and the customs associated with them, the position of the wife and the son in the society, the widow and her self-immolation after the death of her husband, the Purdah system and the items of food and drink used by the people.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXIII, part iv (December, 1937)

STEN KONOW.—*The Devīcandragupta and its Author.* The writer of the note is of opinion that Viśākhadatta, the author of the drama *Devīcandragupta*, was a contemporary of Candragupta II, whose exploits have been made a theme of the drama.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Pilgrim's Way.* Five verses from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* exhorting Rohita to travel have been translated into English with notes and comments.

H. Hears.—*A Proto-Indian Icon.* A block of black stone roughly carved into human shape with four inscriptions incised into the lower part of the image has been described. The characters used in the inscriptions are of the Mohenjo Daro type which have been read as containing references to a king bearing the royal title of Mohenjo Daro. The end of the fifth millennium B.C. has been suggested as the probable date of this statue.

Hirananda Sastri.—*Devanāgari and the Muhammadan Rulers of India.* Evidences have been put forward to show that Muhammadan rulers of various dynasties that governed India were in favour of using the script of Devanāgari.

A. Banerji-Sastri.—*Śuṅga Sculpture from a Patna Mosque.* The sculpture inferred to have been of the Śuṅga period represents two lovers under a tree. It may be a panel relating to the life of the Śuṅga king Agnimitra who was in love with Mālavikā as described in Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra.*

K. P. Jayaswal and Rahula Sankrityayana.—*Adhyardhaśataka.* The Sanskrit Buddhist work containing hymns of 150 stanzas by Mātṛceṭa who was an older contemporary of Kaniṣka has been edited here with an Introduction.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVI, part III

H. Heras.—*The Longest Mohenjo Daro Epigraph.* The inscription under review contains twenty-five signs which, the writer thinks, have been deciphered by him.

D. S. Triveda.—*Five Thousand Years Ago—the Mahābhārat War.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that the Mahabhārata war was fought in 3137 B.C.

Ananda K. Coomaraswami.—*'Pantheism', Indian and Neo-Platonic.*

Bisheshwar Nath Reu.—*The Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Present Mysore State.*

P. K. GODE.—*References to a lost Work on the Pāṭīgaṇita of Śridharācārya.* Śrīdharācārya's *Triśatika* supposes a larger work on Pāṭīgaṇita by himself. Some references to that treatise are also found in the works of Makkibhaṭṭa and Rāghavabhaṭṭa from which, it is gathered that the name of the work was *Navaśati* which consisted of 900 verses.

H. K. SHERWANI.—*Khwāja-i- Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān's Campaigns in the Mahārāṣṭra.*

ABDUL AZIZ.—*The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals.* This instalment of the paper deals with the actual contents of the jewel treasury from the invasion of Bābur to that of Nādir Shāh.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (January 1938)

E. H. C. WALSH.—*Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum.*

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Nirmāṇa-kāya.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters vol. II, 1936. no. 3 Numismatic Supplement no. XLVI)

M. F. C. MARTIN.—*Some Coins of the Napki Malka Class re-struck-by Sahi-Tigin.*

S. SINGH ROY.—*The Coins of Rajgir.*

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Two New Andhra Coins.*

—.—*Note on an alleged Coin of Rudrasena.*

AJIT GHOSE.—*Notes on two Gupta Coins.*

K. N. DIKSHIT.—*A Gold Coin of Vīrasiṃha.*

—.—*A Note on the Bi-lingual coins of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.*

S. K. CHAKRABORTI.—*The Tribal Coins of Northern India.*

R. G. GYANI.—*Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad.*

R. B. WHITEHEAD.—*The Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty.*

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED.—*Note on a unique Copper coin of Barbak Shah.*

PRYAG DAYAL.—*Unpublished Mint marks on Awadh Coins.*

H. E. STAPLETON.—*The Countless Amherst Collection of Assamese Coins.*

Muslim University Journal, vol. IV, no. 1 (July 1937)

AZIZ AHMAD.—*Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek.* This is an estimate of the achievements of Sultan Qutbud-Din who is regarded as the founder of Muslim rule in India in the 13th century. The topics discussed in the paper include the Sultan's character, his early life and conquests.

MOHD. HABIB.—*Indo-Muslim Mystics.*

Shrine of Wisdom, vol. XIV, no. 74 (Winter Solstice, 1937)

The Laws of Manu.—The English translation of the 1st chapter of the *Manusaṃhitā* with comments and elucidations by the editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom* continues.

Bibliographical Notes

Zur Wost-und Satszslung in der alt-und mittelindischen Prosa by Jose Canedo. Göttingen 1937.

Avasthātraya or the Unique Method of Vedānta by Y. Subrahmanya Sarma. Bangalore 1937.

Chandoracanā by M. T. Patwardhan. Bombay 1937.

Nāṭyaśāstrasamīkṣā by T. K. Ramachandra Ayyar. Mylapore 1938.

Woolner Memorial Number of the Indian Linguistics. Lahore 1937.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XIV: *Nāṭaka* compiled by P. K. Gode. Poona 1937.

Rāmāyaṇa of Kumudendu (pt. I, cantos 1-8) edited by K. G. Kundanagar. Belgaum 1936.

Pamparāmāyaṇasaṃgraha edited by Tiruvallur Srinivasaraghavachar and D. L. Narasimhachar. University of Mysore 1936.

Tolkappiyam (Ancient Tamil Grammar, vol. II, pt. 1) with a commentary in English by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Madras 1937.

Bhagavadgītā edited on the basis of an old Ms. by Jivaram Kalidas Sastri. Gondal (Kathiawar) 1937.

Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin edited by Myles Dillon, vol. I: Text. Oxford 1937.

Teaching of Śrī Madhva by P. Nagaraja Rao. Madras 1937.

An Eight Hundred year old Book of Indian Medicine and Formulas translated from Hindi into English by Elizabeth Sharpe. London 1937.

History of Telugu Language (2 vols.) by Narayana Rao. Andhra University Series 1937.

Persian Sources of Indian History vol. II by Ganesh Hari Khare. Poona 1937.

Śivacaritrasāhitya (Materials for a Biography of Shivaji), vol. VI edited by Ganesh Hari Khare. Poona 1937.

Mahāpuruṣa of Puṣpadanta, vol. I edited by P. L. Vaidya. Poona 1937.

Apabhraṃśa-Studien by Ludwig Alsdorf. Leipzig 1937.

Secrets of the Kaula Circle by Elizabeth Sharpe. London 1936.

Tyāgarājacarita by T. S. Sundaresa Sarma. Tanjore 1937.

Manodūta of Viṣṇudāsa edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad. Calcutta 1937.

Story of Indian Civilisation by C.E.M. Joad. London 1936.

Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā of Vāgbhaṭa (pt. 4) edited by Luise Hilgenburg and Willibald Kirfel. Leiden 1937.

Worterbuch zum Ṛgveda by Hermann Grassmann (Reprint). Leipzig 1936.

Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents compiled by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodons. London 1937.

Assamese Grammar and Origin of the Assamese Language by Kaliram Medhi. Gauhati 1936.

Therīgāthā edited by N. K. Bhagavat. Devanāgari Pali Text Series. Bombay 1936

Majjhimanikāya (pt. I) edited by N. K. Bhagavat. Devanāgari Pali Text Series. Bombay 1937.

Jaiminīyanāyamālā of Mādhavācārya with his own commentary Nyāyamālāvistara (part I: chapter 1-3) edited with Notes by A. Ramanatha Sastri and Pattabhirama Sastri. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares 1937.

Prauḍha Manoramā of Bhaṭṭojidikṣita with the gloss *Laghuśabdaratna* and three commentaries edited by Gopal Sastri Nene (part I) Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares 1937.

Laghuśabdenduśekhara of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa with commentary (vol. I)

edited by Sudama Misra Sastri and Sadasiva Sastri Joshi. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares 1938.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Part I) edited by A. Chinnaswami Sastri and Pattabhirama Sastri. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares 1937.

Abhinayadarpaṇa of Nandikeśvara edited with Bengali translation and Notes by Asokanath Sastri. Calcutta 1938.

Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois (tome II) by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi: Publications de l'Universite de Calcutta. Paris 1937.

Jha Commemoration Volume (55 papers in Sanskrit and English by different scholars). Poona 1937.

Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol. I (A-Dh) compiled by G. P. Malalasekera. Government of India. London 1937.

To Become or Not to Become (That is the Question) by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. London 1937.

A Treatise on Buddhist Philosophy or Abhidhamma by C. L. A. De Silva—Revised by Thera Narada. Colombo 1937.

Cultural Heritage of India (various papers in three volumes). Sri Ramkrishna Centenary Memorial. Calcutta 1937.

Iconography of Southern India (English translation of J. Dubriuel's *Archaelogie due sud de L'inde,* Tome II: *Iconographie*) by A. C. Martin. Paris 1937.

Landmarks in Malayalam Literature by T. K. Krishna Menon Cochin 1937.

Gautama Buddha by Iqbal Singh. London.

A Brief Glossary of Buddhist Terms (Revised edition). London

Geographical Essays by Bimala Churn Law (vol. I—Revised edition). London.

Monographies Sanscrites (2pts: Décandence et disparition du subjonctif. Sur le suffixe 'Tu' et la constitution des infinitifs) by L. Renou. Paris.

Veda and Vedānta by E. P. Horrwitz. Calcutta.

Bibliographie Bouddhique, (Tome VII-VIII: May 1934—May 1936) by various scholars. Paris 1937.

Altindische Dichtung und Weisheit Bearbeitet compiled by O. Vogt. Wiesbaden 1937

Studies in Tamil Literature (2nd ed.) by V. R. R. Dikshitar. London 1937.

Brahma et Bauddha translated into French from the German of Glasenapp by P. Pelliot. Paris 1937.

Vaidikasvaraprakriyāprayogasmṛtisūci by N. N. Misra. Benares 1937.

Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa of Āpadeva edited by V. Abhyankar. Poona 1937.

Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha of Appayya Dīkṣita (vol. II) edited by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. Madras 1937.

Rasendrasārasaṃgraha of Gopālakṛṣṇa edited with a commentary by Ambikadatta Sastri. Benares 1937.

Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamiśra with the commentary of Cinnambhaṭṭa edited by D. R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath. Poona 1937.

Śrīkarabhāṣya of Śrīpati (Viraśaiva commentary on the Vedānta-sūtra) edited by C. Hayavadana Rao. 2 vols. Bangalore 1936.

Lagnavārāhī of Varāhamihira edited by J. K. K. Tripathi. Benares 1937.

Saundaryalaharī edited with a commentary and translated into English by S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Madras 1937.

Jambusvāmicarita and Adhyātmakamalamārtaṇḍa of Rājamalla edited by Jagadish Chandra Sastri. Bombay 1936.

A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script (*Vajracchedikā*) edited by F. W. Thomas. Leipzig 1937.

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra edited by Johannes Nobel. Leipzig 1937.

Paramappapayāsa of Yogīndudeva (Apabhraṃśa text edited with Sanskrit commentary and Hindi translation together with the *Yogasāra*) by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay 1937.

Mystic Philosophy of the Upaniṣads by Sri Chandra Sen. Lucknow.

Cambridge History of India, vol. IV: The Mughal Period planned by Wolsey Haig and edited by Richard Burn. Cambridge 1937.

Bhāsa-nāṭakacakra (Plays ascribed to Bhāsa—Sanskrit Text) edited with Introduction by C. R. Devadhara. Poona 1937.

Mahāvarga (*Vinaya Piṭaka*) translated into Bengali by Prajñānanda Sthavira and edited by B. M. Barua. Calcutta 1937.

Lectures on the Bhagavadgītā by D. S. Sarma. Rajahmundry 1937.

Wall-paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon (A Comparative Study) by Benjamin Rowland. Boston 1937.

Oriental Literary Digest (Monthly Journal), vol. I, nos. 1-9 edited by S. M. Katre. Poona 1937-38.

Concepts of Buddhism by Bimalachurns Law. London 1937.

Historie de la Philosophie: La Philosophie en Orient by Paul Masson-Oursel. Paris 1938.

Annual Report of the Department of Archæology, Baroda State 1935-36 by Hirananda Sastri. Baroda 1938.

Nadir Shah by L. Lockhart. London 1938.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference Mysore (1935). Bangalore 1937.

Indian and Western Philosophy: a study in contrast by B. Heimann. London 1937.

Nāyakaratna of Rāmānuja (a commentary on Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Nyāyaratnamālā*) edited by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Baroda 1937.

Gaṇitatilaka of Śrīpati with the commentary of Siṃhatilaka edited by H. R. Kapadia. G. O. S. Baroda 1937.

Haṃsavilāsa of Haṃsa Miṭṭhu edited by Trivikrama Tirtha and Hathibhai Sastri. G. O. S. Baroda 1937.

Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary of Kamalaśila translated into English by Ganganatha Jha. G. O. S. Baroda 1937.

Dharmakośa, vol. I published by Prajñāpāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala. Satara 1937.

Early Saṃkhya by E. H. Jhonston. London 1937.

Archæology of Hindu Sumatra by F. M. Schnitger. Leiden 1937.

Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIV **June, 1938** **No. 2**

The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European

The question of the relation of Hittite to Indo-European presents very substantial interest, and it is worth while examining this issue and the allied question of the relation between Hittite and Tocharian, and the place of the latter in the Indo-European family. Only the more important arguments can be considered, but it is possible thence to derive fairly definite conclusions so far as regards the evidence yet adduced.

I. *The Indo-Hittite Theory*

The protagonist of the view that Hittite is not to be regarded as Indo-European in the sense in which Sanskrit is, but that Indo European and Hittite must be treated as branches of Indo-Hittite, is undoubtedly Professor Sturtevant, whose knowledge of Hittite lends special force to his contentions,[1] and who adds weight to his arguments by their moderation. His main points may be examined briefly.

(1) The most important in his view is the retention in Hittite of a sound signified by the signs used for the Accadian spirant, which here for simplicity will be written *h*. Thus Hittite gives *hanti* 'in front' which corresponds with the Greek *antí*, and *eshar*

1 *Language*, IV. 1-11.

'blood', Greek *éar,* while *nebhi* is no doubt the corresponding form to Sanskrit *ninaya.* It is true that the sound is usually written double and Sturtevant doubts the suggestion of W. Petersen[2] that *h* is of different origin in its uses, and that after *a* it serves as a hiatus-filler, a use which may be compared with the regular use of *w* after *u* in this manner. This suggestion is plausible for many cases of its use, while in others it may be held that a *ha* thus generated was transferred to consonantal stems.

It is, however argued[3] that Indo-European shows compensatory lengthening upon loss of *h* before a consonant, while in Indo-Hittite long vowels and diphthongs with long prior element were shortened before *h.* But the latter proposition is not supported by any cogent evidence, and the former is equally dubious. If Hittite *mahlas* 'apple tree' is equated with Latin *mālus* and Greek *mêlon,* as is obvious, it is quite possible simply to assume that Hittite represented the long *a* sound by *ah,* and the same principle can be applied to the identification of the Hittite denominative suffix *ah* and the I.E. *ā* as in *newah-,* Latin *novāre,* Greek *neân.* It seems quite otiose to seek to explain Greek *húei* as against *huetós* by the lengthening of the *u* on the loss of the *h* of an I.H. *suhio-,* and the supposed parallel with Hitt. *suhhai* 'empty, sprinkle, scatter' and *suhha* 'roof' appears singularly unconvincing. If Hitt. *lahha* 'army, battle' and Greek *lāós* are really parallel, it is just as natural to say that *ahh* is to represent the *ā* as to ascribe the former to I.H. *l-hom* and the latter to *lahuos.* Hitt. *pahs-* 'protect' is equated with Latin *pāsco,* with again *ah* and *ā* as equivalents.

Sturtevant,[4] at one time dubious, is now a convert to the theory started by de Saussure and developed by others including Kurylo-

2 *A.J.P.,* liii. 193 ff.
3 *Language,* vii. 115 ff.
4 *Language,* xii. 141-4; contrast vi. 149-58.

wicz in the *Etudes indoeuropéennes* and E. Benveniste in his *Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen*, which ascribes to primitive I.E. several consonantal schwas, identified as laryngeals by Professor Sapir. Into these conjectures it is unnecessary to enter, for they do not lend any clear support to the thesis here under examination, which would set Hittite up against I.E. instead of ranking it with I.E. Sapir, for example, draws no such conclusion and plainly it could not be drawn.

(2) It is contended[5] that Hittite shows clearly the working of an I.H. rule under which *uw* and *ow* became *um*, thus creating pairs of suffixes beginning with *m* or *w* according to the character of the preceding vowel. Even accepting this not implausible theory, it is admitted that in Indo-Iranian we have traces of the rule in the distribution of the suffixes *mant* and *vant*. We are not, therefore, in any degree pressed to see anything in Hittite save the preservation of a state of things existing equally in I.E. Every I.E. speech preserved at any early date presents archaisms of an important nature.

(3) Hittite has no pronoun corresponding to the I.E. stem *to-*. Instead it has a sentence connective *ta* which, with the enclitic pronoun *-a-*, gives e.g., *tan* 'et eum'. In I.E. the forms corresponding to the assumed I.H. *tom* (supposed to be the zero grade of the connective *to* plus accusative *om*, or *to* with the vowel elided) are used only as indivisible wholes, but a trace of the original sense is suggested by the fact that the 'article' takes the initial position frequently in early Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic. The argument is plainly quite unconvincing and it is rather a very significant sign of the non-primitive character of Hittite that it (1) has nothing corresponding to the irregular *so* and *sā* of I.E., and (2) it has developed a *tas* 'et is' which Sturtevant admits to be an innovation.

5 *A.J.P.*, I. 360-9.

(4) In Hittite there are many stems in *r/n*-, and from any verb there may be formed a verbal noun ending in *war, mar, tar*, the first two of which correspond with the I.E. infinitives in *wen* and *men*, while the *tar* suffix may be connected with the I.E. instrumental suffix *dhro*, as in the Avestan infinitive *barathrai*. In I.E. we have traces of neuter nouns with final *r* in the nominative and accusative singular and with *n* before the case endings as in Sanskrit *ahar, ahnas*. But the type of formation is moribund. The conclusion that Hittite here preserves the more ancient usage is plainly quite inconclusive. We may equally well suppose that in Hittite the inherited type was developed beyond what was usual in the other speeches.

(5) Hittite has no feminine gender, but merely a distinction between animate and inanimate in the nominative and accusative. In I.E. the distinction between masculine and feminine certainly existed,[6] but it was confined to a limited number of noun types and adjectives. It is then suggested that Hittite points back to a period definitely pre-I.E. when gender did not exist. The fatal difficulty here is that Armenian has no development of the feminine, and the obvious solution is that Hittite and Armenian were spoken among peoples who did not possess the distinction of masculine and feminine and so they lost the slight amount they had inherited from I.E.

(6) I.E., it is suggested, possessed an extraordinary paucity of case distinctions for its personal pronouns; the forms were few and their use was vague, a situation found in Hittite.[7] Unfortunately Hittite is definitely not primitive in its pronouns; forms like *ug* for the nominative singular, *amug* for accusative, and *zig* in the second person are significant of contamination and analogical workings. There is nothing to suggest that here we have anything but an

6 Meillet, *B.S.L.*, xxxii. 1-28.

7 Cf. Petersen, *Language*, vi. 188.

aberrant development among people in contact with a foreign speech, of I.E. pronouns.

(7) Hittite is conjectured at an earlier date than our texts to have had a single plural form for each type of stem but no plural case distinctions.[8] This, it is suggested, is a more primitive state of things than I.E. The argument is far from convincing. Hittite may easily have lost what other I.E. speeches preserved. It must be remembered that speech does not move from the simple to the complex only; there is every reason to suppose that there is a constant movement which at one time may simplify, at another build up distinctions.

(8) In I.E. it is accepted that, when a dental stop came to stand next a dental stop, there was developed between them a sibilant, which produced, e.g., *tst* for *tt*. In I.E. speeches this is not preserved, *st* usually being recorded, as in Greek *ostha*, Gothic *wast*, for which Sanskrit has *vettha*, probably by analogical restoration, while Germanic and Italo-Celtic have *ss*. Hittite, however, in some forms preserves, in the peculiarly unsatisfactory denotation in which it is recorded, traces of the primitive form, for the various denotations of the third person of the verb 'to eat', which gives us in the first *etmi*, really denote *etstsi*,[9] the second *ts* being the regular development of the *t* of I.E. Similarly we have *atstem* 'you eat' and *etsta* 'he ate'. The point is interesting, but a *tst* was patently so unstable a sound that it is easily intelligible that the other I.E. speeches should not have preserved it. The development of *ti* to *tsi*, it need hardly be added, is one of the many points in which Hittite is far from primitive.

(9) In Hittite we have clear cases where a labio-velar appears as *kw* before a vowel and *ku* before a consonant, e.g., *kwentsi* 'he

8 Cf. Petersen, *A.J.P.*, li. 259.

9 I write *ts* for the usual *z*, for the sake of clearness.

strikes', but *kunantsi* 'they strike', with which compare Sanskrit *hanti* and *ghnanti*. But it is impossible to base any argument on this, for the appearance of *u* before a consonant is far from rare elsewhere, as in Sanskrit *kutra* with which compare *kva*, Latin *sicubi*, Greek *kúklos*, where Sanskrit with the usual loss of the labial element has *cakrás*. In Hittite itself we find the loss of the labial element in the particle *-ki* or *-ka*, in the variant *sak-* or *saku-* 'know' and so forth. Once more we are dealing simply with variant treatment of I.E. elements. There is much that is obscure in the Hittite representation of the labio-velars; thus the parallelism with Sanskrit *gṛṇāti* 'he praises' of *wars-* 'be or become propitious'; with *gharma* 'heat' of *war-* 'burn'; with *gā* 'go' of *wa-, we-*, is far from convincing; but there is no reason to find any special antiquity.

(10) Hittite has an ablative in *ts* and an instrumental in *t*, which may be traced to the weak form of *-tos*, a suffix familiar from Sanskrit *-tas* and Latin *-tus*.[10] From this *ts* we are to derive in the ablative the *t* of *o* stems on the one hand, and the *s* of other stems on the other. But, even accepting this theory there is nothing to divide Hittite from Indo-European. We have merely an archaism. Moreover, we are not compelled to accept the suggested origin from *ts* of the ablative terminations. It is ingenious, but no more than that, and other explanations are current and not less likely.

(11) Little need be said of the argument that Hittite is specially primitive because it is richer in root class verbs than in thematic verbs of either the *déiketi* (Latin *dicit*) or *dikéti* (Sanskrit *diśáti*) type. It is sufficient to point out that both these types are admittedly found in Hittite beside the root class, so that Hittite appears as simply one among other I.E. speeches.

(12) As little value can be attached to the contention that Hittite is primitive because it distinguishes the nasal infix presents

10 Sturtevant, *Language*, viii. 1-10.

and presents with suffix *nu* by placing them in the *mi* conjugation, generally with causative sense, while the *nā* presents belong to the *hi* conjugation, and have intensive force. It is plain that all three formations are I.E., and that no speech shows effective distinctions of a consistent kind between them.

(13) Hittite possesses the word *nekuts* which must be connected with the Greek *núx*, Sanskrit *naktis, naktam*, Latin *nox* and other words for night. Moreover it has the verb *nekutsi* 'he undresses, goes to bed', and the impersonal preterite middle *nekutat*, meaning 'people went to bed, it was bedtime'. This suggests an older period than the isolated words in the I.E. speeches. This is ingenious, but if accepted merely shows that Hittite preserves a verbal form lost in the other speeches and, of course, the priority of the verb to the noun is open to dispute.

(14) It is claimed that Hittite *uptsi*, used of the sun, 'it comes up' is archaic. Connection with the Greek *hupó* and Sanskrit *upa* is no doubt clear, but that the formation is archaic is in no way proved. Rather it may be claimed to be a Hittite innovation of an easy kind in a language full of aberrations.

(15) Still less value attaches to the fact that while Greek *hêstai* and Sanskrit *āste* 'he sits' are isolated, except for compounds and derivatives and a few Avestan forms, Hittite has *esa, esari* 'he sits', *estsi* 'he sets', and various other derivatives. The claim for primitive character for Hittite is very difficult to follow. It is once more merely evidence that Hittite preserves, like Indo-Iranian and Greek, I.E. material lost elsewhere. What possible conclusion in favour of constructing a theoretic Indo-Hittite can be derived from the fact that Hittite has a root-class verb related to Greek *anágke*, though no I.E. language has such a verb? Is this due to a belief that verbal roots are prior to nouns? Are we to suppose that Indo-Hittite had the verb, which in I.E. was lost? Nothing whatever can be derived from such arguments.

On the other hand, there is abundant reason to suggest that Hittite shows development of I.E. as established from comparison of the older I.E. speeches. The impression left by Hittite verb is certainly of this character. It is natural to accept the present of the *hi*-conjugation as a refashioning of the I.E. perfect, affected strongly by the *mi*-conjugation. The use in Hittite in the true present *mi*-conjugation in the second person present of *-ti* besides *-si* certainly is most naturally explained, as was suggested by Friedrich,[11] as the intrusion of the perfect *-tha*, which becomes in Hittite normally *-ta*, and then takes the form *-ti* by analogy, especially to the original *-si*, which in some verbs is recorded equally as in *epsi* and *epti* 'thou takest', *kwensi*, *kwenti* 'thou strikest'. The preterite active of Hittite seems to be a combination of forms of the *s*-aorist with perfect forms used historically. Thus we have in the second person singular *memista* 'thou didst say', *daista* 'thou didst place'; third person *das* 'he took', *nais* 'he led'; second plural *naisten* 'ye led'. Of this last form the *n* seems clearly analogical as against I.E. *-te*. These preterite forms with *s* are confined to verbs of the *hi*-conjugation, and it is a reasonable assumption that I.E. had beside the present perfect an *s*-aorist which served to express past time for the perfect presents. To the *mi*-presents Hittite has preterites without the *s*, as in second singular *daskes*, third *dasket*, which compare with Greek *élues*, *élue*.

In the medio-passive we find in Hittite a present tense which seems clearly a decayed form of the I.E., showing a mixture of primary and secondary terminations. This point is disputed, but the probabilities in its favour are strong. Thus to Hittite *arta* corresponds Greek *ôrto*, Sanskrit *ārta*; to Hittite *aranta*, Sanskrit *ārata*. That *-ta* and *-nta* are to be traced back to I.E. *-tai* and *-ntai*, the primary endings, is most improbable, for Hittite as a regular prin-

11 *Z.D.M.G.*, LXXVI. 167.

ciple has *a* for I.E. *o*. In the second plural Hittite *-duma* as in *iyadduma* is clearly to be compared with the secondary *-dhvam* of Sanskrit *ábhavadhvam*, giving an I.E. *dhwem*, the final *-a* owing its existence to the analogy of *-ta* and *-anta*. On the other hand the first plural in *-wasta* may have a primary ending in *-was*, affected by the secondary ending in I.E. *-medho* which in Hittite would give *-meta*. The first person singular in *-ha* is as usual obscure, but it is plausible to suppose that the primary ending *-ai* was reduced to *-a* by analogy of the other endings, and the mysterious *h* was originally used after vowel stems to avoid hiatus, and then appended to consonantal stems. But that is uncertain, though the natural conclusion is that the present medio-passive of Hittite is less original than I.E. Of the quite secondary character of the preterite of the medio passive there is no possible doubt. It is formed by appending *-t* or *-ti* to the present, so that we have forms like *estat*, *esantat*, *kisantati*, *iyawastati*, and *kisdumat*, showing once more Hittite as a developed form of I.E.

The *-ri* forms of Hittite are added without change of sense as in *artatari* beside *arta*, *esantari* beside *esanta*, *iyahhari* beside *taparha* It seems impossible to regard this as anything but a specifically Hittite development of the use of the *-r* termination which must have been I.E., as it is found in variant forms in such various I.E. speeches. Anything primitive here seems quite out of place.

With this accords much else in Hittite. The substitution of *a* for *o* is clearly indicative of an important change, while the loss of the dual, and of the subjunctive and optative can be regarded as natural in a speech cut off from contact with the main body of I.E. speeches and developing in contact with people of alien tongues. The natural conclusion from these and the other points above noted is that Hittite broke off from I.E., when the latter was in a fairly early stage of development, but that its value for the reconstruction of I.E. is seriously diminished by the decay which rapidly affected

it when in semi-isolation. The conclusion is important in that it discounts efforts to reconstruct theories of ablaut by building on the phenomena of Hittite either as regards vowel changes or the mysterious *h*. If laryngeals are to come to honour as part of the reconstructed I.E.[12] it will be necessary to adduce much more convincing proof than conjectures based on the baffling features of Hittite, preserved as it is in a spelling offering abundant possibilities of interpretation.

II. *The Theory of Hittite-Tocharian Unity*

Accepting, as seems inevitable, the view that Hittite is merely another I.E. speech, it remains to be considered whether it has specially close connections with any other member of the group. The most definite theory on this head is that of W. Petersen who has put forward (*Language*, ix) all the possible grounds for a close connection between Hittite and Tocharian, and has made out a fair *prima facie* case for his views. The essential evidence, of course, can be given only by features of common innovation. No amount of preservation of ancient characteristics is of importance in this regard.

(1) Both languages are admittedly marked by the loss of the aspiration and voice in explosives, so that in Tocharian we have nothing but *p, t, k* to represent the rich variety of I.E., except where there are secondary developments such as that of *t* to *c* in *mācar* 'mother' or *t* for an original *dh* to *c* in *ˌckācar* from I.E. *dhughəter-*. In the case of Hittite, however, the matter is not so simple, for we find (a) explosives written as *t* or *d*, and so forth, and (b) explosives frequently doubled. The former feature seems to be merely graphic, and the unvoiced explosive to have been pronounced in every case. The latter presents greater difficulty, and it is a plausible view that the duplication marked out the sounds as fortes as opposed to lenes.

without any distinction of voiceless and voiced.[13] Petersen notes, but, no doubt legitimately, rejects the conjecture of Professor Einarsson[14] that the duplication indicates a diversity of duration, the view being that voiceless explosives are longer than voiced, for the distinction seems far too slight to have been thus appreciated in Hittite. Is there any reason whatever to assume that this change was accomplished in common in the two speeches, Tocharian later losing even the distinction of fortes and lenes? It seems clear that there is no justification for the theory. It is perfectly simple to suppose that the I.E. distinctions of explosives were simply lost by contact with peoples who had not the same distinction. It is quite true that the Germanic and Armenian sound changes are not parallel, because they consist of shifts of the different orders of consonants, but we have, e.g., the conversion of the consonants in Paiśāci Prākrit as a good parallel to show what might happen to I.E. speeches spoken in border lands.[15]

(2) There is no doubt that it is natural to connect Tocharian *tkaṃ* and Hittite *tegan*, genitive *taknas* 'earth', and to contrast them with the Greek *khthōn* and Sanskrit *kṣā-s*. Kretschmer[16] holds that the former forms point to an I.E. *dheghon-*, which suffered transposition of the initial consonants in Sanskrit and Greek. If this is the case, then no argument regarding the relations of Hittite and Tocharian is possible. If on the other hand the Greek and Sanskrit show the original order, we may assume independent variation in Hittite and Tocharian of an unusual initial consonant group. It is to be noted that they differ in the essential that Hittite has a full vowel between the consonant as opposed to Tocharian

12 Sapir, *Language*, xii 178. Sturtevant, *ibid*., 185 ff., cf. Kent, 250

13 *JAOS*. xii 1 ff 14 *Language*, viii 177 ff

15 Etruscan is a speech which has something like tenues

16 *Glotta*, xx. 66 ff.

That explanation for this reason is more plausible than the alternative views of a dialectical variation in I.E. or the descent of Hittite and Tocharian from a common derivative of I.E. which made the change.

Another metathesis performed in common has been suggested by Petersen in the case of Hittite *pahhur*, Tocharian *por* as against Greek *pûr*, Umbrian *pir*, Armenian *hur*, and against Old High German *fūr*. He suggests an I.E. *pu(w)or*, whence by metathesis *paur*, contracted to *por* in Tocharian, and with a hiatus—avoiding *h* in Hittite. It is difficult to feel any confidence in this suggestion, nor is the doubt diminished by the fact that Tocharian appears also to have a dialectical variant B *puwar* in which the *u* of the word takes its normal first place.

(3) In Hittite the only case forms which can be compared directly with those believed to have existed in I.E. are the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative singular, and the nominative and perhaps the accusative plural. Thus we have *-s* in the nominative singular, *antuhsas, tuzzis, assus, -n* (I.E. *-m*) in the accusative, *antuhsan, tuzzin, assun; -as* in the genitive (I.E. *-os* or *-ās*), *antuhsas; -i* in the dative (I.E. *-ei*), *antuhsi, assawi; -as* (I.E. *-ōs* or *ās*), *-es* (I.E. *-es* or *eyes*), and *us* by analogy in the nominative plural. The suggestion therefore is that, when Hittite separated from I.E., the latter had not yet developed a plural declension but used one form of all cases, unless the accusative plural is an exception. In Tocharian most of the cases of the noun, six out of nine, are patently secondary, being formed by addition of post-positions to the oblique case at comparatively late periods. In the plural the genitive, which is primary in the singular, is secondary and based on the oblique, leaving in the singular nominative, oblique and genitive, in the plural nominative and oblique, the two in many cases coinciding. The oblique may fairly be traced to the I.E. accusative, and the loss of the dative may have taken place in Tocharian itself, which

may indeed preserve in such a genitive as *lāntse* 'of the queen' a trace of the I.E. dative in *-ei*.

The argument of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian seems most insufficient. There must be remembered the contention of Sturtevant above noted which sees in Hittite signs of an ablative and instrumental from *-tos*, which have I.E. parallels. The simplification of the I.E. in the speeches separately seems the natural explanation of the phenomenon. Nor is Petersen's view really strengthened by the parallel which he draws between the fact that in Hittite all genitives singular and genitives and dative plural end in *-as*, while in Tocharian the *-ṣ* of the genitive singular is added in many cases to the common nominative and oblique form of the plural, e.g. *ñemy*, gen. sing. *ñemyiṣ*, plural *ñemintw-ṣ*. The parallel, though interesting, is far too distant to suggest a common historical origin.[17]

(4) It is pointed out that Hittite has for the first person pronoun the nominative *uk* or *ug*, to which the only parallel is Tocharian *ñuk*, which is secondarily confined to the feminine. The strange *ñ* is no doubt from the plural I.E. *nos*, while the *u* is from the second person, in which Hittite has the accusative *tuk* or *tug*, but Tocharian has not the *k*. That the changes 'must have been made in common' is surely quite unproved. The assimilation of the vowels of the pronouns is a very natural phenomenon, and its occurrence in both speeches separately is natural enough. It would be different if the pronouns showed other important similarities of a distinctive character, but it is not claimed that this is the case nor in fact is it so.

(5) The free use in Hittite and Tocharian of the present suffix I.E. *-sko-* which appears as *s* besides *sk* in the B dialect of Tocharian

17 The suggestion that the *-ntu* is parallel to Luvian *-nza* (*nts*), and comparable to Hittite genitive plurals like *kuenzan* is implausible.

has slight significance, as its I.E. character is clear from Sanskrit *gácchāmi*, Greek *báskō*, Latin *cresco*, but that significance is further diminished by the fact that in Hittite the tendency is to use the suffix in an iterative-durative sense as opposed to the prevalent causative sense in Tocharian. Two independent developments of an I.E. inheritance may simply be postulated.

(6) We have seen that the perfect termination of the second person *-tha* makes its way into the present; invariably is this the case in the *hi-* conjugation which is derived from the perfect, but it occurs also in the *mi-* conjugation which is a true present. Tocharian has invariably *-t* as in *knānat* 'thou knowest', *yat* 'thou doest', the short vowel disappearing as is normal. Here again a common transfer seems wholly speculative.

(7) Nor is the case better with the suggestion that Hittite and Tocharian shared the important morphological innovation of the entry of forms of the *s*-aorist into the preterite active paradigm. The parallel forms are second singular Hittite *-sta*, as above, Tocharian *-ṣt*, as in *weñaṣt* 'thou didst say', third *-s* in both, Tocharian *yāmäs* 'he made'; second plural Hittite *-sten*, Tocharian *-s*, *weñās* 'ye said'. It is quite possible to hold that the Tocharian form in the last case goes back to *-ṣte* as does the Hittite, but it remains purely conjectural. That the parallelism should be accidental is said to be inconceivable, but this seems to overstate the position seriously. We have forms like Latin *vidisti*, and it has been urged with energy that there is no innovation, and no *s*-aorist but a morpheme intended to facilitate inflection, the use of which for phonetic reasons is restricted to certain persons.[18] It is not necessary to adopt this doctrine to find the argument derived from the partial similarities of the two speeches quite without decisive force, even apart from the difference in usage, the Tocharian *s*-forms being found in every

18 Benveniste, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii, 230; Meillet, *BSL* xxxiv 127 f.

preterite, while in Hittite they are confined as mentioned above to preterites of the *hi-* conjugation

(8) Still less promising is the theory of innovation in the treatment of the I.E. first person singular perfect. Tocharian *weñā* 'I said' is said to be the result of contraction of the normal *-a* as in Sanskrit *véda*, Greek *oîda*, in case of a vowel stem and the transfer of the vowel resulting to a consonantal stem. In Hittite the same *-a*, it is held, was added to vowel stems, *h* being developed to avoid hiatus, and then *-a* altered by analogy to *-i*, e.g., *memahhi*, 'I say', *dahhi* 'I take'. The form, of course, in Hittite is present, in Tocharian preterite, but that can be disregarded as a secondary development. This is doubtless not impossible, but the chance of the two phenomena really going back to a common source seems negligible.

(9) The medio-passives are also called into play as an argument. Here again the divergence is as great as the similarity. Tocharian has developed the rule that *-r* forms are present in use, forms without *-r* preterite. Thus the third singular present is *kälpnātär*, the preterite *kälpāt*, the third plurals are *kälpnāntär* and *kälpānt*, and so on. It seems much more natural to accept independent developments, not common innovation. Phrygian also shows a similar phenomenon of the facultative addition of *-or*.

(10) Nor is it easy to find the development of a single medio-passive, originally without tense-meaning, of forms without *r*. The resemblances between the two speeches in this regard are far from extensive. In the first person singular Tocharian has *-e*, as in *kälpe*, which looks like I.E. *-ai* as in Sanskrit *bruve*, Old Norse Icelandic *heite*, while Hittite has *-ha*, as in *taparha*, which has to be explained as analogical to the other *-a* endings of the forms. The forms for the third singular and plural *kälpāt* and *kälpānt* may correspond to the Hittite, but it is far from certain that the second plura *kälpāc* corresponds to *-dhvam*. It is clear that the first plural of Tocharian

in *-mät*, e.g. *kälpāmät*, is quite distinct from the Hittite and corresponds to Greek *-metha* and Sanskrit *-mahi*, I.E. *-medhə*. In the second singular Hittite *-ta* as in *pahhasta*, and Tocharian *-te* are supposed to go back to a common *-ta*, a contamination of the two I.E. secondary terminations *-thes* as in Sanskrit *ádithās*, and *-so* as in proto-Greek *ephereso*. The Tocharian is held to have been affected by the *-e* of the first person. It is much simpler to assume that each speech had its own history, nor is this probability diminished by the fact that the Tocharian uses these forms as past, Hittite as present.

(11) Two common roots are adduced which are not found at least in the same sense in the rest of the I.E. speeches. The first is *(i)ya-* 'make, do', Hittite *iyazzi* 'he does', Tocharian *yaṣ*. The second is *ai-* 'give' seen in Tocharian *eṣ* 'he gives', and in Hittite with the prefix *pe* in *pe-*, *pai-* 'give', as in *pehhi* 'I give', *pais* 'he gave'. It is suggested that the development of the use of this root goes hand in hand with the loss of I.E. *dā* 'give', because in both it became indistinguishable from *dhā-* 'place', which alone continued to exist in the sense 'take' in Hittite. The latter observation should be qualified by the reminder that with the prefix *ā dā-* in Sanskrit denotes 'take'. The root, however, is clearly I.E., for we have the Greek *aîsa*, the lot destined, and so fate; the Oscan genitive *áiteis*, 'part', Avestan *aeta* 'retribution', and perhaps the Illyrian proper name Aitor. Similarly the Hittite *eku-* 'drink' is comparable with the Tocharian *yok-*, but we can hardly insist on dismissing connection with *aqua* in Latin. We have again Hittite *kasza* (*kasts*) and Tocharian *kaṣt* 'hunger' with no close cognates. But Hittite *papars-*, Tocharian *parṣ-* 'sprinkle' remind us of Sanskrit *prṣaṭ*; Tocharian *wārp-* 'enclose', Hittite *warpa tiya* of Avestan *varep-* Without further details it is reasonably clear that there is no such close comparison in vocabulary as to cause us to postulate a common development.

(12) There is a certain similarity between Hittite and Tocharian in the signification of participles. Thus in Tocharian those in *-u* may be passive or active, while those in *-maṃ* A dialect, *mane* B dialect are not properly middle. In Hittite participles in *-nt* are passive in sense where the verb is active and *vice versa*, pointing to an original indetermination of character. But there is no close parallel, and we need not even ascribe the uses to archaism.

III. The Dialectical Grouping of Tocharian

The only conclusion possible in view of the evidence is that the idea of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian is not rendered even probable by the evidence adduced. It remains therefore to consider whether it is possible to group Tocharian, regarded like Hittite as a distinct branch of I.E., more closely with some of the speeches than with others.[19]

(1) Nothing definite can be deduced from the fact that Tocharian shows the maintenance of velars and traces of labio-velars, as in *puk* as a variant form for I.E. *pekw-*, Latin *coquo* 'I cook', as opposed to Sanskrit *pac-*. The advent of palatalization is a later development. There are many other survivals, for example the *-wā* of the first person *prakwā*, *yāmwā*, is akin to Sanskrit *jajñau*, Latin *amāvi*, Armenian *cnaw*, and Hittite *-un*. The third plural *weñāre* is comparable with Latin *videre*, but also with the *er* (*-ir*) of Hittite, *-ur* of Sanskrit and *-ār;* of Avestan. If we compare *ktsai-* 'grow old' with Greek *phthínō* as against Sanskrit *kṣi-*, we have another archaism. Tocharian as we have seen uses the suffix *-sko* mainly in a causative sense, but it preserves in a few cases traces of the iterative-intensive sense which may have been specifically I.E. Archaic also is probably the existence of perfects with and without reduplication, now found dialectically divided, e.g. dialect A *cacäl*, B *cāla;* A

19 Benveniste, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii, 227-40.

śaśärs, B *śārsa*, for there is no reason to deny the existence of both forms in I.E., just as Old Latin has *feced* and *fhefhaked* which are of distinct origin, and the Hittite *hi*-conjugation has reduplicated as well as simple forms.

(2) Certain facts of morphology are more interesting as evidence of affinity. Thus Tocharian shares with Slav and Armenian a tendency to make participial use of the suffix *-lo;* especially interesting is its expansion to *-lyo* giving Tocharian *yokalle* 'to be drunk' and Armenian *sireli* 'to be loved'. Again, the use of the prefix *p-* with the imperative is held to correspond in form and function to Slav *po*, Lithuanian *pa*, the purpose being to render the imperfect perfective, but later sinking to a normal accompaniment as in *bi-* from *pa-* in modern Iranian. A further point of interest is the suffix *-une* of abstracts, which is like the old Slav suffix of abstracts *-ynja*, Lithuanian *-une*, which is differentiated from Latin *pecunia* by the fact that the *u* there is of the stem. It is also interesting that, while Tocharian is merely archaic in its use of the adjective in place of the genitive, a trait common to Slav as well as Luvian, it makes specially frequent employment of the suffix A *-ṣi*, B *-ṣṣe*, which is I.E. *-skiyo*, found in Armenian as *-açi* and in the Slav *-isku*, as well as in Germanic *-iska*. But the Slav parallel admittedly is suspect of being merely a borrowing from Germanic[20] and is therefore not altogether cogent. With Hittite and Armenian Tocharian shares abstention from the use of the comparative affix *-tero*, the positive of the adjective with the ablative serving to express comparison as it may in Sanskrit. It is interesting also to note that in the use of *ne* after the relative-interrogative as in *kus ne* Tocharian recalls Phrygian *ios ni*, but of course we have other traces of this *ne* as in Avestan *cithe-nā*, Thessalian *hone*, and Latin *ne*.

20 There is a Ligurian suffix *-asco*, *-asca*, but that is probably not I.E., Krahe, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 252, 253.

(3) From the vocabulary we have seen that no definite affinity to Hittite can be established. Equally is it impossible to see close relations with Indo-Iranian; a case like *lam-lyam*—in B as compared with Sanskrit *layate* is isolated. On the other hand Tocharian definitely shows a general affinity to the European speeches where they differ from Indo-Iranian. Striking is A *alyak*, B *alyek* against *anya* 'other'. Tocharian has *por* 'fire', *salyi* 'salt', Latin *sel;* A *wäs*, B *yasā*, Latin *aurum*, Old Prussian *ausis*, Lithuanian *aúksas* 'gold'; *kroñśe* 'bee', Latin *crābro*, Lithuanian *sirsuo*, Old High German *hornuz:* A *mañ*, B *mem* 'moon', A *mañ*, B *meñ* 'month' from *men-* as opposed to *mes-* of Indo-Iranian but also of Slav; A *lake*, B *leke* Greek *lékhos*, Gothic *ligan; wal-*'die'. Greek *oulé*, Lithuanian *velys*, Old Icelandic *valr*, Welsh *gweli; wal-*'rule', Latin *valeo*, 'be strong', Old Irish *flaith* 'royalty'. Interesting also is *plāk-*—'make accord' with Latin *placeo; aks*—'to proclaim' with Latin *prodigium*, Greek *ánōga*, Armenian *asem* 'I say'. *saks*—'say' is clearly parallel with Greek *ennépo*, Latin *insece* (imperative), Lithuanian *sakyti*, and it may be with Hittite *sak-* or *saku-*.[21] Significant is *āre* 'plough' and Latin *arāre*, a word of a culture different from Indo-Iranian. The root *tak-* 'touch' is paralleled in Latin *tango*, Greek *tetagōn*, and Gothic *tekan* must be derived from a variant with a sonant initial. *ekro* 'poor' compares with *egeo*, Old Icelandic *ekla* 'privation', and so forth.

(4) Special similarities are believed to exist in the case of Greek, Armenian, the close relation of which to Greek is often now asserted, and Thracian and Phrygian, which are probably closely akin to Armenian, in accordance with the historical tradition, Herodotos already declaring the Armenians derived from the Phrygians. The material adduced is scanty. The word for 'hand', A *tsar*, B *śar*, is comparable with Greek *kheír*, Armenian *jern*, but Hittite *kessera* may be cognate. *ri*, 'town' is reminiscent of Thraco-Phrygian *bria*,

21 Cf. Sturtevant, *Language*, vi. 219.

and *kerciye* 'palace' of Phrygian *Gordion*, Old Slav *gordŭ*, Lithuanian *gardas*. *ime*, equivalent of *smṛti*, A *imasu* B *ymassu* 'thinking' may be akin to Armenian *imanam* 'I reflect', but possibly Latin *imago* and *imitor* are also in relation. *lap* 'top' corresponds to Greek *lóphos* 'crest'; A *se* B *soya* 'son' accords with Greek *huiós;* A *swase*. B *swese* 'rain' with Greek *húei, huetós*. *orkam* 'darkness' seems related to Greek *orphnós*, and ultimately to words such as *érebos* which again is comparable with Sanskrit *rajas*. *śpāl* 'head' is akin to Greek *kephalē*, but also to Old High German *gebal*, and, if *oki* 'and' recalls Greek *aûge*, there is Gothic *auk* not to be forgotten . More important is the coincidence in formation of *kupre* 'if' with Greek *óphra* and Armenian *erb*.

Taken all in all, this evidence seems inadequate to support the thesis of any close relation to these speeches, which remain as before in some measure isolated

(5) Correspondences with Slav and Baltic are also adduced. A *rake*, B *reki* 'word' correspond to Old Slav *rečĭ*. *pik* 'write', Old Slav *písati* and Iranian *pis-*, 'write' are believed to be independent, and to be a cultural point of importance. B *laks* 'fish' has Slav and Lithuanian parallels but also the Old High German *labs* 'salmon'. B *walke* 'of long duration' has a correspondent in Old Slav *velikŭ* great', *sark* 'disease' has Lithuanian *sergú*, but also Middle Irish *sarg* 'malady'; *pal* 'celebrate' is cognate to Lithuanian *bylà* 'voice but ultimately also to Sanskrit *bhaṇ-*.

Here again the parallels are few, and far from unique in character, and affinity with Balto-Slav must be regarded as unproved.

It is difficult then to accept Benveniste's conclusions on the position of Tocharian. His view that connections with Italo-Celtic are remote is in accord with the view expressed by me in criticism of Pedersen's effort to group the I.E. dialects.[22] Connection with

22 *Indian Linguistics*, ii. 1-12.

Germanic is also slight, nor is it possible to ignore the great differences between Tocharian and Hittite already alluded to, to which may be added the feminine in Tocharian and the development of nominal forms. But any close connection either with the dialectical group of Balto-Slav or that of Greek-Thraco-Phrygian-Armenian seems wholly unproved by the evidence above set out, and the localisation of Tocharian so far as it is based on the linguistic evidence seems hazardous.

We may readily believe that Greeks, Thracians and Phrygians were once in close relations to the northern regions; no one doubts that the Greeks entered Greece from the north, probably the north-west. The Thracians are known to have been settled to the north of the Carpathians, stretching east to the mouth of the Don. The Slavs are usually held to have resided at one time in the Pripet basin north east of the Carpathians with the proto-Germans on their west. But to find a like habitat for the Tocharians rests on feeble evidence. The word for 'fish' corresponds with that for 'salmon' in Baltic, Slav. and Germanic, and the salmon is unknown to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The word for 'bee' is cognate to the term for 'hornet' in these speeches and Latin, adopted probably because of a tabu on the true name; its existence strongly suggests neighbourhood to Slavs, Balts and Germans, as bee-keepers, since the bee is relatively a new-comer to central Asia. The word for 'gold' again seems to go back to *was* as against *aus* of Baltic and Italic. We are reminded of the gold of Transylvania whence the Thraco-Phrygians obtained their ornaments[23] or the fabled riches of the Scythians in the Ural region.[24] Armenian *oski* may be another hint of a former unity. The word for 'salt' again reminds us of the wealth of salt at the mouth of the Dnieper known to Herodotos,[25], while Thracian

23 Herodotos, iv. 104

24 Herodotos, i. 115; iv. 10, 71

25 iv. 53.

place names often contain the element *sald-*. Between the Dnieper therefore and the Urals once dwelt the Proto-Tocharians, which accords with the lexical correspondences with Germanic on the one hand and Finnish on the other. This area was perhaps the Indo-European home, though earlier the Indo-Europeans may have lived further to the east in the Kirghis steppes, a view which I have elsewhere discussed.[26]

Ingenious as is this argument, it is right to hold that it is not made out in so far as it seeks to locate the Tocharians. The evidence, though of interest and not negligible, is too scanty to render the conclusion achieved of more than plausible character. The issue is wholly open to reconsideration. It is necessary to admit that so far as linguistic evidence goes there is no ground whatever on which we can assert with any reasonable assurance that the Tocharians ever lived in Europe or on its borders. Those who claim an Asiatic home for the Indo-Europeans are quite entitled to deny the cogency of the suggestion that we can find in the evidence above discussed any real proof of a western home. Tocharian is known at so late a date that it may easily have borrowed words from many sources and from long distances. The result reached is no doubt negative, but it is better to accept limitations of knowledge rather than adopt theories which rest on wholly inadequate evidence, and which may easily be replaced by other theories of the same unsubstantiated kind.

In the case of Hittite negation of its claim to independence is of importance, because, were the Indo-Hittite theory accepted, a wide reconstruction of Indo-European as at present understood would become necessary. We should, for example, be entitled to work out a new theory of ablaut which would differ considerably from the present doctrines, but which would take into account the vowel system of Hittite as something not to be treated as the mere dege-

26 *IHQ.*, xiii. 1-30.

neration of an Indo-European speech in conditions unfavourable to its maintenance in integrity. But the latter view seems to possess greater probability, and to render the making of a new hypothesis even more than normally speculative. It is also extremely doubtful whether the evidence of Hittite can effectively be used to impugn our present theory of a rather developed Indo-European speech. No doubt there is a widespread tendency at the present to suggest that the elaborate verbal system constructed, for Indo-European on the basis of comparison of Sanskrit and Greek is a late development, a doctrine popular with those who desire to establish the essentially I.E. character of Germanic as the speech of the Aryan people, progenitors of the National Socialists of contemporary Germany, as against the more natural conclusion from the consonantal shift in Germanic and its simplification of the verbal system that Germanic represents a speech of I.E. character as affected by its adoption by a people of alien blood.[27] Hittite, it may be said, supports the view that I.E. was originally much simpler than Greek or Sanskrit, but it must be noted that the vocabulary of Hittite suggests non-I.E. origin, and that, if this is so, it is fair to believe that a language, which could accept so largely a strange vocabulary, must have been liable to simplification in the mouths of people who must surely have been deeply influenced by non-Europeans and probably intermingled in blood.

A. Berriedale Keith

27 Cf. Ammann, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii 341; A. Schmitt, *ibid.* ii 343 62

Naming a Child or a Person

Very elaborate rules are given in the Gṛhya-sūtras about naming a child. In this paper I propose to compare those rules with the practices deducible from the Vedic literature as also to discuss how persons were named in India from very ancient times.

In the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 80. 9) we read[1] 'when you give us a fourth name connected with the (the performance of) a sacrifice we long for it, immediately afterwards you, our lord, take us (forward or towards glory)'. Here is a clear reference to the fact that the performer of a *yajña* took a name indicative of that fact and that was his fourth name. Sāyaṇa explains these four names thus: one derived from the nakṣatra (at birth), the second a secret name, the third a publicly known one and the fourth an epithet like Somayāji (due to one's having performed a *Soma* sacrifice). Later works like the *Vaikhānasasmārta-sūtra*[2] (III. 19) prescribe that a man may assume a name after consecration of the sacred fires (such as *Agnicit*, *Vājapeyakṛt* etc.). In *Ṛv.* X. 54. 4 also there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyaṇa here takes *nāma* as meaning *śarīra* or *karma*). *Ṛv.*[3] IX. 75. 2 has 'The son has a third name which is unknown to the parents and which is in the bright parts of the heaven.' This is a reference to the three names of a person, two being his ordinary name and his nakṣatra name and the third (which his parents could not foresee) was given for his performance of a sacrifice.[4] In the *Ṛv.*

1 तुरीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदाकरस्तदुश्मसि । आदित्पतिर्न ओहसे । ऋ. VIII. 80. 9

2 अग्न्याधानात्परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाशं नाम भवेत् । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III 19.

3 दधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीच्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः । ऋ. IX. 75. 2.

4 Vide बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र I. 11. 4-8. नामास्मै दधाति नक्षत्रनामधेयेन । द्वितीयमस्य नामधेयं गुह्यमस्यान्यदभिवादनीयमोपनयनकालान्मातापितरौ संविदितौ भवतः । ...सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते ॥

frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. 'He does know that secret and concealed name given to these cows'[5] (*Rv.* IX. 87. 3). Similarly in *Rv.* X. 55. 1-2 there is a reference to a secret name (*guhyam nāma*). In the *Ś. Br.*, after recommending the consecration of fires (*agnyādhāna*) on the constellation of Falgunīs it is said that they are the nakṣatras presided over by Indra, that Arjuna is the secret name (*guhya-nāma*) of Indra and that the Falgunīs are called Arjunīs in an indirect (or esoteric) way. The *Br. Up.* (VI. 4. 26) says that the father on the birth of his son bestows on him a name with the words 'thou art Veda' and that name becomes the boy's secret name.

In the *Tai. S.* (VI. 3. 1.) it is said[7] 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers (or is successful).' In another place the *Tai. S.* (I. 5. 10. 1) has 'Oh Fire Jātavedas, that first name which my father and mother bestowed on me aforetime, bear it until my return. Oh fire, I shall bear thy name.'[8] This verse occurs with several variations in other saṃhitās[9] and it is quoted in several sūtras also. In this way reverence was paid to the Āhavaniya fire by one who was about to go on a journey.

In the Vedic literature we come across some cases of three names for the same person. In *Rv.* V. 33. 8 we find 'Traṣadasyu Paurukutsya Gairikṣita', the first being his ordinary name, the second a derivative from Purukutsa (his father's name) and the last

5 स चिद्विवेद निहितं यदासामपीच्यं गुह्यं नाम गोनाम्। ऋ. IX 87. 3.

6 अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य गुह्यं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फल्गुन्य इति। शतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

7 तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकः। तै. सं. VI. 3.1. This sentence is quoted in several Gṛhya sūtras.

8 मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्यदग्ने।
तत्त्वं बिभृहि पुनरा मदैतोस्त्वाहं नाम बिभराण्यग्ने॥ तै० सं. I 5. 10 1

9 E.g., the काठकसंहिता (VII. 3) reads '...दधतुर्नर्व्वग्रे।
तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्दद तै वयं विभराम तव नाम॥'

derived from Girikṣita (a gotra). From *Ṛv.* VII. 33. 10-13 it seems to follow that Agastya was also called Māna and Maitrāvaruṇa (vide also I. 117. 11). In the *Ait. Br.* (40. 5) a king named Sutvan Kairiśi Bhārgāyaṇa is mentioned, where the second name is derived from his father's name and the third is a gotra name. In the same *Brāhmaṇa* (33.5) Śunaḥśepa Ājīgarti (son of Ajīgarta) is addressed as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name). Hariścandra (a king) is spoken of (in *Ait. Br.* 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (born in Ikṣvāku's family). In the *Tāṇḍya Br.* (XIII. 3. 12) we hear of a king Tyaruṇa Traidhātva (son of Tridhātu) Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). In the *Śatapatha* (XIII. 5. 4. 1.) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya at the latter's horse sacrifice. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V. 3. 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi and grandson of Aruṇa) is styled Gautama. In the same Upaniṣad both Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi are addressed as Vaiyāghrapadya (a gotra name) by king Aśvapati Kaikeya (*Chā.* V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1.). In the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (I. 1. 1) Naciketas is said to be Vājaśravasa's son and in I. 1. 11 his father's name is given as Auddālaki Āruṇi and Naciketas himself is addressed by Yama as Gautama (a gotra name) in II. 5. 6. This practice of giving three names is in accordance with the recommendation of the *Śatapatha Br.* (VI. 1. 3. 9) 'therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name, thereby he (the father) drives away the evil (pāpman) that might attach to the boy; (the father gives) even a second, even a third (name)'.[10] The same *Brāhmaṇa* has in another place 'therefore a brāhmaṇa when he does not prosper should give to himself a second name; he who knowing thus bestows upon himself a second

10 तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम्। शतपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

name does indeed prosper (or succeed)'.[11] In the *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta sūtra* (I. 3. 9) reference is made to the fact that a *Yajamāna* (sacrificer) may have three names and that they were all to be recited at certain rites.[12]

Usually however a person is referred to in Vedic literature by two names. Sometimes a person is mentioned by his own name and a gotra name e.g. we have Medhyātithi Kāṇva (*Ṛv.* VIII. 2. 40), Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa (*Ṛv.* X. 149. 5), Vatsapri Bhālandana (*Tai. S.* V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (*Bṛ. Up.* II. 1. 1), Baka Dālbhya (*Chā. Up.* I. 2. 13), Cyavana Bhārgava (*Ait. Br.* 39. 7), Kabandhi Kātyāyana (*Praśna Up.* I. 1.), Patañcala Kāpya (*Br. Up.* III. 7. 1). In other cases a person is referred to by his name and another derived from a country or locality e.g. Kaśu Caidya (*Ṛv.* VIII. 5. 37), Bhīma Vaidarbha (*Ait. Br.* 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (*Ait. Br.* 39. 23) Janaka Vaideha (*Br. Up.* III. 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (*Br. Up.* II. 1. 1.), Bhārgava Vaidarbhi (*Praśna* I. 1), Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya (*Praśna* VI. 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e.g. we have Dirghatamā Māmateya (son of Mamatā, in *Ṛv.* I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjuni, in *Ṛv.* IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakṣivat Auśija (son of Uśik, in *Ṛv.* I. 18. 1 and *Vāj. S.* III. 28), Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, in *Tai. Br.* I. 5. 10. 7), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, in *Chā.* III. 16. 7). This practice of mentioning a man by his mother's own name or her gotra name (derived from her father's gotra) was continued till later times, as will be shown hereafter. In the *vaṃśa*

11 तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनृध्यमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत राध्नोति हैव य एवं विद्वान् द्वितीयं नाम कुरुते। शतपथ III. 6. 2. 24.

12 प्रत्येकं गृह्णीयाद्यजमाननामधेयानि यानि स्युः। द्राह्यायणश्रौत I. 3. 9. on which one interpretation in the *Dhanvibhāṣya* is that they are अभिवादनीय, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम।

added at the end of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, we have about forty names of sages that are matronymic.

The most usual method of referring to a person even in the *Ṛgveda* is to give his name along with another epithet derived from his father's name. A few examples may be given. Ambarīṣa, Ṛjrāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārsāgira (sons of Vṛṣāgir, *Ṛv.* I. 100. 17). King Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pijavana) and in the same verse he is said to have been the grandson (naptṛ) of Devavat (*Ṛv.* VII. 18. 22). We have in the *Ṛgveda* itself such names as Trita Vaibhūvasa (son of Vibhūvas *Ṛv.* X. 46. 3), Trita Āptya (*Ṛv.* VIII. 12. 16), Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇa (*Ṛv.* I. 116. 12), Purumiḷha Vaidadaśvi (*Ṛv.* V. 61. 10), Pṛthuśravas Kānīta (son of Kanīta, *Ṛv.* VIII. 21. 24), Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa. *Ṛv.* X. 98. 5, 6 and 8), Trasadasyu Paurukutsi or Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa, *Ṛv.* VII. 19. 3 and VIII. 19. 36), Ṛjiśvan Vaidathina (son of Vidathin, *Ṛv.* IV. 16. 13), Srñjaya Daivavāta (*Ṛv.* IV. 15. 4), Somaka Sāhadevya (*Ṛv.* IV. 15. 9). A few examples from other Vedic works may also be cited; Śaṃyu Bārhaspatya (*Tai. S.* II. 6. 10), Vasiṣṭha Sātyahavya (*Tai. S.* VI. 6. 2. 2-3 and *Ait. Br.* 40. 1), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi (*Ait. Br.* 13. 10 and *Tai. Up.* III. 1), Bharata Dauṣsanti (*Śatapatha* XIII. 5. 4. 11, *Ait. Br.* 39. 9), Kavaṣa Ailūṣa (*Ait Br.* VIII. 1), Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (*Ait. Br.* 22. 9), Brahmadatta Caikitāneya (son of Caikitāna and grandson of Cikitāna, *Br. Up* I. 3. 24), Satyakāma Śaibya (*Praśna Up.* I. 1).

We find that sometimes the same speaker is referred to by his own name, sometimes by his gotra name and sometimes by a name which is patronymic. For example, Naciketas is addressed as Naciketas (in *Kaṭha Up.* I. 1. 19. 21, 24, I. 2. 3 etc.) and sometimes as Gautama (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6). Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is throughout addressed as Gautama by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (*Chā.* V. 3ff.).

In some of the Gṛhyasūtras the ceremony of giving a name to the child is included in the Jātakarma rite following apparently the

passage of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* quoted above (note 10). For example the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. S.* (I. 13 Trivandrum ed.)[13] says 'when a son has been born (the father) should, before other people touch him, give him to eat from a golden vessel clarified butter and honey in which gold has been rubbed And let (them) give the son a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a *visarga* at its end, consisting of two syllables or four syllables; of two syllables if he is desirous of firm position, of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual glory; but in every case with an even number of letters for men, an uneven for women. And let (the father) thoughtfully find out (for the son) a name to be used at respectful salutation (at the time of Upanayana); that (name) his mother and father alone should know till his Upanayana'. This shows that the boy was to have a public name (*vyāvahārika*) and an *abhivādanīya* name, which was to be kept secret by his parents and to be used at the time of respectfully bowing to his teacher at the Upanayana. Even now boys at the time of Upanayana have a name communicated to them which they are to keep secret. The *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*[14] similarly prescribes that on the birth of a son the father indicates the

13 कुमारं जातं पुरान्यैरालम्भात सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राशयेत् ।...नाम चास्मै दधुः । घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा । द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम् । अभिवादनीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यातामोपनयनात् । आश्व० गृ० सू० I 13. 1 and I. 13 4-9. Sonants (ghoṣa) are the 3rd, 4th, 5th letters of the five classes from कवर्ग to पवर्ग, य, र, ल, व and ह, पाणिनि (VIII. 3. 86) derives अभिनिष्ठान.

14 जातं वाग्यतेऽभिमृश्य...जापः । नक्षत्रनाम च निर्दिशति । तद्रहस्यं भवति ।... दशम्यामुत्थितायां स्नातायां पुत्रस्य नाम दधाति पिता मातेति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थम् । अपि वा यस्मिन्स्वित्युपसर्गः स्यात्तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितमिति ब्राह्मणम् । अयुजाक्षरं कुमार्याः । आप० गृ० VI. 15. 1-3 and 8-11 Such names with two or four syllables would be गोप्रीः, हिरण्यदाः, द्रविणोदाः, सुदर्शनः ।

nakṣatra name which is kept secret and that 'on the 10th day after the mother has risen (from the lying-in chamber) and bathed, the father and the mother give a name to the son, which is of two syllables or four syllables, the first part being a noun, the latter part a verb; it should have a long vowel in the middle, or it should contain the *upasarga* 'su', since such a name has a firm basis; thus it is said in a Brāhmaṇa. A girl's name should have an odd number of syllables.' The *Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra*[15] also prescribes the giving of a secret name at the time of Jātakarma and says that the Nāmakaraṇa is to be performed after the passing of ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth.[16] It then prescribes that the name to be given on that day must be a word ending in a *kṛt* termination and must not be *taddhita*, the other requirements are the same except that the names of girls were to end in the syllable 'dā'. The *Gobhilagṛhya*[17] (II. 10. 22-25) says that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student what his name is and adds 'the teacher settles for him a name which he is to employ when bowing at the feet of his teacher, (a name) derived from a deity or a nakṣatra or also from his gotra, according to some teachers'. We know from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla that his teacher asked him what his gotra was (*Chāndogya* IV. 4. 4). It will be noted that in the *Chāndogya* (V. 14. 1, V. 16. 1, V. 17. 1 etc.), *Br. Up.* (III. 7, 2), *Kauṣītaki Up.* (1. 17) when a person approaches another for knowledge, the latter very frequently addresses him by his gotra name such

15 पुमानयं जनिष्यतेऽसौ नामेति नामधेयं गृह्णाति । यत्तद् गुह्यमेव भवति । गोभिलीय गृह्य II. 7. 15-16.

16 जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । आहस्पत्यं मासं प्रविशासावित्यन्ते च मन्त्रस्य घोषवदा...निष्ठानान्तं कृतं नाम दध्यात् । एतदतद्धितम् । अयुग्दान्तं स्त्रीणाम् । गोभिलीय II 8. 8. and 14-16.

17 को नामासीति नामधेयं पृच्छति तस्याचार्यः । अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वा । गोत्राश्रयमप्येके । गोभिलीयगृह्य II. 10. 21-25.

as Vaiyaghrapadya, Gautama etc. The *Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya-sutra*[18] (I. 24) first prescribes the giving of a name at the time of Jātakarma almost in the same words as the *Gobhilagṛhya* (but adds that the name may be of six syllables also) and proceeds 'that name only his father and his mother should know. On the tenth day a name be given common use which is pleasing to the brāhmaṇas'. The *Khādira gṛhya*[19] (II. 2. 30-31, II. 3. 6 and 10-12) prescribes the giving of a secret name immediately on birth, of another name after ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth, but adds no further details. The *Khādira gṛhya*[20] (II. 4. 12) further lays down that in the Upanayana rites "the student who has been asked by the teacher 'what is thy name' should declare a name derived from (the name of) a deity or a nakṣatra, which he is to use while bowing to his teacher with the words 'I am so and so'". This follows the custom which is referred to even in the *Bṛ. Up.* (I. 4. 1), "Therefore even when a person is called he first says 'here am I' and then pronounces his name whatever it may be." The *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya-sūtra* (II. 4. 10-15) is silent about giving a name in Jātakarma and prescribes that on the twelfth day after the birth of a child a name is to be given to a child (and the details are the same as in *Āpastambagṛhya*) and adds "let the father and the mother pronounce that name first. For it is understood 'my name first O Jātavedas' (*vide* note 8). He should give him two names. For it is known 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who

18 अथ जातकर्म ।...अमाविति नामास्य दधाति घोषव.....चतुरक्षरं वापि वा षडक्षरं कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् । तदस्य पिता माता च विद्याताम् । दशम्यां व्यावहारिकं ब्राह्मणजुष्टम् । शाङ्खायन (कौषीतकि) गृह्य I. 24.

19 अमाविति नाम दध्यात् । तद्गुह्यम् । खादिरगृह्य II. 2. 31-32. The com. adds नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम् ।

20 को नामासीत्युक्तो देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वाभिवादनीयं नाम ब्रूयादसावस्मीति । खादिरगृह्य II. 4. 12; the com. रुद्रस्कन्द exemplifies the names derived from नक्षत्रs (such as कार्त्तिकेय, रौहिणेय, चैत्र) and the names derived from deities presiding over नक्षत्रs (such as आश्विन, याम्य, आग्नेय, मैत्र).

has two names has success' (note 7). The second name should be a nakṣatra name. The one name should be secret; by the other they should call him. He gets a third name; thus it is known (from the Vedas)".[21] The *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya* tells us that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student his name and the student pronounces his name with the word 'This' and with the words 'Hail, O Savitṛ etc.' he mentions two names (I. 5. 4-6).[22] The commentator explains that these two are his vyāvahārika name and his nakṣatra name. The *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya* I. 26 (ed. by Salomons) speaks of giving a name only in Nāmakaraṇa and closely follows the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya*. The *Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra* (I. 17) speaks of giving a name only on the tenth day after birth, specifies the details as in *Gobhila-gṛhya* (II. 8. 14) and adds "with an uneven number of syllables ending in 'ā', with a Taddhita suffix, in the case of a girl. The name of a brāhmaṇa (should end in) *śarman*,[23] that of a Kṣatriya in *varman*, that of a Vaiśya in *gupta*." It will be noticed that here for the first time we come across the words śarman, varman and gupta added at the end of the names of individuals respectively belonging to the three varṇas. The *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*[24] (I. 18. 1-2) says "on the tenth night (after birth) he (the father) should give

21 पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात्। द्व्यक्षरं...प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते। पिता मातेत्यग्रे भिव्याहरेयाताम्। विज्ञायते च मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद इति। द्वे नामनी कुर्यात्। विज्ञायते च तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुक इति। नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद्गुह्यं स्यात्। अन्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयीरन्। सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते। हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य II. 4. 10-15.

22 तं पृच्छति को नामासीति। असौ इत्याचष्टे यथानामा भवति। स्वस्ति देव सवितरहमनेनामुनोद्दचमशीय इति नामनी गृह्णाति। हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 5. 3-6.

23 दशम्यामुत्थाप्य.....पिता नाम करोति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा घोष...भिनिष्क्रानं कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्। शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य। पारस्करगृह्य I. 17.

24 दशम्यां रात्र्यां पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात्। घोषव...स्थं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा। त्र्यक्षरं दान्तं कुमारीणाम्। तेनाभिवादयितुं श्रद्धा पितुर्नामधेयम्। यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रय देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम्। मानवगृह्य I. 18. 1-2.

a name to the son, which should have a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, a name of two syllables or four: (the names) of girls should have three syllables and end in '*dā*,' in order that he may bow at the feet (of his teacher), (a name should be given) avoiding the father's (own) name; a name derived from a deity or nakṣatra tends to fame; but it is forbidden to give the name of a deity directly" (i.e. one may be called Rudradatta but not Rudra). The *Vārāhagṛhya*[25] after stating the usual rules about the names of males on the 10th day after birth adds "the father's name should be avoided, or the son should have a name derived from a nakṣatra or a deity or (any other) desirable one; but a brāhmaṇa should have two names; in this way the name of a girl should end in 'ā' and should have an 'a' intercepted, should have an odd number of syllables, and should not be the name of a river, a nakṣatra, the moon, the sun, the god Pūṣan, or it should not be a name ending in 'dattā' or 'rakṣitā' preceded by the name of a god". Manu also recommends that one should not marry a girl who bears a name which is the name of a nakṣatra, a tree, a river (III.9). The same gṛhyasūtra (5) refers to the abhivādanīya name in Upanayana. The *Baudhāyana gṛhyasūtra*[26] (II. 1. 23-31) refers only to the giving of a name on the 10th or 12th day after birth, gives almost the same details as to the letters of the name (but allows even six or eight syllables) as in *Āp. Gṛ.* and adds 'the name should show that the child is a descendant of a ṛṣi or connected with a deity or he should have one out of the names of the father's ancestors'. The *Baudhāyaniya Gṛhyaśesa-*

25 एवमेव दशम्यां कृत्वा पिता माता च पुत्रस्य नाम दध्याताम्। घोष...ष्टानान्तं कृतं न तद्धितं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा त्र्यक्षपितृनामधेयान्नक्षत्रदेवतेष्टनामानो वा। द्विनामा तु ब्राह्मणो नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदत्तरक्षितावर्जम्। वाराहगृह्य 2.

26 नामास्मै दधाति।...षडक्षरमष्टाक्षरं वा।...प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते। ऋष्यनूकं देवतानूकं वा। यथैवैषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। अयुगक्षरं कुमार्याः। अमुष्मै स्वस्तीति। बौ. गृ II. 1. 24-31.

sūtra[27] (I. 11. 4-18) gives more details about Nāmakaraṇa on the 10th or 12th day after birth. It says "he bestows on the boy a name by means of a nakṣatra name, he has another and a second name which is used at the time of bowing down (abhivādanīya), which only his father and mother are acquainted with till (the boy's) upanayana. It is known that one who performs a Soma sacrifice should take a third name. To a girl (one should give) a name consisting of an odd number of syllables and ending in a long vowel as Śrī, Somyā. They also recite:—the name of a brāhmaṇa should end in śarman, of a Kṣatriya in 'varman', of a Vaiśya in 'gupta' and of a 'Śūdra' in 'bhṛtya' or 'dāsa' or it may only end in 'dāsa'..... In the case of the nakṣatras Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśirṣa, Maghā, Citrā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śravaṇa, Śatabhiṣak, Revatī and Aśvayuk, the first vowel undergoes 'Vṛddhi'; and the name Rauhiṇa is given after the the nakṣatra Rohiṇī; others also (are similarly formed). In the case of Tiṣya, Aśleṣā, Hasta, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Asāḍā, Śraviṣṭhā the name is the same as the original (nakṣatra) as in Tiṣya (from Tiṣya); the ohers (also yield the same names). In Phalgunī the name of Phālguna" (results), etc. Saṅkha-Likhita as quoted in Aparārka prescribes Nāmakaraṇa on the tenth day after birth and add '(the father) or some other elder in the family should bestow on males a name containing four or two syllables having a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, in the case of girls (a name) ending in 'ī'; if a name is bestowed in this way the family becomes pure.'[28]

27 Vide note 4 above for a portion. 'अयुगक्षरं कुमार्यै स्वस्तिश्रीसोम्येति दीर्घवर्णान्तम्। अथाप्युदाहरन्ति—शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तान्तं वैश्यस्य भृत्यदासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा। अथ नक्षत्राणि रोहिणीमृगशीर्षमघाचित्राज्येष्ठाश्रवणशतभिषग्रेवत्याश्वयुक्षु प्रथमाक्षरवृद्धिः स्याद्रौहिणायां रौहिणायेति। तथेतराणि। तिष्याश्लेषाहस्तविशाखानुराधाषाढाश्रविष्ठासु प्रकृतिवत्तिष्यायेति। तथेतराणि। फल्गुन्यां फाल्गुनायेति। बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र I. 11. 9-18.

28 'अन्यो वा कुलवृद्धश्चतुरक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं घोष...न्तःस्थं पुंसामीकारान्तं स्त्रीणामेवं कृते नास्रि शुचि तत्कुलं भवति। अपरार्क p. 27.

The Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 1.12 quotes a passage of Śaṅkha that the father should give a name connected with the family deity. Baijavāpa[29] as quoted by Aparārka says 'the father gives a name containing one, two, three, four syllables or more without any restriction, which (name) has a kṛt (termination) and is not a Taddhita; for a girl he gives (a name) ending in 'ī'.' The *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*[30] (III. 19) after prescribing a name of two or four syllables ending in a long vowel or a past participle ending in 'ta' and having a sonant etc. proceeds '(he should give) two names (of which) the nakṣatra name is the secret one; after a man consecrates the solemn Vedic fires he gets a public name (prakāśa) such as 'āhitāgni' ending in the solemn rite he may have performed.' The same sūtra (1.7) shows that in Puṇyāhavācana when requesting the brāhmaṇas to pronounce puṇyāha the man's nakṣatra name, gotra name, his father's name, a matronymic name and his own name should be repeated. Some of the gṛhyasūtras speak of a name derived from a nakṣatra. In the whole of the Vedic literature hundreds of names occur, but there is hardly any name of a teacher or well-known person derived directly from a nakṣatra. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI. 2. 1. 37) we are told of a person called Āṣāḍhi Sauśromateya (son of Aṣāḍha and Suśromatā) for whom the heads of unconsecrated animals were put and who on account of that mistake quickly perished. Here the name Āṣāḍhi is probably connected with the nakṣatra Aṣāḍhā. It appears therefore that in ancient times the Nakṣatra name was a secret name and so we do

29 बैजवापः। पिता नाम करोत्येकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्। ईकारान्तं स्त्रियै। अपरार्क p. 27.

30 अथ नामकरणमाचत्वारिंशाद्दिवसात्.....। दीर्घान्तमभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरं द्विप्रतिष्ठितान्तस्थं मृद्वक्षरपदस्वरं द्विवर्णं चतुर्वर्णं वा नाम शस्यते यथोक्तं मम नाम प्रथममिति गोत्रनामयुक्तं तदर्हं नाम कुर्यात्। द्वे नामनी तु नक्षत्रनाम रहस्यमग्न्याधानात् परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाशं नाम भवेत्। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 19. The printed text is rather corrupt.

not find it mentioned in most of the Vedic texts. Gradually however names derived from nakṣatras became very common and ceased to be used as secret names. We find that for several centuries preceding the Christian era, names derived from nakṣatras were very prominent. Pāṇini (who cannot be placed later than 320 B.C. and may be several centuries earlier still) gives some elaborate rules about names derived from nakṣatras. He says (IV. 3. 34) that names of males (and females also) are derived from Śraviṣṭhā, Phalgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tiṣya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Aṣāḍhā, and Bahulā (i.e. Kṛttikā) without adding any termination in the sense of 'born on'. Examples would be Śraviṣṭhaḥ, Phalgunaḥ etc. In another rule (IV. 3. 36) he states that in forming names from Abhijit, Aśvayuk and Śatabhiṣak, the termination is optionally dropped, e.g., we shall have Śatabhiṣak, Śātabhiṣajaḥ and Śatabhiṣaḥ. By VII. 3. 18 he says the name Proṣṭhapādaḥ is derived from Proṣṭhapada. He states (in IV. 3. 37) that terminations are frequently dropped when names are formed from nakṣatras; e.g. we have both Rauhiṇaḥ and Rohiṇaḥ from Rohiṇī. In the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.), we are told that the brother-in-law of Maurya Candragupta was a Vaiśya named Puṣyagupta (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 43). This is a name derived from the nakṣatra Puṣya and used in the 4th century B.C. We know that the founder of the Suṅga dynasty was Senāpati Puṣyamitra (*EI.*, vol. XX, p. 54). The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also mentions him and so does Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 2. 123. His name also is derived from Puṣya. This is not the place to go into the interesting question of the formation of Buddhist names. But a few examples of Buddhist names derived from nakṣatras will be interesting. We have the well-known name of Moggaliputta Tissa (from Tiṣya) in which a gotra name and nakṣatra name are both combined. A parivrājaka Poṭṭhapāda (Proṣṭhapāda) occurs in *Digha* I. p. 187 and III. p. 1. In the Sāñci Inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C. (*E.I.*, vol. II, p. 95) we have

such names as Asāḍa (from Aṣāḍhā), Phaguna (from Phalgunī), Svātiguta (Svātigupta), Pusarakhita (Puṣyarakṣita). In the Karle Inscription there is Sātimita (Svātimitra) from Sopara (*E.I.*, vol. VII, p.54) and a nun Asāḍhamitā (p. 56): In the Sarnāth Inscription of Kaniṣka's time there is a Bhikṣu called Puṣyavṛddhi. In the Palitana Plate of Dhruvasena I dated (Valabhi) Saṃvat 210 (about 529 A.D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. In the plates of Śivarāja dated (Gupta Saṃvat) 283 (i.e. 602-3 A.D.) we find such names as Puṣyasvāmī, Rohiṇisvāmī, Jyeṣṭhasvāmī and Revatisvāmī (*EI*, vol. IX, p. 288). The Ājñapti of Cārudevī, queen of Pallava Vijayabuddha-Varman was Rohiṇigupta (*E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 146). It is not necessary to adduce more examples.

Another rule stated about Abhivādaniya names was that they should be derived from deities. From the times of the *Tai. S.* (IV. 4. 10. 1-3) different presiding deities had been assigned to the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā (such as Agni, Prajāpati, Soma, Rudra etc. for Kṛttikā, Rohiṇi, Mṛgaśirṣa, Ārdrā etc.). When it was said that the name should be derived from a deity, what was understood according to the commentators was a name derived from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a man was born (e.g. Āgneya for one who was born on Kṛttikā). In modern times we find people named after the names of deities (e.g. such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śaṅkara etc.). But ancient works do not show that that was the usage then. In the Vedic literature we hardly find any individual name which is the same as the names of the Vedic gods, Mitra, Indra, Pūśan, etc. We no doubt find from the *Tai. Up.* III. 1. that Bhṛgu learnt Bhārgavī Vāruṇī vidyā from his father who was named Varuṇa. But this is a solitary instance. So also we have such names as Indrota (protected by Indra) and Indradyumna (both cited above); but we have in the Vedic literature no human being who is named Indra. In the *Praśna Up.* (I. 1.) there is a Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya, whose first name is derived from Sūrya. Gṛhyasūtras like the Mānava (note

24) prohibited the giving of the names of deities to human beings directly. When the practice of giving the names of gods to human beings arose it is difficult to say. It is clear however that it could not have been much earlier than the first few centuries of the Christian era. We have historic examples from the 5th century onwards where persons bore the same names as gods; e.g. in the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta Saṃvat 165 (484-5 A.D.) there is a brāhmaṇa Indraviṣṇu, son of Varuṇa-Viṣṇu, son of Hari-Viṣṇu.

There is also another way of deriving names from Nakṣatras. In some of the mediæval Jyotiṣa works, each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into four pādas and to each pāda of a nakṣatra a specific letter is assigned (e.g. cū, ce, co, and lā for the four *pādas* of Aśvini) from which a person born in a particular pāda of Aśvini was called either Cūdāmaṇi, Cediśa, Coleśa, Lakṣmaṇa. Even so late a work as the *Dharmasindhu* (1790 A.D.) disapproves of such names, as not warranted by Śruti. These names are called nakṣatra-nāma; they are secret and muttered into the ear of the brahmacāri at his Upanayana even now.

Manu omits all these elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, makes no reference to the nakṣatra name or abhivādaniya name given to a boy, but gives two simple rules (II. 31-32) viz. that the name of a brāhmaṇa should be indicative of maṅgala, of a Kṣatriya strength, of a Vaiśya wealth and of Śudra lowness (or contempt) and that to the name of a brāhmaṇa an upapada (addition) should be joined indicating śarman (happiness or blessing), of a king an upapada connected with protection, of a vaiśya indicating prosperity and of a śūdra indicating dependence or service. We find that the Gṛhyasūtras (except *Pāraskaragṛhya*) are silent about these upapadas added after the names of individuals of the four varṇas. Therefore it may be inferred that this practice had come into vogue only sometime before the extant Manu and long after the older

gṛhya-sutras. Even among the Buddhists we find names ending in Śarman: e.g. in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculptures the word 'Mugudasamaputasa' (Mukundaśarma-putrasya) occurs (*Arch. S. of S. I.*, vol. I, p. 103). The rule of Manu was not universally observed but there were frequent breaches. In the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II dated (Gupta Saṃvat) 82 (401-2 A.D.) there is a Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 21). In *EI.*, vol. X, p. 71 (of 436 A.D.) we have a Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa (a Brāhmaṇa whose name ends in Pālita as that of a Vaiśya should). We find that 'Vadhana' (Vardhana) is added to the names of Śaka kings (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, p. 16). Brāhmaṇa names ending in bhūti (which should be the upapada of Vaiśyas) and dāsa are found in *EI.*, vol. XIX, pp. 248-49. In the Sabhāparva (30. 13) both Śarmakas and Varmakas are described as Kṣatriya tribes. On the other hand in the Talguṇḍa Inscription of the Kadamba King Kākustha-varman (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 24) we find that the original founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman, while his son and great-grandson who had become kings had 'varman' affixed to their names (viz. Kaṅgavarman and Kākusthavarman).

A few words may be said about matronymics. In the first place they are not at all so many nor so frequent as the other names. They were probably mentioned to show the high or pure descent of the persons so described on their mother's sides also. Vaśiṣṭha (III. 19) in enumerating those who are *paṅktipāvanas* mentions one whose ten ancestors in the father's and mother's families were śrotriyas. Similarly Yājñavalkya (I. 54) lays down that the wife should be selected from a big family of *śrotriyas* who have been famous for ten generations. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 60) Siri Puḷumāyi is described as Vāsiṭhīputa. Similarly the Ābhīra King Īśvarasena is described as Māḍhariputra (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 88). Here the mother's gotra names are probably

specially emphasized to show that though the paternal side may not be of the bluest Aryan blood, the mothers were of the best Aryan families. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription (*EI.*, vol. XX, p. 6) Siri Virapurisa is said to be Mādharīpura and his father Siri Chāntamūla is said to be Vāsiṭhīputa. We find comparatively late writers describing the gotra of their mother's family; e.g. Bhavabhūti says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarṇi. We learn from a kārikā in the *Mahābhāṣya* that the great grammarian Pāṇini was styled Dākṣīputra.[31]

In some of the later smṛtis names derived from the presiding deities of the twelve months of the year are prescribed. The *Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti* (published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona) prescribes (VI. 2-3) three names, one derived from the pāda of the nakṣatra on which one is born and so called 'Janmanāma', another called Saṃvyāvahārika (i.e. in ordinary use) which may be the same as the child's paternal grandfather's and a third name derived from the presiding deities of the months beginning with Mārgaśirsa. The *Śaunaka Kārikās* (ms. in the Bombay University Library) quotes Garga to the effect that a name derived from the month of birth should be given and says that Kṛṣṇa, Ananta, Acyuta, Cakri, Vaikuṇṭha, Janārdana, Upendra, Yajñapuruṣa, Vāsudeva, Hari, Yogiśa, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, are respectively the names of the twelve months (*Cāndra*) of the year (from Mārgaśirṣa). The *Nirṇayasindhu* quotes this verse and says that according to the *Madanaratna* these names are meant for months beginning with Mārgaśirṣa or Caitra. These names are being given to this day in various parts but not necessarily in accordance with the month of birth.

31 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः। महाभाष्य on पाणिनि I. 1. 20 (vol. I, p. 75). Pāṇini is also called शालातुरीय। Vide भामह's काव्यालंकार VI 62, 'शालातुरीयमतमेतदनुकमेण' and the Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (Gupta 320 i.e. 649-50 A.D.) where the name occurs राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः (*EI.*, vol. VIII at p. 192) पाणिनि (IV. 3. 94) derives the word.

Résumé

The above discussion may be summarised thus:

(1) In the times of the *Ṛgveda* and *Tai. S.* usually two names were given to a person, one of which was a secret name (vide note 7 above); but the *Ṛgveda* was not unacquainted with even three or four names for a person (vide notes 1 and 3).

(2) Throughout the Vedic literature, the names given to a person were his own secular name and one or more other names derived either from his father's or grandfather's name, or from his gotra or from a locality or from the name of his mother. The *Śatapatha* speaks of giving even a third name, but how it was to be formed is not stated. Most of the names of authors whose views are mentioned by such an ancient work as Yāska's *Nirukta* are either gotra names or patronymics e.g. Āgrāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Audumbarāyaṇa, Kautsa, Gārgya, Maudgalya, Vārṣyāyaṇi, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Sthaulāṣṭhivi, though a few like Carmaśiras and Śākapūṇi are probably individual names.

(3) It is not quite clear from the Vedic literature how the secret name was given. Hardly any secret name except that of Indra as Arjuna is known as given to any person in the Vedic literature. It is natural that the names being secret do not appear in the texts.

(4) All the Gṛhyasūtras (except *Baijavāpa*) insist on the name given to a boy being one containing an even number of syllables, usually two or four, though even six syllables or eight are allowed by a few sūtrakāras. This rule is deduced from the Vedic usage. Most of the names in the Vedic literature contain either two syllables (like Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four (like Trasadasyu, Purukutsa,

Medhyātithi, Brahmadatta, Satyakāma), though names of three syllables (like Cyavana, Kavaṣa, Bharata) or five syllables (Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiraṇyastūpa) are not wanting.

(5) Most of the sūtras recommend that the names should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semi-vowel. That this is a very ancient rule follows from the fact that even Patañjali (about 140 B.C.) in his *Mahābhāṣya*[32] (ed. by Kielhorn vol. I, p. 4) mentions the rule that 'the father should bestow on the son on a day after the 10th from birth a name having a sonant at the beginning, a semi-vowel in the middle, (a name) the first syllable of which is not long, or which shows the descent from one of the three male ancestors (of the father) and which is not borne by the adversary (of the father).'

(6) Some Sūtras (vide notes 16 and 23) prescribe that the name should end in a visarga or a long vowel. This rule is probably deduced from such names as Sudās, Dīrghatamas, Pṛthuśravas (occurring even in the *Ṛgveda*), and such names as Vatsapri Bhālandana (*Tai. S.*, V. 2. 1. 6).

(7) Some gṛhya-sūtras like *Āpastamba* say that the name should have two parts the first being a noun and the second being a derivative from a verb (generally a past passive participle ending in 'ta'). This rule is derived from such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in the *Br. Up.*, I. 3. 24 and which figures very much in ancient Pāli Buddhist works), Devadatta and Yajñadatta

32 यान्त्रिकाः पठन्ति । दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्याद्घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानुकम्पनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति । महाभाष्य Vol. I. p. 4. अनूक means 'descent, family. कैयट explains it as 'पिता तस्य ये त्रयः पुरुषाः ताननु कायति अभिधत्ते'.

(which figure very frequently in the *Mahābhāṣya*,[33] *Śabarabhāṣya* as the stock names of persons).

(8) Most are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents (notes 13, 15, 18, 19) according to some at birth (notes 18, 19), according to others at the time of Nāmakaraṇa on the 10th or 12th day after birth (note 21).

(9) There is some divergence of opinion as to the secret name among the sūtrakāras. Āśvalāyana appears to prescribe that the name with a sonant at the beginning etc. is to be one known to all and the parents have to find out at the same time a secret name which the boy is to use at the time of upanayana for respectful salutation; while the *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhya* prescribes that the ordinary name (which is required to be only pleasing to brāhmaṇas) is to be given on the 10th day, while the secret name is to be given at the time of birth and is to have all the characteristic details of being 'ghoṣavadādi' etc. There is a further difference of views. *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya*, *Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣasūtra* and *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* prescribe that the nakṣatra name is to be the secret one (notes 21, 27, 30), while others like the *Khādira-gṛhya* speak of a secret name but do not connect it with nakṣatras. There is a further difficulty. Several gṛhyasūtras like *Gobhila*, *Khādira* require that there should be an abhivādanīya name (notes 17, 20). This is an ancient practice. But these say that the Abhivādanīya was to be derived from a

33 Vide महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति। तयोरुपचारादन्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति। This shows that in Patañjali's time the ordinary name was given immediately on birth and that was the vyāvahārika name.

nakṣatra or a deity and *Gobhila* adds that according to some the *abhivādaniya* name should be derived from the gotra. This latter is supported by the usage of the Upaniṣads. When the abhivādanīya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy about it.

(10) The name derived from a deity was originally derived from the deity presiding over the nakṣatra of birth. Later on the names of gods were directly used as the names of individuals, though this appears to have been originally forbidden.

(11) The upapadas śarman, varman, gupta, dāsa were added at a later date than most of the gṛhyasūtras.

(12) Some later smṛtis prescribe names derived from the names Kṛṣṇa, Ananta etc. given to the twelve months.

(13) The names of girls were to contain an odd number of syllables, generally three; and were to end in a long letter either 'ā' according to some and 'ī' according to others. Some said that it should end in 'dā',

P. V. KANE

The Vēlāḷas in Mohenjo Daro

Elsewhere I have shown how the Paravas,[1] the Kolis[2] and the Tirayars[3] are referred to in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. In this paper I shall explain those inscriptions that mention another ancient tribe, well known as a caste in South India at present—the tribe of the Vēlāḷas.

They use two different signs to form the combination *Vēlāl:* the  *vēl,* 'trident' and the  *vēl,* 'acacia'. The Mohenjo Daro people did not pay attention to the quantity of their vowels in their way of writing.[4] But there is no doubt that they read the vowels either short or long according to the meaning of the context, for they knew metrics.[5] Thus  which originally means a quarter *kāl,* may also be read *kal,* 'stone', 'measure', etc.

This being presupposed, we shall now be able to read some of the inscriptions referring to this ancient people. The first epigraph speaks of one Vēlāḷa only:

[6]

1 Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro,' *Journal of Oriental Research,* X., pp. 282-87.

2 Heras, 'The Kolikon in Mohenjo Daro', *The New Indian Antiquary,* vol. I.

3 Heras, 'The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro', Paper read at the IX All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1938.

4 Cf. Heras, 'The Longest Mohenjo Daro Epigraph', *J.I.H.*, XVI, p. 236.

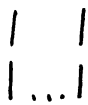
5 Cf. Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the Most Important Archaeological Site in India, *J.I.H.*, XVI, pp. 5-6.

6 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7040.

ilil ire vēlāḷ meṭ, *i.e.* "the fence of the Vēlāḷa who is in the house". This seal was very likely impressed over the soft clay of the fence, thus establishing its ownership.

The other inscriptions speaks of the Vēlāḷas in plural:



Vēlirir iru mīn naḍ mala adu, *i.e.* "those are the middle mountains of the holy Fish of the Vēlāḷas." Elsewhere I have explained that the Mohenjo Darians formed the plural of male nouns in three different ways, the most primitive form perhaps being in *-ir*, the numeral two, for whatever is more than one is plural in Dravidian language.[7] Thus *Vēlir* means the men of the trident, just as *Vēlāḷ* means the man of the trident. But in our sign there is a double plural, for two strokes  placed on each side of any sign are the determinative of collectivity; thus  *maramir* means "the men of the tree",  *ililir*, "the men who are in the house". Our sign has a double determinative of collectivity  and therefore it will read *vēlirir* with double plural termination. Such double plural is very common in Dravidian languages and gives more emphasis to the sentence.

7 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, M.D., No 130.

8 Cf Heras, 'Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro', *Karnataka Historical Review*, IV, p. 4; Heras, 'Numerals in Mohenjo Daro', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, III

This epigraph speaks of "the middle mountains". This expression seems to refer to some mountains placed between India and another country. If this is admitted "the middle mountains" *naḍumala* will be the Himālayas which stand between India and China. It is interesting to notice that the sign  meaning middle is found as  in Proto-Chinese and  in modern Chinese, both reading *tshung*, 'middle'.

These middle mountains are said to be of the holy Fish. This sort of genitive may be called 'a votive genitive'. The mountains are called of the holy Fish for they were devoted to the holy Fish. The holy Fish is the eighth form of God according to the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.[9] One of the inscriptions says:



Aḍu taḷi per mīn oriḍa eṭ kaḍavuḷ, i.e. "that (is) the eighth (formed) god whose one side (form) is the sprinkled great Fish". Now these mountains dedicated to the holy Fish are of the *Vēḷiḷrir, i.e.* the Vēḷāḷas. This is a real genitive of possession. The mountains belong to the Vēḷālas. Supposing therefore that the mountains are the Himālayan range, the Vēḷāḷas would be near, say, about the northern

9 Cf. Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (Hist. & Econ. Section), V, pp. 89.

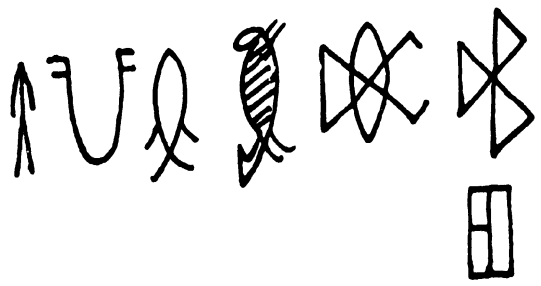
10 Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 419.

side of the present U.P. and the Punjab. This *habitat* of the *Vēlāḷas* will be confirmed by the following inscription:



Vēlir vilāḷ eṭ paṭi cuṇi arup uyarel, i.e. "the high sun of the harvest of the *liṅga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas of the Vēlāḷas."

The expression "the high sun of the harvest" seems to refer to the time when the harvest is reaped. This harvest is said to be of the *liṅga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas. It apparently belonged to the *liṅga* worshipped in these eight villages of the Bilavas. From a number of inscriptions it is evident that temples or images of god possessed lands or villages, the revenue of which was dedicated to the worship of the image, in the same way as the large temples of South India at present:

[12]

nila naṇḍūr eḍu mīn aḍu Āṇ val, i.e., "let the Lord of the Ram and of the Fish of Naṇḍūr that has lands be happy." Or this:

[13]

cuṇi ten aḍu, i.e. "that (is) the palm grove of the *liṅga*."[14]

11 Marshall, *op. cit.*, H. No. 99.
12 *Ibid.*, I, pl. XII, No 18.
13 *Ibid.*, III, M.D., No. 488.
14 For other similar inscriptions, Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

That in these villages of the Bilavas the *liṅga* should be worshipped, it is but natural. For they together with the Kavals seem to have been the original worshippers of this symbol,[15] from whom this strange cult passed to the Mīṉas.

These Bilavas are said to be of the Vēlāḷas: the territory of the Bilavas seems to have been towards the east of the Indus. So these two tribes might easily have lived in contiguous territories. The inscription seems to suggest that the Bilavas were subdued by the Vēlāḷas. Later on the Bilava territory was annexed to Mināḍ.[16]

The following inscription will introduce a king of the Vēlāḷas;

[17]

paṭi nila vēlvēlāḷ taltal mukililmukan, i.e. "the ruler (one who draws house of clouds) of the tridented Vēlāḷas of the moon of the village". This was doubtless the seal of the Vēlaḷa king. The sign for ruler phonetically reads "one who draws (rules) the house of clouds".[18] Now the Vēlāḷas are called in a similar way from very ancient times, *kārāḷar*, the rulers of the clouds.[19]

In this inscription the Vēlāḷas are called tridented. In fact their name means those of the trident as seen above. The reason of their special attachment to this weapon will be seen below. Besides these Vēlāḷas are styled 'of the moon'. This denomination shows that there were at least two sorts of Vēlāḷas. Some were called Vēlāḷas of

15 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.

16 Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land,' *Indian Culture* III, pp. 709-710.

17 Photo, H. Neg. 3050, No. 15.

18 Cf. Heras, 'The Story of Two Mohenjo Daro Signs', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, II, No. 1, pp. 4-5.

19 Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 113-14.

the moon. May we not rightly deduce from the comparison of these Vēlāḷas with the two sorts of Paravas[20] that the Vēlāḷas of the other section were called  *pagal velāl,* i.e. "the Vēlāḷas of the Sun"?

The inscription refers to the Vēlāḷas of one village, the name of which is not given.

The name of a king is actually mentioned in this inscription:

[21]



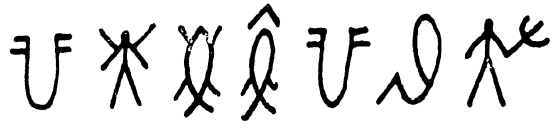
Mūmaga kuḍe vēlāḷir koḍi, i.e. "the flag of the Vēlāḷas of the rule (umbrella) of Mūmaga".

The Vēlāḷas in plural are shown here by the repetition of the sign, according to what we have shown above. The umbrella, *kuḍe,* is a symbol of authority and government, for only kings could use it. That is the reason why here umbrella means "rule".

The first sign of the inscription phonetically reads *Mūmaga,* which literally means 'third son', *i.e.* 'grand son'. But here the name Mūmaga must be taken as a proper name, and therefore, becomes the name of one of the kings of the Vēlāḷas.

Another inscription has an extraordinary reference to the clouds of the Vēlāḷas. Here it is:

[22]



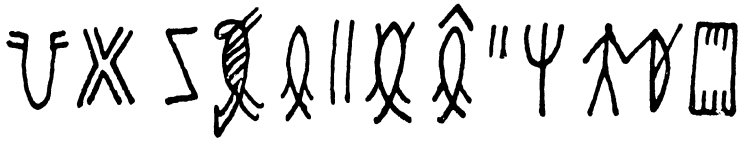
20 Cf. Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro', *Journal of Oriental Research,* X, p. 284.

21 Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr Edward T. Newell* pl. III, No. 23. (Chicago, 1934).

22 *A.S. of I., Report,* 1928-29, pl. XXXII, No. 1; Photo, H. Neg. 4394, No. 11.

Vēlāḷ mukil adu Mīnan Mīn Kaḍavuḷ adu, i.e. "whatever is of the clouds of the Vēlāḷas is of the God of Mīna of the Mīnas". Let us try to disentangle this riddle.

The God is said to be of Mīna of the Mīnas. He seems to be the king of the Mīnas. In another inscription he is presented as waging war against the Bilavas and capturing their king:



ḍug vilāḷ vēl ire Mīnan Mīn ir min ēḍu oḍu kaḍekodi adu, i.e. "that (is) the complete month of the Ram of the two Fishes of Mīna of the Mīnas who has the king of the despised Bilavas". This king Mīna, as is evident from this inscription, had two Fishes as a symbol on his flag, and therefore, as we know from another inscription, had the title of Mīnavan.[21]

The other part of the inscription refers to the clouds of the Vēlāḷas. Since as seen above, the Vēlāḷas are called "the rulers of the clouds", the clouds evidently were a symbol of their power. Therefore, the inscription is a clear acknowledgement on the part of the Vēlāḷas of their belief that their power and strength proceeds from God. Their association with the Mīnas and their king Mīna in this inscription, seems to point to a recognition of a supreme power. The Bilavas allied with the Vēlāḷas, according to the preceding inscriptions, were finally subdued by the Mīnas. Such seems also to be the fate of the Vēlāḷas themselves.

This union with the Mīnas or perhaps the above mentioned union of the Vēlāḷas with the Bilavas is referred to in the following inscription:

23 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 87.

24 Cf. Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro', *op. cit.*, p. 287.

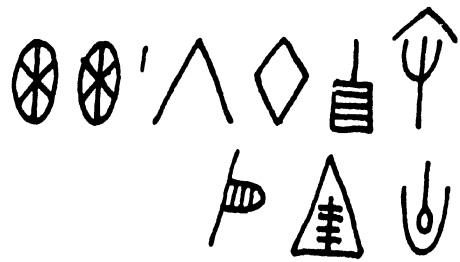


[25]

oriḍa eṇ arūp vēlan kalakūrir, i.e. "the people of the united countries of Vēlan of the harvest counted on one side". Vēlan means "the one of the trident" and is even at present used as a name of Subrāhmanya in South India. Vēlan has always been the god of the Vēlāḷas for he holds the *vēl* after which they themselves are styled.[26]

Vēlan is brought forward in connection with the harvest. Did he preside over the harvest, or at least over its reaping? This harvest is said to be counted on one side. This passage is not easy to explain. The mention of one side seems to suggest the existence of another side or party, which had also to do the counting later on.

Once more Vēlan is spoken of in this inscription: —



[27]

The first line of this inscription, contrary to the usage, reads from left to right and the second from right to left. Very likely, the first line of the inscription is missing. Its reading is as follows: (two verses): —

Īruyarelir/pag il cuṇ/i
Vēlanavan ven/kō nil/a

25 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 397.

26 The name of this caste is usually written as *Velāḷa*. Yet some times it is also spelt as *Vēlāḷa*. This seems to be the original spelling considering the meaning of the word and the signs used by the Mohenjo Daro writers.

27 Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk. 10551.

which means: "the moon (is) over the white mountain of he of Vēlan of the *liṅga* of the divided house of the two high suns".

The inscription states that the moon is over the white mountain of he of Vēlan. The latter being a son of Śiva in the historic period, he should also be a son of Āṇ in the proto-historic period. Now Āṇ has only one son, styled Āṇil,  literally meaning 'the son of Āṇ'. This therefore is not his proper name. It is only a filial designation. Vēlan is not properly his name either. His real name is Murugan, the ancient Dravidian name of Subrāhmanya found in one of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro, which reads as follows: —

[28]

The first sign of this inscription is a compound sign. Its elements are: —

 *mū*, "three"

 *ru*, "noise"[29]

 determinative of personality corresponding to the termination. "*-an*"

Therefore this sign will read: *muru. .an*, and finally *Murugan*. The epigraph therefore reads: *Murugan adu*, "that (is) *Murugan*".

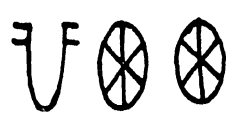
Now returning to the original inscription, we may safely state that he of Vēlan (or Murugan) is Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva. Quite properly the White Mountain, one of the Middle Mountains men-

28 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5890.

29 Cf. Heras, 'Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro', *op. cit.*, p. 4.

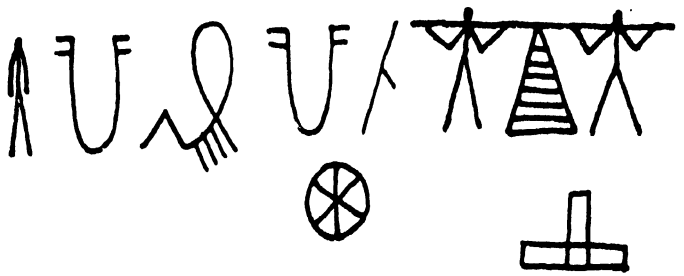
tioned above, is said to belong to Āṇ, for Śiva is supposed to have his dwelling in Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas.

The *liṅga* is said to belong to Āṇ, which is in accordance with later developments, though this cult is connected with a house divided on account of the rites of the two suns. These two suns are also mentioned in other inscriptions. For instance,


[30]

uyarelir adu, i.e. "those (are) the high suns". It is therefore evident that there was a sect who worshipped two suns instead of one. At the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say how this sect originated, but it seems to have been the cause of division of a house or family, as the inscription avers. Perhaps this expression refers to an event similar to the revolution caused in Mināḍ by the introduction of the cult of the *liṅga*.[31]

Very likely, the following inscription also refers to the division of the royal house on account of this strange practice of sun worship.


[32]

Kōporutir tirtadu karumukil adu Āṇ uyarel ūril, i.e. "In the city of the high sun of the Lord of the rain clouds, the carriers of domi-

30 *A.S., of I., Report*, 1929-30, pl. XXVIII, No. 11466 (H). Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 490.

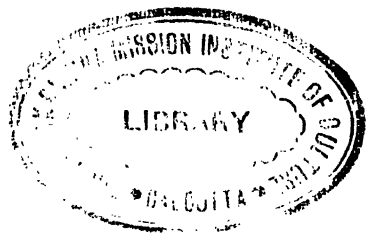
31 Cf. Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People', *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16. These two suns may correspond to the two Egyptian forms of the sun, the Gods Khepera and Tun, or morning and evening sun.

32 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7221.

nation have finished (perished)". The inscription evidently refers to a change of dynasty in the city of the high sun. Notice that God is called the Lord of the rain clouds, which title discloses some sort of association between this city and the Vēlāḷas, "the rulers of the clouds".

These few inscriptions suffice to disclose the importance of the Vēlāḷas in the proto-historic period of India. Moreover, they give us some data to settle the original *habitat* of these people in North India before they were driven towards the south. Finally they show how ancient is the association of God (Āṇ, Śiva) with the Himālayas.

H Heras



Candra-Gomin

Of the very few early important writers who can be claimed for Bengal with great probability, it is fortunate that we possess some account, from Tibetan and other sources, of Candra-gomin, who is recognised as the founder of the Cāndra school of Sanskrit Grammar, and who enjoyed great reputation in the Buddhist world not only as a grammarian but also as a poet, philosopher and Tantric devotee. In his *Vākyapadīya* (ii. 489-90) Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryakṣa as grammarians who went before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods contributed not a little to the neglect of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. As this observation accords well with Kahlaṇa's account of the fate of the *Mahābhāṣya*,[1] as well as with the curious legend recorded in a late Tibetan work[2] of the censure of Patañjali's work by Candra-gomin, it has been assumed that this Candrācārya is no other than our Candra-gomin.[3] B. Liebich who has recovered and edited the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*[4] (Sūtra, Uṇādi

1 It is noteworthy that Kahlaṇa also refers (i. 176) to Candrācārya and his grammar and to his *reviving* the study of the *Mahābhāṣya;* but he places Candrācārya in Kashmir under Abhimanyu (*cir.* third century A.D.). On this passage see F. Kielhorn, *IA*, iv, 1875, pp. 107-8; B. Liebich, *Kṣīra-taraṅgiṇī* (Breslau 1913) pp. 270-72.

2 Sumpā Mkhan-po, *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, ed. Śarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1908, pt. 1, pp. 95-6. The story is reproduced in S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Hist. of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1921), pp. 334-35

3 H. P. Shastri (*Descriptive Cat. of Sansk. Mss. in the ASB., vi, Vyākaraṇa*, Preface, p. l.) does not accept this identification.

4 Edited from Sanskrit Mss., as well as from the Tibetan version, with full indices, Leipzig 1902. The *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, as well as the *Liṅgānuśāsana*, which is quoted by Puruṣottama-deva in his *Varṇa-deśanā* (Eggeling, *India Office Mss Catalogue*, ii, no. 1039/1475a, p. 295), Ujjvaladatta (ed. Aufrecht, iv. 1), Sarvānanda (on ii. 6. 62) and Rāyamukuṭa on Amara (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1883-84*, p. 468), is missing. But the Cāndra *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, as well as a *Upasarga-vṛtti*, exists in Tibetan. A short *Varṇa-vṛtti* by Candra-gomin is published by S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Bombay-Poona 1915), p. 117 (Appendix i); Cf. *JASB*, 1908, pp. 549f. A Pārāyaṇa by Candra is quoted by Kṣīra-svāmin in his *Ksira*

and Dhātu-pāṭha), as well as its *Vṛtti*,[5] is of opinion[6] that Candra wrote both the text and the commentary and that he flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The work is probably earlier than the Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana, for this commentary on Pāṇini appropriates without acknowledgment the thirty-five original Sūtras of Candra's grammar which had no parallel in Pāṇini,[7] but which Kayyaṭa distinctly repudiates as un-Pāṇinian.

taraṅgiṇi (ed. Liebich, x. 82). Liebich has given a bibliography of *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* and its accessory literature in *Nachrichten der Göttingischer Gesellschaft*, 1895, pp. 272-321, summarised in *IA*, 1896, pp. 103-5.

5 Ed. B. Liebich, Leipzig 1918. In the colophon it is called the work of Dharmadāsa, but Liebich takes it as the name of the pupil who wrote down the master's words. Liebich has given a detailed study of the *Vṛtti* in his *Zur Einführung*, pt. iv (Analyse der Cāndra-vṛtti).

6 *WZKM*, xiii, 1899, pp. 308-15 and *Das Datum Candra-gomins und Kālidāsas* (Breslau 1903). The chief ground is that the sentence *ajayad gupto* (Ms. *jarto* or *japto*) *hūṇān* in the *Vṛtti* (i. 2. 81, p. 43) mentions the victory of the Gupta over the Hūṇas as an illustration of the use of the Perfect to describe an event in the life-time of the author. The identity of Jarta or Japta, as given by manuscript-evidence, is, however, not clear; and the conjecture that it is a mislection for Gupta is problematic. A. B. Keith appears to think (*Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford 1924, p. 168) that Jarta refers to a Jāṭ prince! Belvalkar (*op. cit.*, p. 58), however, approximates Liebich's dating further to 470 A.D., assuming that the victory over the Hūṇas refers to their defeat by Skandagupta. S. Lévi (*BEFEO*, iii, 1903, pp. 38f), relying on the mention by Yi-tsing (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. 164, 183) of a great man named Candra Kouan (=official) or Candradāsa, who lived, like a Bodhisattva, in his time in Eastern India and composed a musical play about Viśvāntara, would identify this Candra with Candra-gomin. This identification would place Candra-gomin sometime before Yi-tsing, although it must be admitted that the reference is not free from doubt. Minayeff, on the other hand, believes (Liebich, *Pāṇini*, Leipzig 1891, p. 11) that Candra-gomin lived as early as the beginning of the 5th century. N. Peri (*Extrait du BEFEO*, 1911, p. 50, note 2) places Candra-gomin in the beginning of the first half of the 7th century while S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that the Tibetan source (Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 146), in making Candra a contemporary of Śīla, son of Harṣavardhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. But this late date would bring the Cāndra-grammar too near the accepted date of the *Kāśikā*, which makes use of the Candra-grammar. For a recent re-discussion of the whole question see Liebich, *Kṣira-taraṅgiṇi*, pp. 264f.

7 Shown first by Kielhorn in *IA*, 1886, pp. 183-85; see Liebich, *Konkordanz Pāṇini-Candra*, Breslau 1928.

All accounts agree that Candra-gomin was a Buddhist; and this is supported not only by his honorific Buddhistic title Gomin, but also by the Maṅgala-śloka of the Vṛtti which pays homage to Sarvajña. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candra-gomin from the philosopher Candra-gomin, who wrote a work on Logic, entitled *Nyāya-siddhyāloka,*[8] as well as from the Tantric writer of the same name to whom thirty-six miscellaneous esoteric texts are ascribed in the *Bstan-hgyur.*[9] According to this account[10] he belonged to a Kṣatriya family in Varendra,[11] resided for some time at Candradvīpa[12] and met the Mādhyamika commentator Candra-

8 S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

9 He is called Ācārya, Mahācārya or Mahāpaṇḍita. The texts include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśri and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tantric Abhicāra as well as a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as Jvararakṣā-vidhi, Kuṣṭha-cikitsopāya, etc.). For the texts see P. Cordier in the work cited below, pp. 11, 124, 267, 301, 302, 303, 304, 321, 331, 335, 355, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363.

10 Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus,* übersetzt A. Schiefner (St. Petersberg 1869), pp. 148-58 and Sumpā Mkhan-po, *loc. cit.* But S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) would distinguish the logician Candra-gomin from the grammarian of the same name, assign a much later date to the former, and credit the latter with some of the Tantric Stotras, although in his *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1909) pp. 121-23, he does not draw any such distinction. Tāranātha has much that is legendary to relate of Candra-gomin and ascribes to him a large number of hymns and learned works.

11 Tāranātha (*op. cit.*, p. 148): 'born in Varendra in the east'; P. Cordier (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibl. Nationale,* Pt. II, p. 302): 'inhabitant of Barendi in Eastern India'; Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xci, 95, 139: 'born in Varendra in Baṅgala'. S. K. Chatterji believes that the surname *gomin* corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen *gūi.* A. A. Macdonell (*IA,* 1903, p. 376) thinks that Kashmir was Candra-gomin's native place, but this is perhaps due to a misapprehension of Kahlaṇa's reference.

12 According to Sumpā Mkhan-po, Candra-gomin settled in Candradvīpa after his exile from Varendra. In a work of Candra-gomin in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, p. 362) he is expressly called Dvaipa. This place has been identified by Sarat Chandra Das and H. P. Shastri with Candradvīpa in Backergunje, while S. C. Vidyabhusan and H. P. Shastri would place it generany in the district of Barisal; but P. C. Bagchi (introd. to *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya,* Calcutta 1934, pp. 29-34) is in-

kirti at Nālandā,[13] where he became a pupil of Sthiramati. Apart from the Tantric Vajra-yāna Sādhanās mentioned above, Candra-gomin is credited with some Sanskrit Stotras on Tārā and Mañju-śrī,[14] a drama called *Lokānanda*[15] and an elegant but insipid religious Kāvya entitled *Śiṣya-lekha-dharma*[16] in the form of a letter to a pupil. None of these works, if they really belong to the

clined to think that Candradvīpa signifies the entire coast-line, but if it is taken to refer to a particular locality, he would identify it with the island of Sandwip in the district of Noakhali. There is no philological difficulty in deriving the word Sandwip from Candradvīpa. See also *IC*, ii, pp. 150 f. where identification with Baklā Candradvīpa in Backergunje is advocated. It is tempting to suggest that the island, connected with the semi-historical Matsyendranātha and Buddhist Tantric cults, is probably mythical, but its actual location in eastern Bengal appears to be borne out by its mention as the seat of the Candras in the Rāmpal Copper-plate of Śrīcandra (*EI*, xii, pp. 136-142; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 2, 3, 7). Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in *IC*, i, p. 724.

13 Tāranātha (p. 155) tells us that Candra's grammar superseded Candrakirti's *Samantabhadra*, a grammar composed in Ślokas, and made it disappear.

14 The Tārā cult, to which Yuan Chwang refers, must have been prevalent in the 6th century (see G. de Blonay, *Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Bouddhique Tārā*, Paris 1895, pp. 3, 5, 17 f). Hirananda Shastri, 'Origin and Cult of Tārā' in *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1925, thinks that the deity does not date further back than the 5th century. On Candra-gomin's *Āryā-tārā-antarvali-vidhi*, see S. C. Vidyabhushan, Introd. to (Sarvajñamitra's) Sragdharā-stotra in *Bauddha-stotra-saṃgraha* (Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1908), pp. xx f.

15 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Litteratur*, iii, pp. 183, 399; A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 168. The drama is known only in the Tibetan version in *Bstan-hgyur*. It is a Buddhist work dramatising the story of a certain Maṇicūḍa who handed over his wife and children to a Brahmin as an act of supreme generosity. The author of this drama cannot be the same as the dramatist Candaka or Candraka who is placed by Kahlaṇa under Tuñjina of Kashmir and who is quoted in the Anthologies.

16 Ed. I. P. Minayeff in *Zapiski*, iv, pp. 29-52, with the Tibetan text added by A. Ivanowski. It is said to have been written to a prince named Ratnakirti in order to persuade him to forsake the world. The Sanskrit text has 114 verses in different metres, whose chief theme is the misery of existence, written in the artificial kāvya-style. It contains a verse which is ascribed to Candra-gomin in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (no. 3368): but the verse is missing in the Tibetan version. This verse is attributed to Candra by Yi-tsing. See H. Wenzel in *JRAS*. 1889, pp. 1133f.

grammarian Candra-gomin, is of much consequence. The *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa,* however, is a much more remarkable work, which had currency at one time in Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. Although there is no material divergence nor anything original (excepting the thirty-five rules mentioned above), it is not a mere copy but an attempt at a recast and improvement upon the rules of Pāṇini. As against the eight chapters of Pāṇini, it has six chapters of four sections each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being distributed over the whole book. The Sūtras being derived from Pāṇini, the work is in no sense un-Pāṇinian except in the fact that it re-arranges the rules, occassionally simplifies their wording, reduces and modifies the Pratyāhāras, makes some changes in the terminology, distributes the Saṅjās and altogether omits, as Buddhist writers do, the Vedic rules.[17] Its want of any striking originality or independence, however, must have proved fatal, and the system almost disappeared in the later history of Sanskrit grammar.

S. K. De

17 In the matter of the *Dhātu-pāṭha,* Candra agrees pretty closely with Pāṇini, classifying the roots similarly into ten groups; but within the classes he groups them according to the voices of verbs. Liebich points out the interesting fact that the *Dhātu-pāṭha* of the *Kātantra* is in reality that of the Candra system as modified by Durgasiṃha, the genuine *Kātantra Dhātu-pāṭha* being preserved only in Tibetan and lost in Sanskrit. The Uṇādi words are disposed of in three books by Candra independently of Pāṇini, the suffixes being arranged according to their final letter, and the words being sometimes derived in a different way.

Vyādi and Vājapyāyana

Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana were two grammarians older than Kātyayana, as shown by his reference to them in his *Vārttika*.[1] The former was the author of an extensive work called *Saṁgraha*, no longer extant,[2] which Patañjali mentions, and on which, as attested by long-established tradition, he based his 'great commentary' on Pāṇini. These two grammarians seem to have differed from each other in their views respecting certain important details. One of the differences was in regard to the import of words and is fairly well known. In fact, it is in pointing out this divergence that Kātyāyana mentions both of them. Many writers on Sanskrit grammar since have referred to this difference;[3] and it has also been noticed in modern works on the subject.[4] It is proposed here to refer to a second point of divergence between them which does not appear to be so well known now. But since it relates to the import of propositions or, more strictly, sentences, it is necessary to start by restating briefly the nature of the first difference, which concerns the meanings of words.

Students of modern Logic are familiar with the question as to whether terms are to be understood in extension or in intension. A

1 See *Vārttikas* 35 & 45 on Pāṇini, I, ii. 64. (Keilhorn's edition of the *Mahābhāṣya*, pp. 242, 244). For some interesting remarks on the probable date of Vyāḍi, see Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, pp. 209-11.

2 See Puṇyarāja's com. on *Vākya-padiya*, ii. 484. From the way in which he introduces stanzas 267 & 268 of the second *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākya-padiya*, one would conclude that they are taken from this work of Vyāḍi.

3 Cf. Helārāja on *Vākya-padiya*, iii. 2, Puṇyarāja on *Ib.*, ii. 155 and *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, ch. xiii.

4 For example, in the *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 185.

controversy of a very much allied character, *viz.*, whether words mean a *dravya* or *jāti* occupies an important place in ancient Indian works.[5] According to Vyāḍi, they signify *dravyas*, while according to Vājapyāyana they, including proper names, signify *jātis*.[6] It should, however, be carefully remembered that neither view excludes from the complete significance of words either of these two aspects of things. The question, as Patañjali points out,[7] is only which of the two aspects should bear more emphasis and which less. Those who maintain that the meaning is *dravya* imply that it is the primary sense of the word and that *jāti* is the subsidiary. Similarly those who hold that the meaning is *jāti* imply that that is the primary sense and that *dravya* is the subsidiary. By *jāti* is to be understood an essential quality which is common to two or more things. We may take it as equivalent to what is called a 'universal' in English. Some hold that this quality is only an abstraction, others regard it as objectively real; but this is a distinction which is not of consequence for us now. According to Vājapyāyana then, a word primarily stands for an attribute or *viśeṣaṇa*. The precise conception of *dravya*, which is the import of a word according to Vyāḍi, is more difficult to determine. But we shall, for the moment, take it in the sense in which it is commonly taken, viz. a *vyakti* or a particular instance of a class, say, a cow called Khaṇḍa or Śābaleya. That is, a word stands for the *viśeṣya* here and not for the *viśeṣaṇa* as in the previous view.[8]

5 Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, II. ii. 55-66 and *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, I. iii. 30-6.

6 According to Pāṇini, the meaning may be either the one or the other. See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol i, p. 6: *Kim punarākṛtiḥ padārthaḥ, āhosvit dravyam? Ubhayamityāha.*

7 Vol. i, p. 246: *Na hyākṛti-padārthikasya dravyam na padārthaḥ, dravya-padārthikasya vākṛtir na padārthaḥ. Ubhayor ubhayam padārthaḥ. Kasyacit tu kiṁcit pradhāna-bhūtam kiṁcit guṇa-bhūtam. Ākṛti-padārthikasyākṛtiḥ pradhāna-bhūtā dravyam guṇa-bhūtam; dravya-padārthikasya dravyam pradhāna-bhūtamākṛtirguṇa-bhūtā.* Cf. Śabara on *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, I. iii. 33.

8 See Helārāja's com. on *Vākya-padiya*, III. ii. I.

It is natural to expect, from this divergence in their views about the meaning of words, that Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana differed in their views regarding the import of sentences also; and this is what Helārāja avers in the beginning of his commentary on the third chapter of the *Vākya-padīya*.[9] The former, he says, took *bheda* as the import, while the latter took it as *saṁsarga*.[10] It should be observed that, as in the case of the meanings of words, neither thinker leaves out the other aspect of the import entirely in interpreting a sentence; only, in the view that holds *bheda* to be the import, *saṁsarga* is regarded as implicit in the sentence; and the reverse is taken to be true in the other view.[11] Now the use of the terms *bheda* and *saṁsarga* for the meaning of propositions is not at all uncommon in Indian philosophical literature. According to the interpretation ordinarily given of these terms in Advaitic works,[12] both refer to relations among the things signified by the various terms constituting a proposition; but they are applicable to different types of it. The first applies to propositions like *daṇḍena gām naya*, which present to the mind a manifold of inter-related things—the things being those that are denoted by the constituent words. The second applies to co-ordinate propositions[13] like *nīlam utpalam*

9 See com. on iii. 5 (Benares edition, p. 11). From the manner in which Helārāja speaks, in more than one place, of this *kāṇḍa*, it is to be regarded not as a portion of the *Vākya-padiya*, but as an Appendix to it. See pp. 54, 73, 76 of the Trivandrum edition of it.

10 We should note that this discussion has reference entirely to empirical usage. The ultimate import of a sentence according to Vaiyākaraṇas, including presumably Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, is what is called *pratibhā*. Cf. Puṇyarāja on *Vākya-padiya*, ii. 422 and Helārāja on iii. 5. (pp. 10-11).

11 See Kaiyaṭa's *Pradipa* on II. i. 1, *Vārttika* 2. (Benares edn. vol. ii, p. 13): *Tatra bhedaḥ saṁsargāvinābhāvitvāt anumiyamāna-saṁsargaḥ sāmarthyam, saṁsarge vā bhedāvinābhāvyanumeya-bhedaḥ.*

12 Cf. Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on *Bṛ. Up.* p. 246, St. 902, *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* iii. 26 (Bombay Sanskrit Series) and *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, p. 32 (Gackwad Oriental Series).

13 Cf. com. on *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, iii. 3: *Abhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa* and not *bhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa* as in the previous case.

which present to the mind a single thing, of which the qualifying features are indicated by the constituent words. The import here is thus an identity in difference. In the former case, the words not only retain the diversity of their meaning but also point to different objects; in the latter, the words, though they do not lose that diversity, point only to one object.

Now this interpretation will hardly hold in the present case[14] for, since it assumes that *bheda* and *saṃsarga* have reference to two distinct classes of sentences, they cannot form the basis for a difference of view between two thinkers. It is clear that, if it should constitute the basis of such a difference, each view must refer to *all* sentences or at least to *one and the same type* of them; and this is exactly what we find stated by Helārāja in the passage referred to above.[15] According to him, the import of a sentence is *bheda* in Vyāḍi's view and *saṁsarga* in Vājapyāyana's view. As explained there, *bheda* should be understood as equivalent to 'exclusion' or 'dissociation' and *saṁsarga* to 'inclusion' or 'association'. Now in Vyāḍi's view, as we know, the meaning of a word is *dravya,* and its main function is to distinguish the thing it means from all similar things. Thus a 'cow' means here not so much what is characterised by 'cowness' as what is distinguished from a 'horse' (say). When words with such function combine to form a sentence, they come to signify a thing not as possessing certain attributes but rather as excluding some. In Vājapyāyana's view, on the other hand, words signify qualities; and when such words combine to form a sentence, the import becomes inclusion or a combination of the qualities which they respectively connote.

14 Attention may, in this connection, be drawn to the present writer's note on the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi,* iii. 2. (p. 255).

15 See Note 9. *Tatra Vyāḍi-mate bhedo vākyārthaḥ, padavācyānām dravyāṇām dravyāntara-nivṛtti-tātparyeṇa abhidheyatvāt. Jāti-vādino Vājapyāyanasya tu mate saṁsargo vākyārthaḥ, sāmānyānām saṁśleṣa-mātra-rūpatvāt vākyārthasya.*

We get a clearer explanation of the same in Pārthasārathi Miśra's commentary on the last section of the *Śloka-vārttika*,[16] which treats of the import of sentences. In discussing this topic, Kumārila introduces the terms *bheda* and *saṁsarga* as representing two of the views held in regard to it; and Pārthasārathi's explanation there may be translated as follows: "(In the sentence *gauḥ śuklaḥ*), according to those who hold that a word points to the universal, the first word connotes 'cowness' merely; and the second, which is syntactically related to it, signifies its association with the quality of 'whiteness'. Hence the import of the sentence is (stated to be) 'inclusion'. And as that (i.e. *saṁsarga*) is one, the words constitute a syntactical unity. According to those, on the other hand, who hold that a word points to the particular, since the first word itself denotes cows of all colours, viz. white, black and so forth, there will be tautology if the second word, although it does not cease to indicate the connection (of the cow) with 'whiteness',[17] is understood as *intended* to signify it. It should accordingly be explained as negatively qualifying the cow in question or as denying all other colours of it. Hence, alternatively, the import of the sentence is (stated to be)) 'exclusion'."[18] One of the points to be noted here

16 See p. 854 (Benares edition). Kumārila refers to them here for the purpose of refutation.

17 So the aspect of 'inclusion' is not left out. Analogously we may say, as indeed Pārthasārathi himself adds immediately after the passage translated above, that in the first view, 'exclusion' is implicit, the reason being that a sentence (e.g. *Gauḥ śuklaḥ āniyatām*), when taken in its practical context, must necessarily refer to an *individual* as in the second view. See Note 11.

18 Patañjali also explains these two terms under II. i. 1 (p. 364); but, since he is there considering the meaning of compound words and derivatives and not of sentences the explanantion is not directly useful for us here. But the principle underlying it is the same. The example *gauḥ śuklaḥ* selected by Pārthasārathi to illustrate both the views may suggest that they apply only to co-ordinate or appositional propositions; but the one, chosen by Patañjali, viz. *rāja-puruṣaḥ* shows that it need not be so.

specially is the meaning of *dravya*. We tentatively took it as equivalent to a particular instance of a class. From the above explanation, it is clear that it stands really for a class; only it means not *all* cows but *any* cow. In the above sentence, the first word denotes the whole class of cows; and the second, the whole class of white things. But when the two are taken as syntactically one they, by mutual restriction, signify neither any cow nor any thing that is white, but any white cow. These explanations of *bheda* and *saṁsarga* correspond to what in modern Logic are described as the class and the attributive views.

It will be seen that these meanings of *bheda* and *saṁsarga* especially of the former, are entirely different from those assigned to them above on the authority of certain Advaitic works. It is difficult to say how the same words came to be interpreted thus differently. We know that there were several views held by Indian thinkers in regard to the import of propositions, as in the case of so many other problems; and the interpretation in question probably goes back to a view different from those alluded to by the Vaiyākaraṇas and the Mīmāṁsakas.

M. HIRIYANNA

From the Great Goddess to Kāla

The Sanskrit dictionaries distinguish *kāla* thus:

1 *kāla,* dark blue, black,

2 *kāla,* time, fate, death, god of death.

Kāla is also an epithet of Śiva, and Kālī is a form of Durgā. The first problem is to know whether Kāla means the Black god only and Kālī the Black goddess, or if those names allude to Time also, the destroyer of everything. This question is but one aspect of a more general problem: are *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, fate' two distinct words, or are there two different senses for the same word?

This is a very important problem for the history of Indian thought. Several authors have supposed[1] that Skt. *kāla* has been borrowed from the Dravidian *kār* 'black', and this origin is a likely one. If 'black, time, fate, death, etc.' were different senses of the same word, it would be necessary to ascribe a non-Aryan origin to an essential element of the religious and philosophical vocabulary.

In a recent article *The name Kalki* (*n*), published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin,* vol. I, part I, p. 21, n. 1, Prof. F. Otto Schrader has clearly adopted a position:

"There is in Pāli, by the side of the Sanskritic *kāla* 'time', a non-Aryan word for 'black', viz., *kāḷa*. But neither this nor Sanskrit *kāla* 'black' can have a common origin with Sanskrit *kāla* 'time', because the latter word was originally (in *Ṛgveda* X, 42, v. 9 and the older Brāhmaṇa literature) used only in the sense of a definite or recurrent time (like Vedic *ṛtu*) and but later employed in the abstract sense and that of the great Destroyer which led to its association with *kāla* 'black' ".

This reasoning is not very convincing. *Kāla* 'time' is a late comer in Vedic literature. Because it has a definite meaning in certain religious texts, one cannot assert that it may not have been given a wider sense in the spoken language. It is in the Brāhmaṇas

1 See C. Regamey, 'Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la Civilisation et les langues de l'Inde', *BEFEO.*, 1935, index, s.v. *kāla*.

only that *kāla* is used, regularly enough, in the sense of *ṛtu*. It appears only once in later *Ṛv*. But in *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 53 and 54, it means already Time, the power of which is connected with Fate and the order of the world.

"Kāla generated yonder sky, Kāla also these earths; what is and what is to be stands out sent forth by Kāla.

.....all worlds by the *bráhman* having conquered, this Kāla goes on as highest god." *AV*., XIX, 53, 5 and 54 in fine.

'Black' and 'time, fate' are not the only senses of *kāla*. The *Divyāvadāna*, p. 617, reads thus: tadyathā vastram apagatakālakaṃ rajanopagataṃ raṅgodake prakṣiptaṃ samyag eva pratigṛhṇiyāt evam eva prakṛtir bhikṣuṇi tasminn evāsane niṣaṇṇā caturāryasatyāny abhisamayati sma.....[2]

A similar formula is found again in *Dīgh. Nik*. (I, p. 110): seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagatakāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭiganheyya, evam eva brāhmaṇassa Pokkharasādissa tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi.....

The latter quotation has been translated by T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 135) in the following way:

"And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Pokkharasādi, the Brāhmaṇa, obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth....."

Pāli *kāḷaka* and Skt. *kālaka* mean not only 'black', but also 'stained (adj.), a stain (nt.)' and the extracts that we have just quoted link evidently together the notions of physical and of moral stain, of dirt and of sin. The opposition of the two colours white and black is doubled by the contrast: pure and impure.

One may probably connect with the same root Skt. *kalka* 'foulness, baseness, guile, sin', and *kaluṣa* 'dirty, impure, turbid; dirt, impurity.' If the origin of those words was an Aryan one, we could not without some difficulty connect *kalka* with *kāla;* but the moment one admits as the origin of those words a non-Aryan root *kăl*, every obstacle disappears: the quantity of the vowels, we know, can vary in borrowed words.

2 Plato makes a similar comparison in *The Republic*, IV, 429 d, e.

'Dirty, guile, sin' suggest 'unlucky'. *Kali* is a die or the side of a die marked with one dot, and looked upon as inauspicious; by extension *kali* means the fourth and worst age of the world and *Kalki* (*n*) is the name of a mythical personage who is to appear during the Kali age. It seems impossible not to bring back all those words to the same root. Kalki (n), by its formation, can be compared to *kalka*. But other ideas have intervened in the formation of this derivative.

Marc Collins has connected with the moon the Skt. words *kāla, kalā, kalpa* and he has explained the sense of *kāla* 'dark, black, god of death' in connexion with the Dravidian name of the new moon.[3] The same semantical relation can be observed in different Indochinese and Indonesian tongues. In Cham, *klam* means 'evening, night, darkness' and refers particularly to the nights of the second half of the moon. One can compare to the Cham word: Bahnar *klam*, Dayak *kalam*, Malay *kelam*. Without entering into a discussion here about the problem of the relations between the Dravidian and the Austric languages, let it suffice to observe that a root *kăl*, meaning 'black, obscure' may have been used to describe the dark fortnight of the lunar month and, by extension, the ultimate age of the world, that which leads to destruction and to death. This gives us new reason to connect with *kāl* 'dark, black', not only *kali* 'the fourth and worst age of the world' but *kāla* understood as Time, the destroyer and the god of Death.

In short, we find in India a dualistic system where two series of notions oppose each other:

white	pure	auspicious	bright	fortnight	propitious god
black	impure	inauspicious	dark	fortnight	terrible god and especially the God of Death.

3 'On the Octaval System of Reckoning in India', *Dravidic Studies*, n. 4, 1926.

If the root *kāl* meant all that is black and terrible, it may have served to describe the other terms belonging to the same series. The applications of such a principle in the religious domain are wider than is believed generally.

In the *Aśokāvadāna,* the nāgarāja Kālika is evoked by king Aśoka during his pilgrimage to the holy places. The texts say that the king of the nāga went to Śākyamuni as he sat by the Bodhi-tree and began to praise him.[4] In the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the same dragon appears before Aśoka, who subdues it and loads it with chains; it is called "Mahākāla, king of the nāgas, the power of which is marvellous, who has seen four Buddhas and lived throughout a kalpa."[5] Here we have a Buddhist personification of Kāla, Time, in the shape of a nāga. Unlike that of Zrvan akarana, its reign does not last for ever; but the length of it is that of a *kalpa.*

One could trace in Hinduism and even in Indonesia the mythical figure of Kāla personified in the shape of a serpent. It will suffice to note here that in Iran the monstrous and fiendish serpent which is put to death at the end of world can also be found. According to the *Bundahisn,* the fight against the evil powers ends by the destruction of both Druj: Aŋgra Mainyu and the Serpent (Až, that is to say Ažī- Dahāk). Chained by the means of the girdle-formula (afsāriha) the serpent is finally burnt to death in the melted metal.[6]

In parallel with the traditions which show *Kāla* in the shape of the serpent, other beliefs associated him with the horse, either because the horse is his *vāhana* or because he appears like a horse himself.

In the first *Kālasūkta* of the *AV.,* "Time drives (*vah*) a horse with seven reins, thousand eyes, unaging, possessing much speed;

4 *Divyāv.,* p. 392. Cf. J. Przyluski, *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka,* pp. 113, 114, 255.

5 Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa,* V, 87-92. In another part of the *Mahāv.,* chap. 31, v. 17 ff. Kālanāga seems to enjoy sovereignty over all the *nāgas.*

6 Analysis and critical study of the sources in Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran,* p. 218.

him the inspired poets mount; his wheels are all beings" (*AV.*, XIX, 53, 1). In the following verse, it appears that Kāla "includes all those beings",[7] so it is difficult indeed to distinguish the god, the wheels and the horse.

In later literature and iconography, Kalki is pictured as a horse, as a god with a horse's head or as a god riding on a horse.[8]

According to the Jainas, wicked kings named Kalkin and Upakalkin appear periodically during the periods of decline (*duḥsamā*): every 1,000 years comes a Kalkin, every 500 years an Upakalkin.[9] Here *Kalkin* means probably 'wicked, unlucky', that is to say, it has the same value as Skt. *khala* 'wicked person, rogue'. We know that in borrowed words, *k* and *kh* can alternate.[10] By their periodicity the Kalkin and Upakalkin of Jainism are evidently in relation to Kali and to the theory of the ages of the world.

In the Putāṇa, Kalki or Kalkin is an independent personage no more: he is absorbed in Viṣṇu, an *avatāra* of whom he becomes. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, four avatāras of Viṣṇu, named Kapila, Cakravartin, Vyāsa and Kalki succeed one another periodically during the successive *yugas*. In the *Kalkipurāṇa*, Kalki has become Viṣṇu's tenth avatāra and his legend has been partly modelled upon Kṛṣṇa's.[11] But before he has become a kind of Messiah and is identified with Viṣṇu, Kalki has probably had something to do with the destruction of the world; ever since the origin he is probably one of the forms of god of Death and of Time which destroys everything. And in the later forms of his legend, even, he remains connected with the Kali age and with the end of the world.[12]

7 This extract is discussed in Lanman-Whitney's *Atharva-Veda*, VIII, p. 987.

8 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 47 and plates.

9 Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, p. 140; Bhide., 'Is Kalkirāja a historical personage?' *IA.*, 48, 1919, pp. 123 ff.

10 Note that in Cham, *khal* means 'mischievous, wicked, pernicious, fatal'; *khalam* 'illness'.

11 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 140, n. 5, 137, 39 ff.

12 Otto Schrader tries (*ibid.*, pp. 23 ff.) to explain Kalkin by *karka* 'white'

In short, a non-Aryan root attested in Dravidian has been borrowed by Indo-Aryan under different forms: *kāl-, kal-, khal-, kāḷ-*, and this diversity in sounds added to the convergency of the senses is explained by the non-Aryan origin of this root. Between *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, destiny', then, a series of intermediates can be exposed, which form an uninterrupted chain: *kālaka, kalka, kaluṣa, kali, kalki,* so that one passes gradually from a concrete 'dark blue, black' to abstract and general notions 'time, fate, death.'

The question remains to be answered why a non-Aryan root, probably borrowed from the Dravidian, has attained such an importance in the religious vocabulary.

In the first section of the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata,* Sañjaya says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra: "Time createth all things and Time destroyeth all creatures". Elsewhere I have indicated that the double figure Kāla and Kāli is similar to the couple Jara and Jarā and that these doubles, like the hermaphroditis Zrvan, are closely connected with a myth more ancient, I mean, than that of the Great Mother, goddess of reproduction and of death, all-powerful as Destiny.[13] The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have proved that the Great Goddess was adored in India long before the Aryan conquest. She appears in Vedic literature at first under the name of Aditi which shows some connexions with the Near East.[14]

Later on, this unique figure shows a tendency to appear in different shapes, under the influence of different cultural tides. In some societies and particularly among the non-Aryan populations, the Great Goddess was still worshipped in her feminine shape. Elsewhere, under the influence of the patriarchal institutions, a mas-

and 'white horse' and concludes: "Our inquiry, then, lands in the alternative: either both names, Kalki and Kalkin, have emerged through the Prākṛt from a now lost Sanskrit original Karkin, or the incapability of explaining the earlier name Kalki (of Aryan or Dravidian origin) has caused the formation of its etymologically transparent double."

13 *IHQ.*, X, 1934, p. 429. 14 See *ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

culine god takes her place. It seems likely that in the non-Aryan populations the Great Goddess, which orders destruction and generation, goddess of Death and of Desire, should at an early date have been given the shape of Kālī, the word being understood in its many acceptations: black, terrible, etc. On a parallel line with this, when a masculine god is seen to take the place of the goddess, Kāla is also worshipped, who is at the same time the Black, the Terrible and Time the destroyer.[15] But notwithstanding the difference in sex, Kālī and Kāla are equivalent figures and which continue that of the Great Goddess. Their identity arises from the comparison between the Buddhist texts. In the verse 12 of the *Catalogue of the Yakṣa* of the Mahāmāyūrī, the tutelar genius of Benares is Mahākāla whereas in the *Candragarbhasūtra*, 1, the patroness of the same city is Mahākālī.[16] Kāla and Kālī appear here as local divinities. But their relation to Aditi prepared them to play the part of universal gods. In the Kālasūkta of the *AV*. Kāla is already the highest god. In the school of the Kālavāda he remains still an independent god, Fate or Time. Elsewhere he disappears finally in the wake of another great god: among the Śaivas, Kāla has become an epithet of Śiva; in Vaiṣṇavism, Kalki has become an avatāra of Viṣṇu.

We must refrain from simplifying this evolution where the local worships, the non-Aryan influences and contributions from the Near-East have had a share. The ideas attached to Kali and to Kalki(n) are in relation to the theory of the four ages of the world and this theory seems to have spread from the Near-East over India and over Greece. It is up to a certain point under this influence, probably, that a moral dualism, founded upon the oppositions: white—black, bright—dark, pure—impure, etc. has developed in India.

Indian eschatology includes two distinct myths: (1) the myth

15 It is not unnecessary to note that in *AV*., XIX, the *Kālasūkta* comes immediately after the *Kāmasūkta*.

16 Cf. Lévi, 'Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa.' *JA*., 1915, I, p. 120.

of the awful god which presides over the destruction of the world (2) the myth of the god of salvation who guides the Just to the abode of Bliss. The fact that the former god has taken the shape of a black serpent whilst the latter has sometimes been conceived as a white horse[17] is in conformity with the principles of Indian dualism. In the most ancient texts where the name of Kalki(n) can be found, that is to say in Jaina literature, Kalki(n) is a nefarious being. This is why we have endeavoured to explain his name by the means of the non-Aryan root *kāl* 'black'[18] and why we cannot agree with Prof. O. Schrader's opinion that Kalki(n) must be brought back to *karka* 'white'. Besides, we have just seen that Indian eschatology is founded upon a theory of the ages of the world where the final period, which bears the name of Kali, possesses ever since the origin a clearly marked unlucky quality. It is at a late period only that the terrible god and the solar god, the Destroyer and the Saviour have both been absorbed by the universal god: in certain texts, Kalki and the Horse are still described as two distinct avatāras of the god Viṣṇu.[19]

JEAN PRZYLUSKI

17 Cf. Otto Schrader, *ibid.*, p. 23.

18 Abegg, *ibid.*, notes rightly that the records which picture Kalki as a destructive god with an animal shape come from the South of India, where the Dravidian element is predominant.

19 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 51.

I have already proposed in 1929 to bring back to the same non-Aryan root the series *kali, kāla, kalki,* and I have noted that in Santali *kal* means foe, poison, snake and in general everything that is dangerous and must be avoided (*RHR.*, Jul.-Aug. 1929, pp. 8-9); I gave these senses after Campbell's *Dictionary*. P. O. Bodding's *Santal Dictionary* (Oslo 1935) brings back Santali *kal* to Hindi *kāl*, and Prof. Otto Schrader writes: "Santal *kal* 'time, age' and 'fate, death', etc., (see Bodding's *Dictionary*) and also *kal* 'snake' (cf. Sanskrit *kāla-sarpa*) are evidently but loan-words from the Indo-Aryan of which there are so many in Santāli". (*The name Kalki(n)*, *ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1). Things are not so evident. It is possible that the Santāli language may have grown poorer in the interval between the compilation of Campbell's and Bodding's dictionaries, as the former gave a much wider sense to *kal*. Any affirmation would be unwise until the comparative study of the Muṇḍā tongues, founded upon lexicons that we do not yet possess, has thrown some light upon their relation to each other and to the Dravidian tongues.

Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess

Though the game of chess is generally supposed by scholars to be of Indian origin and reference to the game is found in various Indian works from a very early period, Sanskrit works dealing with and describing it are comparatively rare. As a matter of fact no early Indian work on the subject is known, and until very recently the world of scholars had knowledge of very few Indian descriptions of the game. It was only in 1936 that the text of an independent treatise (the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*) describing the game in detail was published for the first time. But no attempt seems to have yet been made to prepare a bibliography of similar other little known works still existing in manuscript in different parts of the country. This is, however, essential for a thorough, systematic and critical study of the extant literature on the subject for investigating the origin and development of the game which enjoys a world-wide popularity. As a contribution, therefore, to such a bibliography an account is given here of the mss. and printed editions of Sanskrit texts on the subject that have come to my notice.

Caturaṅgadīpikā[1] and the *Caturaṅgataraṅgiṇī*, a ms.[2] of which is reported to exist in Nepal, are the two known works which deal with the earlier form of Caturaṅga—the four-handed chess. The former is attributed in the only known ms. of it, dated 1701, Śaka era (1779 A.D.), to Mahāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāṇi who is supposed to have been identical with the famous Smṛti writer of that name who flourished in Bengal in the 15th century.

The question of authorship of a little-known work on a popular subject of which few mss. are available,, has, however, to be determined with the utmost caution in view of the fact that later works are not infrequently passed under the names of earlier and more famous people with the object of gaining recognition. As an instance

1 Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXI. 2 *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, p. iii.

in point we might mention the names of a number of apparently late ritualistic works like the *Dharmapūjāvidhi* attributed to Raghunandana, the well-known authority on Brahmanic rites in Bengal.

Besides, the work under discussion refers to and quotes from works associated with famous names like Vyāsa, Yama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Agastya, Gautama[3] not any of whose known works are found to have anything to do with Caturaṅga. Neither is there any tradition connecting any of them with the game in any way. This may appear to be rather curious and apparently raises a point of doubt with regard to the genuineness of the work.

A small work in seven verses dealing with double-handed chess for which great antiquity has been claimed is the *Buddhibalasaptaka.*[4] It has been assigned to the pre-Muhammadan period (10th —12th century) owing to the absence of any Perso-Arabic terms in it. But more positive evidence is required before any definite conclusion is arrived at in this respect, as the use of Sanskrit terms in the place of Perso-Arabic ones may be due to late coining.

Another small work which has the appearance of old age being supposed to be in the form of a discourse given by Kṛṣna to Rādhā is the *Buddhibala* or *Śatarañjakutūhala,* several mss. of which are found in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work complete in ten verses is being edited by the present writer in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, Calcutta.[5]

The work called *Śatarañjinī* which has been attributed to Kṛṣṇarāma and described by R. L. Mitra[6] is a bigger one, of which a

3 The term *Gurucaraṇa* by which the author apparently refers to his preceptor is curiously taken by the editor, Mr. M. Ghosh, as the personal name of an author who is supposed to have inserted certain prose passages in the work (Introduction to *Caturaṅgadīpikā,* p. xxxiv).

4 Published along with the *Vilāsamaṇimañjarī* for which see below.

5 The text accompanied by an anonymous commentary has already been published in the monthly organ of the Parishat (Vol. XX, pp. 297-304).

6 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Bikaner,* No. 1546.

portion seems to be preserved in a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal where the names of the work and the author are respectively given as *Caturaṅgaracanā* and Giridhara, son of Śaṅkara and grandson of Śiva, the astronomer. The last two lines of the work, as quoted by Mitra, constitute the second half of the sectional concluding verse[7] which occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each of the three sections found in the ms. of the Society. The work, which belongs to Buddhi-śāstra (fol. 2B, 3A, 4A) is stated to have been composed only for children (fol. 3A). The author refers to his father, uncle and grand-father as well as to his paternal home on the Godāvari.[8] The family appears to have been a learned one. Besides the present work Giridhara was the author of at least one more work, e.g., the *Gañjīphākhelana* on the game of cards, which has already been published in the Kāvyamālā (Vol. XIII, pp. 81-84). The *Muṇḍitaprahasana*[9] of Śiva Jyotirvid and the *Gotrapravaramañjarīsāroddhāra*[10] of Śaṅkara Daivajña, son of Śiva may very likely be respectively the works of his grand-father and father. It is not known if Śaṅkara Daivajña, author of the *Śāligrāmaparīkṣā*[11] is identical with the father of our author.

The *Caturaṅgavinoda* attributed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 177) to the prolific writer Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe (18th century) appears from the name to pertain to chess. The ms. referred to in

7 ज्योतिर्विच्छिवसूनुशङ्करसुतश्चक्रे ऽवलम्बक्रमाद्
यानं सत्तुरगस्य सद्गिरधरः सौख्यप्रदं श्रीमताम् ।
आलस्यापहरं विदां च जयदं तद् यो नरो जानते
स क्रीडन्निशं न यात्यपरसत्कार्यं मुदार्योऽपि सन् ॥ Fol. 4B.

8 गोदोसरतटनिकटे प्रकटं पुटभेदं च गोलाख्यम् ।
तत्रासीत् सुबुधस्तत्सूनू स्तो नृसिंहशिवौ ॥ Fol. 4A—B.

9 R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sans. mss. I.* 125; Peterson—*Report of operations in search of Sans. mss.*, 2, 83.

10 Peterson—*op. cit.*, 4, 246.

11 *Descr. Cat. Sans. mss. Ind. Office Library*—III. 1804.

the said work, however, is noticed by Bühler[12] in the section of kāvya without referring to the name of the author.

The *Vilāsamaṇimañjarī*, which in four chapters deals with one hundred problems of the game, is a very late work having been composed towards the end of the 18th or even the beginning of the 19th century during the time of Baji Rao II. The work, however, enjoyed a popularity not usually noticed in the case of Sanskrit works composed so late. We have clear indications of this popularity in the fact that quite a fair number of mss.—larger than those in the case of any other work on the subject—are known of it. Four mss. have been utilised by G. R. Kulkarni Haldikar who has edited the work with a Marathi translation.[13] There are two mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, both of which are incomplete containing chapters I and III with the two initial verses of chapter IV, accompanied all through by notes in Marathi. One ms. of apparently the same work was noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar.[14] Besides, it appears to have been translated, into English wholly or in part, as early as 1814.[15]

Reference may be made here to a few works no details of which are available and no mss. of which are known to have ever been described or noticed. Of these *Caturaṅgadīpikā* refers to the *Caturaṅgapaddhati* and the *Divyamālikā* or *Mālikā* while the anonymous commentary on the *Buddhibalasaptaka* mentions and quotes from the works of Lakṣmaṇa and others.

The *Viśvakoṣa* (Encyclopaedia Bengalensis) refers to three

12 *A Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. contained in the private Libraries of Gujrāt, Kaṭhiāvād, Kachch, Sind and Khāndeś*, II. 84.

13 School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1937.

14 *Report on the search for Sans. mss. in the Bombay Presy.* 1882-3, No. 408.

15 Trevengadacharya Shastree—Essays on chess, adapted to the European mode of play.....Translated from the original Sanskrit, Bombay, 1814. Referred to by Weber in *Monatsberichte der Königliche Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1873, p. 717.

works of this latter type on this subject, e.g., *Caturaṅga-kerali*, *Caturaṅgaprakāśa* and *Caturaṅgakrīḍana*. It is also stated there that one Triveṅgācārya Śāstrī who flourished in Southern India about 700 years ago was an expert in the game who imparted much valuable instruction on the subject.

Besides these, there are works which incidentally describe the game. Of these the description found in the *Tithi-tattva* of Raghunandana is best known.[16] It was first brought to the notice of scholars by Sir William Jones through an English translation published in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. II, 1799, pp. 159 ff.). It was translated into German by Weber.[17] H. P. Śāstri published the text with a fresh English translation in the *JBORS.*, (1921, pp. 60 ff.). This description which is in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira is found incorporated in the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*. Another description appears to be contained in a ms. in the Raghunāth Temple Library of Kashmir,[18] where it is stated to have been taken from a work called the *Jayakaumudī*. This is also stated to be in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira. A small description given by Nīlakaṇṭha towards the end of his *Nītimayūkha* was translated by Weber (*op. cit.*, 1874, pp. 705 ff.).

Though the number of works noticed above is by no means encouraging, still a critical and comparative study of them is expected to throw light on the growth and development of the game in different parts of India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

16 Manuscripts containing this description and apparently passing as those of an independent work are also known. (R. L. Mitra—*op. cit.*, II. 539; *JBORS.*, 1921, p. 60).

17 *Monatsberichte* etc., 1872, pp. 59 ff.

18 Stein—*Catalogue of the Sans. mss. in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 88.

Omniscience

[In this paper the questions principally discussed are (1) whether the Yoga inference of omniscience, with sātiśayatva as *probans*, should necessarily be discarded, (2) whether the advaitin's resort to śruti is really helpful, and (3) whether the conception of omniscience is intelligible or reconcilable with the demands of human freedom. A negative answer is given to each question. Omniscience is tenable in the last resort only through identification with the svarūpa-jñāna that is Brahman; this is really to say that everything is known since there is nothing to know.]

The creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe seems naturally endowed not merely with omnipotence but also omniscience; for right action goes in the wake of right knowledge, and the Lord, as we conceive Him, is He who can do everything and that aright. The very texts which establish Īśvara declare His all-knowingness too. For those to whom Scripture does not count, inference may avail. If on the analogy of finite acts of complexity and skill requiring intelligent creators, we infer a supreme creator for the infinitely complex world, we have necessarily to postulate complete knowledge too as an attribute of this creator. The very existence of a creator may be denied by many. With these one need not be concerned for the moment; for their refutation *in extenso* may be found in the criticism of the ārambhavādins, pariṇāmavādins, and saṃhativādins. Even the Sāṅkhyas cannot but ascribe some potency to the proximity of spirit though they deny all activity to it; and from such a position it is not impossible to argue that the more perfect the spirit's knowledge, that is to say, the more perfectly the spirit is itself, the greater its potency to actuate matter; hence the Yoga inference of the omniscient: there are differences of degree in the apprehension of whatever is not directly presented to the senses; such differences must have an upper limit, where the maximum of apprehension is reached and there can be no further surpassing; for whatever is surpassable must have a limit of surpassability, e.g. dimension; the *āmalaka* is bigger than the cherry, and the *bilva*

fruit bigger than the *āmalaka;* these increasing dimensions have an upper limit in space (ākāśa) whose dimension is unsurpassable.[1] It it not merely that we stop somewhere, but that this limit is unsurpassable; else the argument will only lead to adepts and divinities whose knowledge is much greater than that of ours, without taking us to an omniscient Lord. Where a creator is admitted, it is impossible to stop short of the grant of omnipotence and consequently also omniscience; it is not possible to do all without knowing all. It is true that the potter has perfect knowledge of the pot only in some of its aspects; he knows not who will buy it or what use it will be put to; but the potter-analogy is not on all fours, for the Lord is the creator of *everything* and the internal ruler in all actions; His activity unlike the potter's is unlimited; His knowledge too must therefore be unlimited. It should also be remembered that even the potter has a general knowledge of the purchaser, use, etc.; only human beings are likely to purchase of him and each type of vessel is capable of only a certain kind of use, more or less restricted; with this the potter-analogy becomes much less unsatisfactory.

One may still urge that finite agents and cognisers require instruments such as the body and organs, that an omniscient Lord would similarly require instruments and that with the grant of such instruments there should be recognised limitations and defects consequent on them. No example given is intended to be unduly pressed; in so far as there is agreement in respect of being intelligent creators the analogy should be taken to have served its purpose; else there being complete identity between the illustration and what is illustrated, there could be no inference at all. Of course it is possible to differentiate the present inference from others; in the majority of syllogisms where a pervasion is asserted it is possible on the

1 See *Yoga Sūtra*, I, 25 together with *Vyāsabhāṣya* and *Tattvavaiśāradī;* the example of supreme dimension given here is the ātman; ākāśa is taken from the inference as given in the *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 20, (Madras University).

ground of experience to exclude certain attributes as otherwise accounted for, as inconstant or as contradicted by another pramāṇa; in the present syllogism, there seems to be no such possibility of exclusion; when agency in the world is seen to go with intelligence it is seen to be concomitant with parviscience as well; and there is no known means of excluding the latter concomitance from the pervasion. A possible reply is that there is contradiction of the pramāṇa that apprehends Īśvara, the dharmin; it is absurd to infer an attribute which conflicts with the valid knowledge of the dharmin. This, however, is unsatisfactory, since all that inference of the creator gives us is only an intelligent cause, on the ground of the world being a diversified effect; it is not as if an omniscient Īśvara is somehow apprehended and omniscience denied of him later. Nor is it worth arguing that an intelligent creator being granted, it is desirable because of parsimony to assume a single creator, who would thus necessarily have to know all; for, if we are going to infer from the basis of experience, we should infer a multiplicity of creators co-operating, as in making a chariot or building a house; a plurality of finite co-operating intelligences seems more legitimately inferable than a single creator; in the face of such unequal alternatives how can parsimony work?

Neglecting these unsatisfactory answers it is yet possible to go back to the original inference and maintain its validity. Parviscience as such is merely negative unlike omniscience; we have to examine its extent in every case; the parviscience of the potter is not the same as that of the carpenter; so that it is not possible to claim invariable concomitance between agency and parviscience; there is such concomitance, however, between agency in respect of some effect and knowledge of that effect; and He who creates the entire world of objects must necessarily know all that is to be known; no intelligent agent is such in respect of that of which he is ignorant. It is also possible to show conflict with Scriptural

declarations of omniscience; but if the pervasion itself has to be maintianed by scripture, that is to give away the case for inference, except as subsidiary to Śruti; and this desperate course we need not yet adopt.

The opponent may still urge that the probativeness of the *probans* is in doubt; we say that pots etc., have intelligent creators; is it because they are diversified? Or is it rather because we know them to be such as can be made by people like us? This, however, is not a serious objection. No doubt our cognition primarily is of of the form "Those are of the class of things which persons like us make;" but we conclude that they are such as can be made only by persons like us, i.e., intelligent agents; this restrictive pervasion can come only through analysis and the discovery of a common property in them; this property we claim is the suggested *probans*, *vicitra-racanātmakatva*.

Another suggested syllogism runs thus: Merit and demerit should be perceptible to some one since they are objects of cognition, like the cherry in the hand; he to whom merit and demerit are objects of perception is the omniscient Īśvara. (This is not sound, since what determines perceptibility is not cognisability, but sense-contact; that is to say, the object must be capable of being perceived and must be present; merit and demerit are not capable of being in sense-contact; hence the inference must fail. An advaitin who is not interested in discrediting inference altogether may attempt to get over the difficulty by insisting on probativeness, thus: Whatever is cognisable must be immediately cognisable by some one at some time or other; we may use inference or appeal to scripture, but these are of use only as supplementing, confirming or culminating in immediate experience. Merit and demerit, which the Mimāṃsakas admit apparently as explaining all that has to be explained, must be capable of being thus experienced by some one. Since they are not experienced by finite cognisers, we postulate an infinite cogniser,

i.e., an omniscient being. As for perceptibility being determined by sense-contact we do not admit that; what is characteristic of perception is immediacy; and such experience may come through sense-contact, or through the functioning of manas as in the immediate realisation of what is revealed by a trustworthy person, or by Scripture. Nor can it be urged that manas is a sense-organ, since we are not bound to admit this. In respect of what is perceptible by the senses manas requires their aid; but elsewhere it is capable of immediate experience in and through itself. If Īśvara were dependent on the senses there would be the difficulties consequent on the functioning of the senses only in respect of certain objects; and there would also have to be the postulation of a body, leading to the admission of saṃsāritva; nor could the body be alleged to be assumed at will, as for volition embodiment would be necessary and *vice versa,* thus involving reciprocal dependence; nor could volition and embodiment be eternal for Īśvara, since there is no pramāṇa for this, and eternal embodiment would mean eternal bondage for the Being elsewhere said to be eternally free. All such difficulties, however, are avoided where Īśvara is said to know merit and demerit which are not bāhyendriya-yogya, through the manas, which, being an 'internal sense', is not restricted in its capacity to what is present.

This is not the procedure of the author of the *Tattvaśuddhi.* The last of the inferences he mentions in the *pūrvapakṣa* is the first in the present order, the Yoga argument as indicated in the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* and developed in the *Tattvavaiśāradi.* Perhaps the earliest advaitin to notice this argument and discard it is Prakāśātman,[2] who alleges inconstancy of the problems, sātiśayatva, in respect of weight, attachment, aversion and pain. The present work omits weight, possibly on the ground that as a likely exception it has been noticed and disposed of even in the *Tattvavaiśāradi.* The other exceptions

2 See *Vivaraṇa,* Vizianagaram Skt. series, p. 218.

apparently stand. The qualities of attachment, aversion and pain, these too admit of grades each surpassing the one below. Hence there must be a supreme attachment, a supreme aversion and a supreme pain; and Īśvara must be these, an obviously absurd conclusion; for the Lord is free from all these. Since the objection appears final, our author abandons all inference, takes refuge in Scripture and appeals to texts like "yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid". It is worth while investigating (1) whether the inference should really be abandoned, and (2) whether the recourse to Scripture leaves us in any better plight.

1. (a) The *probans* if sufficiently delimited would appear not to allow of exceptions to the pervasion. Rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha are admittedly defects; the two former are classified by the Yoga under kleśas or hindrances; and the Lord in the Yoga definition is He who is untainted by kleśas.[3] The *probans* may be modified in this way, kleśa-pādavācya-bhinnatve sati sātiśayatvāt, i.e., since it admits of grades while being other than what is denoted by the word kleśa.[4] The word "kleśa-padavācya" is used to indicate that there is at least this one element common to all the kleśas that have to be excluded from the *probans*. With the suggested qualifications we can avoid the threatened *reductio ad absurdum*.

Gurutva (weight) does not come under kleśa; but it offers no genuine exception, says Vācaspati Miśra, since it does not really admit of grades as more and less. The weight of any whole is but the sum of the weights of its parts; the result of a numerical addition is erroneously conceived as an increase of grade; each part has its own weight; not thus can it be said that for each object there is a cognition and that the cognition of all is a mechanical aggregate of the cognitions of the eaches. The latter is sātiśāyi in a sense in

3 *YS.*, I, 24.

4 I owe this suggestion to MM. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar.

which the former is not. Cognition is not a manifold; it is of a manifold, whose extent varies with the degree to which enveloping darkness has been overcome and the single cognitive energy is able to pierce through; the degrees of cognitive excellence are dependent not on the addition or subtraction of objects, but on the grades of removal of darkness; not thus is it with properties like weight.

Rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha, being of the nature of avidyā or darkness, belong to that which is removed, not that which removes.

(b) It is arguable that even thus they may be partial manifestations of a universal rāga, dveṣa or duḥkha. It may also be contended that the refusal to admit such universals betrays intellectualist bias blind to a sane psychology, which cannot but recognise the affective and conative aspects of life in addition to the cognitive. These aspects too are relative wholes not made up of parts, but revealing themselves in the parts; hence these parts too lead to the inference of unsurpassable rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha. Admitting such an argument at its face-value, it is still possible to maintain that the conclusion is an iṣṭāpatti, since what Īśvara removes or helps to remove in the way of kleśas may be considered unsurpassable kleśa, so that when there is the removal, there is no fear of a fresh obstacle. There is no necessary identification of Īśvara and the kleśa, for *ex hypothesi* the former is the remover and the latter the removed. There is a necessary dualism here; but of this even the advaitin does not fight shy, since short of the Absolute he admits both Īśvara and Māyā. While niratiśaya-jñāna is of the nature of the former, niratiśaya-rāga etc. fall under the latter.

(c) Even thus the intellectualistic bias is dominant. Why should cognition be exalted at the expense of emotion? Why should the latter be removed by the former? It is not as though such a conclusion is inevitable or even desirable for advaita; for, Brahman is not merely vijñāna, but also ānanda; and what is ānanda bereft of emotion? The thoughtful advaitin has to admit the force

of this and proceed to show that rāga and dveṣa are condemned (as for duḥkha it is self-condemned) not because they are emotions but because they are defective emotions. It is not love that is objectionable, but love that ties one down to more or less limited objects, fettering the flight of the soul to supreme bliss. Bliss would not be such were it not the goal of supreme love; but attachment or rāga is at a great distance from this parama-premā because of the finitude and diversity of its objects. Once the defining walls are removed rāga may fulfil itself in premā. And since the supreme love cannot be an unsatisfied hunger, Īśvara should be conceived both as parama-premā and parama-premāspada, the unity of love and the beloved. Anything short of this is called rāga and treated as a hindrance (kleśa) to realisation. Rāga can be sublimated; in so far as there is sublimation, the application of inference to it to prove an unsurpassable limit therefor, and the identification of this limit with Īśvara are acceptable consequences.

The case of dveṣa is different. It is based on division; its aim is not unification but the increase of multiplicity. In principle it is not different from gurutva which is disposed of in the *Tattvavaiśāradi*. The hatred felt towards a community is not different from the sum of hatreds towards A, B, C, etc., the components thereof. Our emotive life like our cognitive life does not contain two faculties, one unifying and the other diversifying. It is always a reaching out for unity, coming up against and conquering a number of hindrances. Hatred and aversion are paralleled by delusion and doubt. Both pains clearly belong to the sphere of what is to be removed.

It may now be said that there is never any mechanical addition, that any whole (even an arithmetical whole) has some properties other than those of the parts added up, as otherwise the process of addition would have made no difference to the parts and would so far have been irrelevant, and that the sharp division into what removes and what is removed is inconsistent with ultimate non-dualism.

Two answers are possible. Attachments and aversions relate not to the eternal, but to products, with parts which are capable of being added to or taken away from. Where an apparently superior limit has been reached it will still be possible in theory to increase this limit by the addition of another part; the supposed kāṣṭhā will no longer be niratiśaya. Hence the inference in question is not applicable to these. But it is arguable[5] that anavasthā which is pointed out as the defect may also apply to the indefinite addition of parts. If the addition cannot be indefinite there need be no uncertainty as to the superior limit. Further, why should it be assumed that rāga applies only to products? Is it not the expression of icchāśakti which may claim to be co-eternal with jñānaśakti? This brings us to the second reply. Sublimation is possible of dveṣa as well as rāga, so that in the end we are not left with a dualism; but the process takes different forms in the two cases. Attachment has to advance from the finite to the infinite; aversion has to shift its direction from the finite to finitising. The seeker of release has to turn away definitively from saṃsāra. This process may be called aversion; it differs from dveṣa in this, that while the latter moves away from one or other manifestation of avidyā, because of attachment to another manifestation of avidyā (i.e., one's own finite self), the former, though a product of avidyā, moves away from avidyā; it is a case of crossing over death by means of avidyā (avidyayā mṛtyu-taraṇa). The postulation of superior limits for rāga and dveṣa and the identification of these limits with Īśvara need have no terrors for the advaitin.

But it may be asked "why should the increase of excellence take the form of sublimation?" Because, we reply, any other process would be only of the nature of more or less mechanical addition and would neither support nor be supported by the inference of an un-

5 See Vijñānabhikṣu's *Vārtika* on *YS.*, I. 25.

excellable limit; and sublimation will not differ from addition except in so far as the latter ceases to be mechanical.

When all this has been said, it must be recognised that the ideal of omniscience involves the transcendence of the distinction of knower and known. If to know is also to be, no person can be an all-knower except in so far as objects have ceased to be as such for him, and the subject-object division has been transcended. Such a one will be an all-knower since there is nothing to know; Īśvara is sarvajña because He is vedya-varjita; so long as a world of knowable objects is left over against Him, the possibility of ignorance is unresolved except through an act of faith which declares that nescience in both the causal and effected conditions is under His control, and hence cannot constitute a limitation to His knowledge.

Nor is its being an act of faith the only defect of this procedure; it conflicts with other seemingly inevitable postulates. If the Lord knows all, He knows the future too; if He knows it, it is predetermined and there is no freedom for us to choose and act whether for elevation or otherwise. The possibility of knowing the future is explained by the advaitin[6] in this way: the future is in the womb of māyā which will evolve in accordance with the adṛṣṭa of the jīvas; the future course of evolution appears to Īśvara as a preliminary plan; there is nothing inconsistent in this, since māyā is subject to the control of Īśvara. The moot questions are still left unsolved, what place there is for voluntary effort to affect a course of evolution which may now seem inevitable, and whether the possibility of such change does not limit the Lord's knowledge.

One possible development of the notion of the Lord's control of māyā is along the lines suggested by William James: God and man are like the expert chess player and the tyro pitted against each

6 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 22.

other; God's omniscience gives him the ability to checkmate the tyro whatever move he may make, though He does not know the particular move or moves that will be made. Even this ingenious analogy can give no consolation to the humanist, who can and will say that this freedom to be inevitably checkmated is but illusory freedom. It is also possible to urge that knowledge of the future since it is *of the future* is necessarily different from knowledge of the present and that the limitation to human freedom comes only from conceiving the knowledge of the future on the analogy of and in the same terms as knowledge of the present. This is on the face of it plausible but does not take us far; the future, we hold, differs from the present in being contingent; is knowledge of the future also contingent? If so, the Lord's omniscience does not really deserve the name. If the knowledge is not contingent, the content cannot be really contingent. We have to deny either our freedom or the Lord's knowledge of all in the sense in which we understand knowledge. The advaitin may reply that since in the last resort we are identical with Īśvara, the perfection of the Lord is our own perfection and our freedom suffers no real limitation. What advaita asserts as a rule is, however, the identity of Brahman and the Jīva, not of Īśvara and the Jīva, some distinction being always maintained between the latter two, whether as prototype and reflection or in other ways; some varieties of advaita no doubt affirm that release is the attainment of Īśvaratva, but this is irrelevant for us who are concerned with the freedom of human beings here and now, not when they have attained release. The position, however, contains the core of the truth, that we are free to realise our oneness with the perfectly free Īśvara, that the realisation of this oneness is inevitable for all, by ways more or less arduous or devious. Īśvara would be omniscient, as aware of this inevitable end; but of the slips and backslidings, fears, hopes and aspirations on the way, one need not postulate knowledge for the Lord.

Even such a position is not wholly satisfactory; there is, to say the least, conflict with the usual explanation of the scriptural terms sarvajña and sarvavit, the latter being said to mean knowledge of all things in their particularity.[7] How can there be knowledge of the future in its particularity if there be no awareness of the detailed strivings, advances and backslidings of the jīva? Such difficulties are necessarily incidental to the notion of omniscience, which, like the notion of knowership, has to be transcended by the knowledge which is the svarūpa of reality, which is necessarily of all, since it is all and there is nothing outside it.

Some advaitins have tended to identify sarvajñatā with svarūpa-jñāna. They have maintained thus that there is no unintelligibility in the Lord's knowledge of merit and demerit or indeed of any content since his cognition does not have to depend on the senses, external or internal, or on a body; His knowledge they say is svarūpa-jñāna.[8] Though this leads to dispensing with the notion of Him as knower (jñātṛ), knowledge of all does not become impossible, since, as the material cause of all, He is consciousness non-different from all.[9] Here again we have a wavering between two notions—Īśvara and Brahman. The latter is jñāna-svarūpa; it is also the material cause of the universe. If in defending a certain conception of Īśvara one flies to Brahman, it is a conclusive proof of the final inadequacy of the former. It is not that Īśvara is omniscient because of svarūpa-jñāna; omniscience as a quality of one who is up against all things and is the knower of all things is a necessary postulate made by us who know little and yet are aware of our knowing little; this postulate being an extension from parviscience is necessarily defective and calls for transcendence in what is neither omniscience nor parviscience but scientia, the wisdom that is Brahman's svarūpa. This is the truth in the waverings of the dialecticians. That is why of six

7 *Muṇḍaka*, I, i, 9; Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.
8 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 21. 9 *Ibid.*

scriptural texts quoted in the *Tattvaśuddhi* we find that only two are directly relevant to the topic of omniscience, and that of these, while one predicates knowledge, the other[10] speaks of the nature of Brahman as the knowledge by whose light all else is manifest. Omniscience as knowership is not real since there is nothing to know; Omniscience as knowledge is real, but there is nothing to know. The former is not the latter, but necessarily fulfils itself in the latter.

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

10 "Tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti". *Svet.* VI, 14.

Indian Elements in the Coin Devices of the early foreign Rulers of India

The medley of figures used as coin devices by the Bactrian Greek kings of India and their successors, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas prove that these alien chiefs not only drew from the mythology of their own respective religious systems to which they belonged, but also utilised many and various deities connected with the pantheon of the people conquered by them. The gods and goddesses appearing on the Indo-Bactrian Greek coins are no doubt mainly Hellenistic in origin and decidedly Praxitelean in character as noticed long ago by Gardner.[1] Many of the devices adopted by the Bactrian Greeks were retained by the Śakas but in most cases, these were given a new orientation which transformed their original character substantially. Gardner noticed some of these striking changes and remarked, "A careful consideration of these facts will convince us that by some means or other Maues and his race secured the services of artists who had been instructed by the Greeks, but were not restricted by Greek traditions."[2] The Pahlava rulers, though to a certain extent imitators of the Greeks, mainly used devices which were pre-eminently Parthian in character. The Kuṣāṇas especially the Kaṇiṣka group of kings, on the other hand, brought in features in which the Hellenistic element was least recognisable. As has been shown by Stein, many of the reverse types are borrowed from Zoroastrianism, while the others are made up of Indian and Greek divinities—the term Greek, however, being applicable to the last class in name only.[3]

1 Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. lvii.

2 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

3 Thus, Salene and Helios, on the coins of Kaniṣka though the names

But what is of interest in the study of the reverse devices of these foreign coins is the gradual inclusion of purely Indian types among them. Some times, the Indian character of the type is self-evident, while at other times it can be inferred after a careful scrutiny of the device. The reason for this Indianisation is to be sought in the contact of the conquerors and the conquered as also in the custom of using the tutelary divinities of cities as devices on coins minted there. We shall pick up some of these Indian elements in the composition of the types of these rulers and try to explain their real character.

The history of the contact of the Seleukidan rulers of Syria with north-western India is well-known. It is presumable that the origin of the device of the four elephants drawing a chariot used by Seleukos and some of his successors in their coins can be traced to one of the terms of the treaty of Seleukos I with Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. The cock on the reverse side of the coins of Sophytes (Sopeithes),the king of the Salt Range, a contemporary of Alexander the Great might have been Indian in origin; the imitations of Athenian owls on which these light weight drachmae were based bore on them the figure of an eagle. The cock as an emblem of the Brahmanical war god Subrahmaṇya-Kārttikeya is well known to us and the bust of Sophytes on the obverse of these coins is shown as the bust of an warrior clad in helmet and cheek plate. As regards the coin devices of the early Bactrian Greek rulers of India, we do not find purely Indian elements till the time of Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos I. The square shape of some of his copper coins proves that it was he who for the first time introduced this

of the Greek moon goddess and the sun-god respectively, really represent Mao and Miiro, the Zoroastrain Moon and Sun gods, their figures being perfectly identical.

pre-eminently Indian feature in the Indo-Greek money.[4] Again, the inauguration of bi-lingual coins which were meant for the use of their Indian as well as of the Greek subjects is to be attributed to this ruler and his younger contemporary and rival, Eukratides. Elephant's scalp worn as a head-piece by Demetrios on some of his silver and copper coins as well as elephant's head with upraised trunk and a bell round the neck in the dotted circle used as an obverse device on certain copper coins of the same king are presumably Indian features whose early appearance on this coinage is interesting. The types used by Eukratides, such as the mounted Dioskouroi, the palms and piloi of the Dioskouroi, Apollo and Nike are mainly drawn from Greek mythology; but there is one device used by him in re-striking some of the copper coins originally issued by Apollodotos Soter which has particular bearing on our topic. It has been described thus, 'Zeus sitting on throne to front, holds wreath and palm; to right of throne forepart of elephant and to left a pilos; above his indistinct monogram Kharoṣṭhī legend *Kavisiye nagara devata*.'[5] The symbol which according to Whitehead is a pilos could not be deciphered by Gardner who described it as a 'conical object'; but Rapson is definite that it stands for a mountain.[6] The two symbols, viz., the head of an elephant and the mountain accompanying the central device as well as the Kharoṣṭhī legend are of particular interest inasmuch as they can be explained by certain remarks made about the capital city of Kāpiśa by Hiuen Tsang. Rapson was the first to connect these two symbols with Hiuen Tsang's passage which runs thus, 'To the south-west of the capital (Kāpiśā) was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* mountain. This name was given to the

4 The description of a certain supposedly square-shaped copper coin of Alexander the Great as his Indian issue has been rightly rejected by numismatists. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 388.

5 R. B. Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, vol. I, p. 26

6 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 555.

mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo'*.[7] Julien thought that some such Indian word as *Pilusāra* meaning 'elephant-solid' (*Pilu* from Persian *bil* = elephant), was its original and Rapson explained these two symbols, one as the mountain *Pi-lo-sho-lo* and the other as the elephant-shaped tutelary god of the mountain as also of the city of Kāpiśa.[8] If one further considers another observation of Hiuen Tsang in connection with his description of Kāpiśa and Watters' remarks on it one can go a step further and explain the central device of the seated figure as well as the elephant head, on the coins. Hiuen Tsang tells us, 'Above forty li (roughly 6 to 7 miles) south from the capital (Kāpiśa) was the city called *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu'*. Julien and St. Martin suggested *Sphītavaras* and *Śvetavaras* respectively as the possible Sanskrit original of the name of the city. Watters says 'The last character *sse* or *tzu* is probably a Chinese word in the sense of temple. The other characters may stand for *Śvetavat* one of the epithets of Indra the god who rides a white (*śveta*) elephant. Thus the name of the city would be *Śvetavat-ālaya,* the Abode or Shrine of Indra'.[9] If Watters is correct in laying down the value of the Chinese word just mentioned, it is possible to identify the central device of the coins as 'Indra enthroned with the partial representation of his mount *Airāvata* (the white elephant) before him. *Śvetavatālaya,* according to the descrip-

7 Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

8 Watters remarks on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, 'This was the name of the tutelary god of the mountain and of the mountain itself, and it was the name given to the Aśoka tope erected on one of the rocks of the mountain.' Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 129. Shall we be justified in trying to identify the conical shaped symbol, not as the mountain, but the stūpa *Pi-lo-sho-lo,* said to have been erected by Aśoka? The mountain is usually represented on coins as a three- or multi-peaked object, whereas this particular device appears as a mound or a stūpa. In any case, Rapson was quite justified in his main hypothesis.

9 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 126. The lexicographers lay down such words as *Śvetabāhu, Śvetavāha, Śvetavaḥ* as epithets of Indra.

tion of Hiuen Tsang, was evidently a suburb of Kāpiśa in the 7th century A.D. and its very name indicates that it had Indra as its tutelary deity. Now, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* list of the Yakṣas it is stated in one place (v. 83) that Yakṣa Laṅkeśvara was the special object of worship in Kāpiśā (*Laṅkeśvaraśca Kāpiśyām*) while at another place (v. 94) Yakṣa Nalakuvera is mentioned as such (*Kāpiśyām Nala-kuvera*). Sylvain Lévi, has drawn our attention to one Chinese interpretation of Laṅkeśvara which is *Kien tseu tsai* i.e. 'strong king' (solide souverain).[10] This epithet of 'strong king' would fit in with Indra, the king of the gods (*devarāja*) and thus at the same time would be attributable to the throned deity of the coin type in question.[11] But the two *Mahāmāyūrī* passages prove that Kāpiśa had at least two Yakṣas as its presiding deities, viz., Laṅkeśvara and Nalakuvera. Another passage in the same text, however, is of particular importance in this connection. The author while referring to the tutelary Yakṣas of certain places in the north-west of India explicitly mentions that Indra was the Yakṣa of Indrapura: The passage runs thus:—

शिवः शिवपुराहारे शिवभद्रश्च भीषणे ।
इन्द्रश्चेन्द्रपुरे यक्षः पुष्पकेतुः शिलापुरे ॥
दारुको दारुकपुरे कपिलो वसति वर्णुषु ।
मणिभद्रो ब्रह्मवल्यां पूर्णभद्रश्च श्रातरौ ॥
प्रमर्दनश्च गन्धारे तक्षशीलायाम् प्रभञ्जनः ।
खरपोस्त महायक्षो भद्र (छर्द) शैले निवासिकः ॥[12]

Of these localities, Varṇu, Gandhāra, Takṣaśilā, Bhadra (Charda) Śaila can be definitely recognised and all of them are to be located in the extreme north-west of India. Lévi has correctly pointed out that Śivapura is mentioned as a village of the north (*Udicyagrāma*)

10 *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 52.

11 Nalakuvera of the other passage cannot be connected with Indra; mythologically, he was the son of Kuvera, the Yakṣarāja, the guardian deity of the northern quarter.

12 *Mahāmāyūrī*, verses 28-33.

in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 3,). As regards, Bhīṣana, Indrapura, Śilāpura and Dārukapura, he says that they do not appear elsewhere. Attention, however, may be drawn to the resemblance of the name Indrapura with the *Śvetavatālaya* of *Si-yu-ki* and if we are correct in assuming that they refer to the same locality, (cf. Hastināpura or Gajasāhvaya, the capital of the Kuru kingdom) we shall have no hesitation in placing this Indrapura very near Kāpiśa. On the basis of this hypothesis, our explanation of the coin device inaugurated by Eukratides will find confirmation. Rapson rightly remarks that 'the coin type, thus inaugurated became characteristic of the house of Eukratides in the Kabul valley; it is found on coins of Heliokles, Antialkidas (fig. 1), Amyntas and Hermaeus. A very unique tetradrachm of Antialkidas in the collection of the British Museum has a reverse device which has a special bearing on the one in question.[13] Whitehead describes it thus, 'On the reverse an elephant with its trunk at the salute, Nike on its head, and a bell round its neck, walks to the left. By its side, portrayed on a heroic scale, stalks "Zeus"'. He further correctly emphasises that 'apparently this quaint design shows the elephant-deity and his elephant indulging in a victorious march past.' All these considerations leave little doubt with regard to the identification proposed by us of the coin type; Indra, the king of the gods, and his mount Airāvata, (in a sense, the god himself in his theriomorphic form) were specially suited to be used as a proper device of coins issued by a monarch, the former symbolising the divine royal power while the latter standing for the solid stability of the realm. That the Indra cult was not unknown in parts of northern India can be proved from literary and archæological sources. The cult of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa developed at the expense of

13 It is not in Gardner's *Catalogue*, but is described by Whitehead in his 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics', in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 325-6. pl. xv, fig. 5. Fig 2 in the accompanying plate.

various other pre-existing cults, the one of Indra being among them, and it is definitely proved by the story of Kṛṣṇa's *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* as narrated in the *Harivaṃśa* and some *Purāṇas*. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* chapter on *Pratimālakṣaṇam* Indra's image is described thus,—

शुक्लश्चतुर्विषाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वम् ।
तिर्यग्ललाटसंस्थं तृतीयमपि लोचनम् चिह्नम् ॥ 42.

Cunningham thought he had lighted upon a very old temple of Indra (*c.* 5th cent. A.D.) among the ruins of numerous temples at Sirpur, C.P.[14] The vigorously carved relief of ample proportions on the right facade of the Bhaja cave showing Indra riding on his elephant holding with its trunk upraised a branch or a flower is too well-known to be mentioned in detail.[15] Sakra or Indra is one of the most important acolytes of Buddha in the Buddhist mythology; in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra as well as the indigenous one of Mathurā, he is very often (in the Indrasāla-guhā scene for example) depicted wearing a basketlike headdress and in company with his mount and other attendants.

Indra, the king of the gods, could very easily be identified by the Bactrian Greeks with Zeus of the Greek mythology. Rapson is thus quite justified in remarking "In this case, as also in others recorded by the historians of Alexander, the Greeks sought to identify the Indian divinities with their own. They evidently regarded the tutelary deity of the city of Kāpiśi as Zeus."[16] So, in the Indo-Bactrian Greek money, enthroned Zeus and *devarāja* Indra are often confused and it will be better to describe those figures as Indra where he is accompanied by an elephant or a partial representation of an elephant. Even in the latter case, Nike, the Greek goddess

14 *A.S.R.*, VII, p. 168.

15 Note the very striking similarity in attitude of the elephant here with that of the same in the coin-type of Antialkidas, mentioned above.

16 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 556.

of victory, is very often placed in the out-stretched right hand of this Indra-Zeus.[17] Again, even in the other type, that issued by Antialkidas, noticed above, Nike is placed on the head of the elephant by whose side the deity strides to left. The Śaka king Maues copied in toto the usual Indra-zeus type of Antialkidas and if one notices the description of the obverse device of coin no. 13 of Maues in Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue* (p. 70), one cannot but infer that it is a faithful copy of the reverse of Antialkidas *a* type coin. Maues, however, introduced a new orientation in this device; for, in the obverse of his coins Nos. 11-13 (fig. 3 of the accompanying plate) we find the same enthroned deity with a long sceptre in his left hand, while his right hand is placed on the shoulder of a human figure ('small winged female figure' according to Gardner; but the wings and the female character of the figure are not quite clear from the plate) who, as has been rightly suggested by Gardner, 'seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt!'. This reminds us of the Indian practice of sometimes representing the attributes in the hands of divinities as personified beings; *Cakra, Gadā, Śaṃkha,* the usual attributes of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu are very often depicted thus when they are known by the name of *āyudhapuruṣas.* As the weapon thunderbolt is behind its personified representation in this coin of Maues, so in most cases, the actual weapons *cakra* etc. are carved behind their personified representations on whose heads or shoulders the deity's hands rest.

On the basis of our main hypothesis, it will be possible for us to suggest that the device 'elephant's head with a bell round his neck' used by Demetrios on some of his copper coins and other Indo-Greek and Śaka rulers like Menander and Maues (fig. 4) was

17 Cf. the first three types of Antialkidas, *P.M.C.*, vol. I, pp. 32-4; this type became so very popular with him, that he used it also as the reverse device of some of his silver drachmae which belonged to the Attic standard of weight bearing Greek legend only and which were thus meant for circulation in the Bactrian portion of his kingdom; cf. *ibid.*, p. 36, no. (v).

associated with this elephant deity, peculiar to Kāpiśa and its environs.[18] We are not certain whether the elephant used as a device on so many coins of these kings is in any way connected with it; but if any connection between the two could be proved, then one could demonstrate the extreme popularity of the device. Elephant is used as a device in the coins of Antimachos Theos,[19] Heliokes,[20] Lysias, Antialkidas, Archebios, Apollodotos Soter,[21] Menander, Zoilos, Maues,[22] Azes, Azilises and Zeionises. It is worth noting that barring the satrapal coins of Zeionises elephant is not used as a device in the Indo-Parthian series of coins.

The next device of outstandingly Indian character is the so-called dancing girl appearing on the obverse of certain copper coins of identical fabric issued in the Indian portion of their dominions by Pantaleon and Agathokles. These coins are characterised not only by their complete resemblance to the indigenous double-die coins localised by Cunningham at Taxila but also by the fact of their being the only two types of early alien bilingual money having the Indian legend in Brāhmī script, Kharoṣṭhī being otherwise used in the bulk of this class of coins. Gardner describes this device as a 'female figure with long pendants from her ears, clad in oriental dress with trousers; holds in her right hand a flower'.[23] In another

18 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 13, no. 21; p. 62, nos. 507-14; p. 98, nos. 5-9.

19 Type no. 2, in *P.M.C.*, I, p. 19; it should be observed that while elephant appears on the obverse, Nike who is so frequently associated with the Kāpiśa deity figures on the reverse.

20 Two types—Bust of king: elephant and elephant: bull, *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 29.

21 Elephant: Bull—used both in round silver drachm of attic weight and square silver drachm of Persian or Indian weight. Rapson remarks that the elephant and bull 'may have symbolised the tutelary divinities of cities.'

22 Running elephant with uplifted trunk: seated king or deity and running elephant with uplifted trunk: Humped bull; note the attitude strikingly similar to the Kāpiśa elephant.

23 *British Museum Catalogue*, pp. 9-10, pl. III, 9 & pl. IV, 9. Fig. 5 of the accompanying plate.

place, he remarks 'the earliest of the clearly Indian types to make its appearance is a dancing girl, wearing long hanging earrings and oriental trousers, on the money of Pantaleon and Agathocles.'[21] From after this, it has been the custom amongst numismatists to describe this type as 'the dancing girl'; a few scholars however, denominated it in a different manner. Thus, Foucher would like to find in it Māyā, the mother of Buddha in the nativity scene,[25] whereas Coomaraswamy at first suggested that it was Lakṣmī but later was somewhat sceptical about it.[26] Of these two suggestions, the latter is more acceptable, because the flower in the right hand of the figure, so far as it can be ascertained from the summary representation in coin, seems to be a lotus. While studying a few originals of this type in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I wondered whether these female figures did really stand for some horse-faced divinity. The head seemed too longish to be a human one; if one could be sure that it was an equine head, then the figure could be correctly described as Yakṣinī Aśvamukhī or Kinnarī which is sometimes represented in indigenous art as a woman with a horse's head.[27] But the representation on the not very well preserved copper coins are too indefinite to let us be sure about our suggestion. In any case, it will be better to describe the figure as an Indian goddess possibly Lakṣmī, (or, if we could connect the lion on the other side with the goddess, she could probably be described as Durgā-Siṃhavāhinī, the lotus also being an attribute of hers) perhaps, associated with Taxila or regions near it. Śrī-Lakṣmī, however,

24 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. lvii.

25 Foucher, *On the Iconography of the Nativity of the Buddha*, *M.A.S.I.*, No. 46, p. 12.

26 *Eastern Art*, vol. I, p. 178. "The so-called dancing girl on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles is of the type of Lakṣmī (*Padmahastā*) and may be Śrī-Lakṣmī; but this by itself is hardly definitive and the movement is unusual."

27 Cf. the Bodh-Gayā representation of this motif, R. L. Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, pp. 155-6 pl. xxxiv, fig. 2.

was utilised by these foreign rulers as coin-devices and different modes of her representation have been found in the Indo-Bactrian Greek and Śaka coins. The obscure king Peukolaos is known from certain copper coins, the reverse sides of which bear a figure which has been described by Whitehead as a 'city goddess with turreted crown to left; lotus in right hand.'[28] It is very likely that it stands for Lakṣmī with the Hellenistic accretion of the turreted crown. The obverse device of an unique gold coin (classed as 'Indo-Scythian, uncertain' by Gardner) in the collection of the British Museum ought to be studied in this connection. It has been described by Gardner as 'Greek city-goddess, clad in chiton and peplos, wearing mural crown, and holding a poppy-head'.[29] Rapson, who at first doubted the genuineness of the coin, described the same device as a 'city goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus flower in her right hand with the Kh. legend *Pakhalavadi-devada* meaning the deity of Puṣkalāvatī'; he also remarked 'she wears Greek dress and the mural crown which is the emblem of a Greek civic divinity; and as guardian of the "City of Lotuses" (Puṣkalāvatī, she appropriately holds a lotus-flower in her right hand.'[30] The city divinity of Puṣkalāvatī was most likely the goddess Lakṣmī whose Hellenised representations we find in these two coin types (the name of the obscure Greek king Peukolaos seems to have some connection with Puṣkalāvatī, the Greek form of which is Peukelaotis); the figure of the bull with Greek legend *Tauros* and Kharoṣṭhī legend *Uṣabhe* appearing on the reverse side of the gold coin was also a therio-morphic representation of a divinity presumably Śiva.[31]

28 *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 324 & pl. xv, 3.

29 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 162 & pl. xxix, 15. 30 *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 787.

31 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 557. Rapson remarks on this bull device—"As in the case of the city divinity of Kāpiśi, the Greek artist has represented in accordance with Greek ideas an Indian deity who was supposed to bear the form of a bull. Here, Hiuen Tsang says, "Outside the west gate of the city (of Puṣkalāvatī) was a Deva-temple and a marvel working image of the Deva"

Of the two goddesses appearing on the reverse sides of two types of coins of Hippostratos,[32] one at least, viz., the cornucopiae bearing figure might have some connection with the city-deity of Puṣkalāvatī. One of the two figures (one male and the other female, the male figure identified by Rapson as Zeus) the female one, wearing a mural crown and holding a diadem in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm, appearing on the reverse side of certain silver coins of the Śaka ruler Azilises was tentatively identified by Rapson as the tutelary deity of Puṣkalāvatī.[33] With some slight alterations, here and there, the city goddess type was utilised by Maues (*P.M.C.* vol. I, p. 99, no. 15), Azes (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122, nos. 218-240; here definitely described as Demeter) and other Śaka rulers. In the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra we do not fail to find plastic representations of this goddess. Thus the Loriyan Tangai relief depicting Gautama's *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta contains the figures of this goddess and Māra as also other divinities clustering round Buddha's figure on horse back; here also she is characterised by the turreted crown and a flower in her hand.[34] A general observation may be made that in such cases, Hellenistic outer garments were used to cloak the original Indian divinity. But even these Hellenistic

(Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 214). If we were sure about any connection of the obverse and reverse devices of this coin, we could have offered the suggestion that the goddess stood for Śiva's consort; but, the theriomorphic representation of the male deity on one side and anthropomorphic depiction of his consort on the other is a priori unlikely. We shall presently see, however, that Śiva's consort seems also to have been utilised as a coin-device by certain Śaka rulers.

32 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 74, Nos. 604-609; Whitehead describes the device as a city goddess to left, carrying cornucopiae.' *Ibid.*, p. 77, No. 631, described as a 'city goddess to left with mural crown and palm.'

33 Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 788-89; he based his suggestion on the general resemblance of this goddess to the one on the gold coin of Puṣkalāvatī and the possibility of the Kharoṣṭhī letter *pa* in the left field being an abbreviation of Pakhalavadi-Puṣkalāvatī.

34 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 53.



Fig. 1

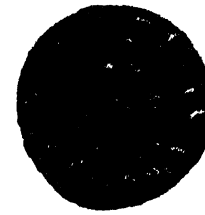


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

By courtesy of the British Museum authorities.

embellishments were soon to disappear and the purely Indian *abhiṣeka-lakṣmī* was to make its appearance on certain silver coins of Azilises.[35] The motif exactly corresponds to the Indian Gaja-Lakṣmī type, so frequently to be found in early mediaeval and modern Indian art; it was also used as a device in a Kosam coin (*c.* 3rd. century B.C.), by Ranjuvula, the Śaka Satrap (*c.* 1st century A.D.), Śaśāṅka the Gauḍa king (7th century A.D.) and others. Foucher would also like to find in the earlier replicas of this type, the scene of the nativity of the Buddha.[36]

It will not be out of place here to refer to a certain goddess figure used as a device in some copper coins of Azes. The coin type is no. 30 of Azes in the *Punjab Museum Catalogue,* vol. I., p. 129; its obverse has been described by Whitehead as 'Goddess Lakṣmī standing to front with flower in raised right hand.' Whitehead does not notice the lotus flower on which the goddess is made to stand and a peculiar object to her left. The identical device has been described by Gardner as 'Female deity facing, clad in himation; holds in raised right hand, flower; stands on lotus; beside her, lion? (Lakṣmī?)'.[37] Gardner was not quite sure whether the object to the left of the goddess was a lion or not; but the forepart of the lion is quite clear from his plate (though it is not so clear in the Punjab Museum specimen reproduced by Whitehead in pl. xii, no. 308). Copper coins nos. 133-36 in Gardner's book (pl. xix, iv) and those nos. 220-30 in Whitehead's *Catalogue* (pl. vii, 222) show on the obverse a lion walking to right and on the reverse a goddess which Gardner was diffident about describing as Demeter (Whitehead thought it was so). The coins are all of copper and thus mostly

35 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 135. Fig. 6 of the accompanying plate. It has been described, 'Indian goddess, Lakṣmi standing facing on a lotus-flower with twin stalks and leaves. On each leaf stands a small elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity.'

36 Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

37 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Fig. 7 of the accompanying plate.

in a very indifferent state of preservation; whatever might be the right identification of the deity here, it is extremely probable that in the other case the female divinity standing on lotus in a graceful Indian pose with a lion by her side is none other than Durgā-Siṃhavāhinī, the consort of Śiva. It is true that the lotus at her feet and the same in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Lakṣmī; but its nature is more or less the same as that of the reverse device of the Candragupta I type coins of Samudragupta and the Lion-slayer type coins of Candragupta II. The composite character of the Gupta device—the goddess seated on a lion, holding a lotus-flower or cornucopiae in her left-hand, her right hand holding a fillet and her feet sometimes resting on lotus led Allan to describe her as Lakṣmī or Ambikā.[38] In the iconographic texts, lotus is in many cases regarded as an attribute of Durgā, Gaurī and Ekānaṃśā, in a few the original Śakti goddesses. The description of the two handed Ekānaṃśā in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (ch. 57. v. 37) is as follows:—

कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्वहती ;

many texts like the *āgamas* give us more or less identical descriptions of two-handed Durgā-Gaurī images (*Dakṣine cotpalaṁ haste vāmahastaṃ pralambitam*). We cannot but be struck with the great similarity of the stance of the coin-device in question, with that of the goddesses described in the texts. Lion as the mount of Durgā is too well-known to be commented on in detail. It is true that the Syrian or Elamite goddess Nanaia is occasionally represented on some Kuṣāṇa coins as riding on a lion,[39] but the mode of her presentation there is quite different from the device under discussion. If we can further show that the cult of Durgā Siṃhavāhinī was known in the north-western region in the early centuries

38 Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum*, pp. lxxii-lxxiii, lxxxiii.

39 Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, pl. xxii, fig. 19.

of the Christian era, we shall have some further proof in support of our hypothesis. Here also Hiuen Tsang supplies us with some interesting and valuable information. He tells us—'Above 50 *li* to the north-east of *Po-lu-sha* (now unanimously identified with Shahbazgarhi) was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess;..... At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvara-deva in which the Ash-smearing "Tirthikas" performed much worship.'[40] It is needless to emphasise that the Chinese pilgrim, though writing during the first half of the 7th century A.D., was referring to a far earlier local custom.

Certain copper coins were issued by Maues as well as Azes with a type summarily designated by Whitehead as Poseidon with trident and Bacchante: He describes the reverse device as a 'female figure standing to front between trees (possibly a Bacchante among vines); Gardner describes it as a female figure clad in chiton and himation facing; stands between two vines. (Maenad?).'[41] None of these scholars is, thus, quite sure of his identification and from the general character of this device we feel tempted to suggest an Indian designation for it. Coomaraswamy while delineating on the iconographic features of Śrī-Lakṣmī in his learned article on 'Early Indian Iconography' refers to three varieties of Lakṣmī type, the third one, described by him, being, "as Padmavāsinī. Kamalālayā etc., she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves, establishing her environment, and in this case she very often holds one

40 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Watters thinks that the image or likeness of Bhīmā-devī was apparently a dark-blue rock in the mountain supposed to have a resemblance to that goddess'. Julien, however, understood the passage to mean that there was a statue.

41 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, pp. 100-101, 122; *B.M.C.*, pp. 70-71, 89. This type was a favourite one of Maues. Fig. 8.

of the flowering stems in each hand."[42] There will be no inherent improbability if we suggest that this device is a Hellenised version of the third variety of Lakṣmī noted above A glance at the plates accompanying Coomaraswamy's article will convince one that this was a very favourite theme with the early Indian artists. We can compare this coin device with one of later period (*c.* 6th or 7th century A.D.) appearing on an unassigned or doubtfully assigned gold coin of Gupta style and fabric. This coin was discovered at Mahmudpur (Jessore district, Bengal) and is in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Allan describes this reverse device, thus, "Goddess Lakṣmī (Smith—simply 'Goddess'), nimbate, standing left holding lotus in out-stretched right hand; behind her a lotus plant and at her feet, a *haṃsa* (peacock according to Smith)"[43] In this case, however, the *haṃsa* at the feet of the figure would justify us in identifying her as Sarasvatī, the counterpart of Lakṣmī.

Gardner, long ago, was struck by the peculiar form of many of these types which were 'more distinctive than the style (Praxitelean) in which they were rendered'. He remarked, 'To search out the reasons of these variations of type, reasons to be found probably in many instances in the influence of local Indian or Persian legend or belief, would be a very attractive task.....' I have attempted in the preceding pages to partially work out the scheme hinted at by the great scholar. This subject will be more fully treated in my forthcoming work on 'Ancient Indian Coin types.'

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

42 *Eastern Art*, vol. I., p. 178.
43 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 150, pl. xxiv, 5.

Going Far or Going Beyond?

(*Pāragā, Pāragū*)

I know of but one scholarly critic—happily still with us[1]—who has equalled Moriz Winternitz in generous recognition of those who, like myself, have been spending ourselves in research such as entitles us to doubt, that the Buddhism presented to us in most manuals on 'Religions', and by Buddhists of South Asia, is indeed the original New Message brought to India and the world by Gotama Śākyamuni, in the 6th century A.C. Critic, and often disagreeing critic he was. His own position had largely been that of the 'manuals' and of Hīnayāna. And was I not trying all I knew to drag him on from that position, and make him, as I saw it, grow in spiritual adolescence in his outlook on this particular religion? He claimed indeed to have been for twenty years on the side of those whom Dr. Weller called "us younger men",[2] in that Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature*, II, 1913, affirmed, that "the entire older literature of the Buddhists was nothing but a great collection of collections, and that the different portions of such collections belonged to different times." (This is repeated in the re-written English version of 1933, p. 4). And indeed the historical attitude in his article to the Geiger Commemoration volume: "Can the Pali Canon teach us something about the older Buddhism and its history," as well as its child, "Problems of Buddhism" in the *Viśva Bharati* of 1936, five years later, might almost deserve to be placed as the preface of every research-student's notebooks in such studies. And I would say the same of his brief introduction

1 Professor James B. Pratt.

2 *Asia Major*, V, 1930, pp. 149 ff.

to the 110 excerpts given us in his *Der ältere Buddhismus*, of a previous year.

I said "almost deserve"; I wish I could delete the 'almost'. But, if what I have in these last years brought forward of 'left-ins', of things overlooked by scholars, let alone Buddhists, so unversed in their own Hinayāna scriptures, had sufficed to drag him almost to the standpoint of the "younger men", it wasn't far enough. Tenaciously he clung to the last to the position of the "older men" (*wir Aelteren*), who have taken their stand on the belief, that "there has never been a Buddhism without the sermon of Benares"—as it stands!—"the middle path, the four noble truths, the eightfold path, or without *maitri*..."[3] In other words he abode in the dangerous position, that the original New Word in a gospel is to be found in church-made formulas. He admitted: "the Pāli sources may give but a onesided picture," but insisted, that "without them, other sources gave us a quite distorted picture." Granted! But why lean on the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* of the formula?

I could illustrate this in detail by showing that, in his selection in the Bertholet Series, named above, he has not picked out a single passage I have myself found as betraying some old stone in, or under monkish superstructure,—found, I mean, as being at odds with the position that is mainly emphasized, and at yet greater odds with the later exegetic teaching. But this were here out of place, and I have done it elsewhere.

Almost does Winternitz's departure close the brave band of the pioneers, of the 'Aelteren.' By these I mean them who were not only the pathfinders but who were, in disclosing the new country unable to discriminate truly the changes that country had

3 Almost I think he had dropped one or more of these *Sine qua non* 's in his 'Problems of Buddhism'; I have mislaid my copy.

undergone in taking on its present configuration. It is, for instance, going far in the blazed trail to say, as he did, that not only 'collections' differ mutually in date, but that each has a matter of different dates. But he failed to get further and see, that many technical terms in these can be shown to betray a history: words like *dhamma, attha, bhava, nibbāna.* Herein be it for the younger men to catch up his faltering torch.

Let them for instance consider the singular evolution in values undergone by just one of those words: *bhava,* and its verb, in the history of early Buddhism: i.e., Hīnayāna. For Winternitz it was just *Werdelust,* used, he deemed, only in the pessimistic monk-outlook on more life; not as more opportunities (*khaṇa*) in which the further to 'become' or grow, but as mere and deplorable repetition. Herein there arises, in Sutta-study, an interesting point: In such lines as

virajam asokaṃ sammappajānāti bhavassa pāragū, (*Aṅg.* iii, 157).

(he knows the stainless griefless state: beyond becoming hath he gone) or:

bhavatha jātimaraṇassa pāragā, (*Iti-vuttaka,* §46),

(become ye they who birth and death transcend)

and half a dozen other such, we may take *pāragū* (or *-gā*), literally 'beyond goer', as meaning either expert knower,[4] or transcend-er. The genitive case of the object may incline the translator to choose the latter. But when the broad loose nature of the Indian genitive is kept in view, the meaning may well have been 'in becoming', not 'of becoming', just as we can say 'versed in', or 'expert in' this or that subject. Now take the earlier Buddhist, the early Upaniṣadic meaning of 'becoming', where was no worsened meaning: 'becoming' used for good luck, prosperity,[5] or consummation, or for

4 E.g., of the Vedas. (*Digha,* i, 88).?

5 E.g., in *Digha,* 19:—"tell master Jotipāla I wish him luck (*bhavam hotu*!)"

the further progress of the soul:—'becomes Brahman,' or, 'whither, death to be attained, becomes the soul?'—and we see that, for the early Śākyan missioners those Pali terms might have meant 'yon-farers in becoming', that is, progress in the Way of the worlds towards the final goal, the *pariyosāna*, the *paramattha*. However, I write not as with certainty, for the association of the word *paragu* with such a monkish sentiment as that of Dhammapada 348:

Let go the past, let go the things hereafter,
Let go the middle things, yon-farer of becoming!

inclines me to think, that *pāragū* may have been a later term in the sense only of transcendence.[6]

I commend my 'yon-farer' or 'yonderfarer' to the 'Jüngeren' (our old English has 'yongate': 'in *such* a way, in *that* way') if only because it is just a literally truthful rendering, leaving it uncertain whether 'of' or 'in' becoming is preferred.

Far more earnestly do I commend to them to keep in full view the original, the Śākyan worth in *bhava* as 'becoming', as *werden*, not merely in this one little earth-span of life, but in life as a whole; becoming, that is, in the worlds. Herein it is that not a few pioneers in Buddhist research have been heavily handicapped. More or less agnostically handicapped themselves, they have found the modern agnosticism in today's degenerate Hīnayāna attracting them. And herein they have sorely overlooked how close was the tie in the original teaching between the Śākyan missioners and the unseen. Seeing in the Founder of it an independent thinker, they have misjudged him as a rebel against the Immanence in the accepted religion of his day; they forget the testimony that men flocked to him to learn of him the fate of departed fellowmen,[7] or that he spoke to them of the unseen, to encourage disciples to

6 Cf. hereon my *To Become or not to Become*, p. 61 f. (1937)
7 *Dīgha*, Sīla. 18.

emulate here the good example set them by some amongst those departed, that so they might hereafter share in their fate (their such-ness').[8] They ignore the evidence that the urgently enjoined practice of Jhāna was just what is now called psychic training.[9] They pass over the description ascribed to king Bimbisāra of the Founder's teaching as not of a secular but a further-world aim (an *attha* not *diṭṭhadhamme* but *samparāyiko*).[10] They have consented to see the Way of the worlds as a tidy set of eight moral qualities of monkish editing, when the Sutta-nipāta, credited as of early date, could have taught them better:

> He who would practise as the Teacher taught,
> 'T is he may go from hence to the beyond.
> Yea, hence to the beyond 't is he may go,
> Making the Way Incomparable to become.
> The Way this is for going to beyond,
> And therefore is it Yonderfaring called.[11]

The worthy historian of religion is the man who sees not a less, but a higher value in a man's nature, life and religious quest. To have seen a less in these, to have seen man as a creature of a little spell in one earth-life is incompatible with true greatness in the founders of world-religions. The pioneers in Buddhist research have not all or always shown themselves in this as fit men to undertake to write about religious history. They have themselves not been fully in tune with their great subject. This was the case with the fine and indomitable worker whose leaving us this volume commemorates. In the pain of bereavement he could write: "as I do not believe in any mythological 'future life', there is really no reason for either rejoicing or mourning, but..." And there followed a brave list of coming work to be shouldered. Well, now he knows better.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

8 *Majjhima*, Naḷakapāna S.
9 Cf. my art: *IHQ.*, Dec. 1927
10 Vinaya, Mhv. V.
11 Pārâyana.

Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas

The treatises of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, so far as available to us in Sanskrit, are mainly concerned with the fundamentals of their position and give us little idea of the minor dogmatic details in which they differed from the Hīnayāna and from the other Mahāyāna schools. Particular interest therefore attaches to the list of 119 *kuśaladharmas* which Nāgārjuna sets out in his commentary on *kārikā* 7 of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. Till recently it was not possible to determine the precise qualities mentioned there, as neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese translation afforded certain equivalents. The former was edited by Tucci in *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Gaekwad's Or. Series, XLIX, 1929), where also the Chinese translation was rendered into English. Almost simultaneously an admirable French version of the Tibetan translation was published by Yamaguchi in *Journal Asiatique*, 225 (1929), pp. 1 ff. Since the appearance of these two works the position has been altered by the invaluable discoveries of that remarkable traveller, the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, who among other treasures discovered a Ms. of the Sanskrit text of this work; this Ms. he has recently published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, Part iii, Appendix. It is in Tibetan script and was, it seems, made by a Tibetan visitor to India early in the twelfth century; in addition to being highly incorrect, with numerous mistakes and omissions, it apparently also includes a certain number of glosses. The printed edition, wisely perhaps, reproduces the text as it stands in the Ms., and it will require much patient work on the various versions to bring it into reasonable conformity with Nāgārjuna's original. The passage with which this paper deals is in a particular bad state, and

I have unfortunately been unable to trace similar lists elsewhere, which would have helped to disentangle the text and would also have enabled me to deal with the historical development of the category. My discussion therefore is based solely on the authorities already mentioned and is restricted to an attempt to throw some light on the nature of the textual problems raised by the Ms. I refer below to the Tibetan translation by the letter T., to the Chinese version by C., to Tucci's work by Tu., and to Yamaguchi's by Y.

Kārikā 7 runs:

कुशलानां धर्माणां धर्मावस्थाविदश्च मन्यन्ते ।
कुशलं जनाः स्वभावं शेषेष्वप्ये विनियोगः ॥

The Ms. reads *janasvabhā* in *c*, omitting *vaṁ;* but both T. and C. read *janāḥ*, the former construing it with *dharmāvasthāvidaḥ*, the latter nonsensically enough taking it separately as may be seen from Tu. The commentary states that there are 119 *kuśaladharmas*, and proceeds to enumerate them though a number of them certainly do not appear in the Sanskrit text, while C., which in accordance with usual practice numbers each quality, names only 106; its list is printed in the notes to Tu.'s translation, part II, pp. 28 ff.

At first sight the list appears to be an odd collection, the true explanation having been overlooked by Tu. and Y. The Ms. prefaces its list with the word *ekadeśaḥ* and puts all the qualities from 1 to 81 in the genitive. This is confirmed by T. who however places the equivalent *phyogs-gcig* after 81, so that it was mistaken by Y. for a part of 81 instead of as qualifying all the previous terms. C. has an ambiguous rendering of the expression before starting the list, which was mistakenly translated by Tu. by 'they have mind as their own [? one] characteristic'; the correct version seems to be 'they are deemed to be *ekalakṣaṇa*', the wording being such as to apply to all the qualities, not merely the first eighty-one.

The point of the word *ekadeśa* is that qualities 1 to 81 are only *kuśala* in some of their aspects; in others they may be *akuśala* or *avyākṛta,* 'indifferent', The remaining 38 qualities are solely *kuśala,* and therefore must not be identified with terms which could in any aspect not be *kuśala;* many of them refer to special attainments on the path to enlightenment. Once this distinction is grasped, the apparent peculiarities of the list disappear.

The following table gives a comparison of the three sources, with the solution I would suggest in each case. All but a few of the qualities have been successfully identified, and it is worth noting with reference to the difficulty of determining the Sanskrit equivalents of technical terms in Tibetan with precision, how often Y., while usually getting near the original in sense, has failed to discover the word actually used. Tu.'s text of T. is evidently corrupt in a few places, and I have corrected these with the help of the Ms. and C., giving Tu.'s reading in brackets; the mistakes, particularly the confusion of *da* and *na,* are of a type familiar to those who have had occasion to handle the Tibetan translations. C.'s version has not been given in Chinese to save trouble in printing, as it is easily available in Tu. as well as in the various editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Its renderings are sometimes of an unusual type, the translation emanating from the sixth century school, which was first located at Lo-Yang and moved later to Yeh. Where it indicates the solution accepted in the final column, I have simply entered 'id.' with the number of the quality, as stated in the translation, in brackets. In other cases I have put a query and discussed the rendering in a footnote. It will be observed that in three cases I have come to the conclusion that C. has wrongly separated a group of characters representing one quality into two groups and that in one case I have split a group of two characters into two terms of one character each. Where the versions differ in the order of the terms, I have followed the Ms.'s order.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C	Suggested Original
1	vijñāna	rnam-par śes-pa	omitted	vijnana
2	vedanā	tshor-ba	id. (1)	vedanā
3	saṁjñā	ḥdu-śes	id. (2)	saṁjñā
4	cetanā	sems-dpaḥ	id. (3)	cetanā
5	sparśa	reg-pa	id. (4)	sparśa
6	manasikāra	yid-la byed-pa	id. (5)	manasikāra
7	chanda	ḥdun-pa	id. (6)	chanda
8	adhimokṣa	mos-pa	id. (7)	adhimokṣa
9	vīrya	brtson-ḥgrus	id. (8)	vīrya
10	smṛti	dran-pa	id. (9)	smṛti
11	samādhi	tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdzin	id. (10)	samādhi
12	prajñā	śes-rab	id. (11)	prajñā
13	upekṣā	gtaṅ-sñoms	id. (12)	upekṣā
14	prayoga	sbyor-ba	id. (13)	prayoga
15	saṁprayoga	yaṅ-dag-par sbyor-ba	id. (14)	saṁprayoga
16	prāpti	thob-pa	id. (16-17)[1]	prāpti
17	adhyāśaya	lhag-paḥi bsam-pa	? (15)[2]	adhyāśaya
18	prativi	khoṅ-khro-ba med-pa	? (18)	apratigha[3]
19	rati	dgaḥ-ba	id. (19)	rati
20	vyavasāya	ḥbad-pa	id. (20)	vyavasāya
21	autsukya	rtsol-ba	id. (22)	autsukya

1 C.'s 17 doe. iot correspond separately to anything in T. or the Ms. and must therefore be joined to either 16 or 18. I have preferred the former alternative, the combination meaning 'complete attainment' and translating *siddha* in the commentary on *kārikā* 12.

2 C. has *hsi* (Giles, 4087), which stands usually for *vāsanā* in the translations emanating from this school. Probably therefore it read *adhyāśaya* and took it in the sense of *vāsanā*.

3 In Tibetan *khoṅ-khro* usually represents *pratigha*, though I have found it in the sense of *parikheda;* and as *gha* and *va* are occasionally confused (another case apparently under 24), I see no reason for doubting the restoration *apratigha*. C.'s *pien ts'ai* (Giles, 2909, 11496), 'talent for wrangling', recurs under 26 (see note 6), corresponding there also to T.'s *khoṅ-khro;* presumably therefore it means *pratigha* in both cases, the negative having dropped out under 18, as has happened in several subsequent cases. Tu. considers it equivalent to *pratibhāṇa*, for which the ordinary term is *lo-shuo*, 'joyful speaking' (cp. Eitel, *Handbook*, and Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*), but Soothill and Hodous mention *lo-shuo pien ts'ai* as also used for this word; it is however difficult to reconcile *pratibhāṇa* with either T. or the Ms.

LIBRARY

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Suggested Original
22	unmū	rmoṅs-ḥbrel	? (21)	?[4]
23	utsāha	spros-pa	id. (23)	utsāha
24	avyavartya	gnod-pa med-pa	id? (24)[5]	avighāta
25	vasitā	dbaṅ daṅ ldan-pa	id. (25)	vaśitā
26	pratipatti	khoṅ-khro	? (26)	? pratighāta, or pratigha[6]
27	avipratisāra	yid-la gcags-pa med-pa	id. (27)	avipratisāra
28	omitted	ḥdzin-pa	? (29)	? parigraha[7]
29	Do.	mi-ḥdzin-pa	? (30)	? aparigraha
30	Do.	dran-pa	? (28)	?[8]
31	dhṛti	brtan-pa	id? (31)[9]	dhṛti
32	adhyavasāya	lhag-par zhen-pa	omitted	adhyavasāya
33	anauṣveka	mi-rtsol-ba (3)	id. (33)	anautsukya
34	ananumūrddhi	rmoṅs-pa med-pa (33)	? (32)	?[10]
35	anutsāra	spro-ba med-pa	omitted	anutsāha
36	prāpaṇā	don-du gñer-pa	Do.	prārthanā
37	praṇidhi	smon-la	? (34)[11]	praṇidhi

4 This word is a crux. T. indicates literally *mohasambandha* (so also Y.), which at least suggests a word with the root *muh*. The negative of the word appears under 34, where the Ms. has *ananumūrddhi* and T. the equivalent of *amoha*, and it looks therefore as if a word such as *unmugdhi* or *anumugdhi* were meant; but authority for any form of this sort is lacking. C. has *ssu* (Giles, 10271), the equivalent of the root *cint*, and under 34 the negative of the same, possibly a mistake for *huo* (Giles, 5320) or *yü* (Giles, 13559), either of which would show a formation from *muh*.

5 Literally C. is equivalent to *anirṣyā*.

6 See note 3, in view of which C. would seem to have read here *supratigha*. *Pratighāta* seems slightly more probable than *pratigha* from the Ms.'s reading.

7 For this and the next term C. indicates *alpecchatā* and *analpecchatā*. T., which one would naturally assume with Y. to have had *grāha* and *agrāha*, may intend *parigraha* and *aparigraha*, which agrees fairly with C.

8 C. shows *vipratisāra*, which occurs certainly at 73 and cannot therefore be in place here also. T. literally gives *smṛti*, which has already been enumerated under 10. The original was perhaps a formation from *smṛ* signifying 'remorse'.

9 The equivalent of C. is ordinarily *upekṣā*, and if it stands here for *dhṛti*, it implies taking the word in the sense of keeping the mind in equilibrium; cp. note 35 for a similar use of the word.

10 See note 4 above.

11 C. reads *apraṇidhi*.

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Sugggested Original
38	mada	rgyags-pa	id.? (35)[12]	mada
39	viṣayāṇāṁ viprayoga	yul daṅ mi-ldan-pa	id. (36)[13]	viṣayāṇāṁ viprayoga
40	anityāṇikatā	ṅes-par ḥbyin-pa ma-yin-pa	id. (37)[14]	anairyāṇikatā
41	utpāda	skye-ba	id. (38)	utpāda
42	sthiti	gnas-pa	id. (39)	sthiti
43	anityatā	mi-rtag-pa	id. (40)	anityatā
44	samarthāgata	ldan-pa (45)	id. (41)	samanvāgama
45	jarā	rga-ba (44, dgaḥ-ba, Tu.)	id. (42)	jarā
46	paritrāsyatā	yoṅs-su gduṅ-ba	id. (43)	paritāpa
47	arati	mi-dgaḥ-ba	id. (44-45)	arati
48	vitarka (pl.)	rtog-pa	id. (46)	vitarka
49	prīti	sdug-pa	id. (47)	prīti
50	pramāda	dad-pa (daṅ-ba, Tu.)	id. (48)	prasāda
51	vyavahāratā	rjes-su mi-mthun-par gzuṅ-ba	omitted	?[15]
52	preṣ	ḥdod-pa	id. (49)	preman
53	pratikūla	mi-mthun-pa	id. (50)	pratikūla
54	pradakṣiṇagrāha	mthun-par ḥdzin-pa	id? (51)[16]	pradakṣiṇagrāha

12 C.'s text is uncertain. The first of the two characters according to the Taisho Issaikyo edition is *lo* (Giles, 7331), 'pleasure', and according to Tu. is *luan* (Giles, 7458), the name of a tree, presumably a mistake for the very similar character *lieh* (Giles, 7154), 'feel attachment for', 'hanker after'. The second character is *shuo*, 'speak'. The printed edition's reading suggests *pratibhāṇa* (note 3 above), but for the other version correspondence with *mada* is possible, but far from certain.

13 Tu. omits the negative rightly read by the Taisho Issaikyo edition.

14 *Pu-hsing*, 'not going'.

15 This and the next three numbers are much confused in the texts, which cannot be unravelled with certainty. The Ms. has before 51 *aprasrabdhi*, which in view of the words appearing again at 69 and of its not being given here in T. or C. must be an interpolation. Further T. takes 52-53 as one term, C. as two; like Y. I accept the latter, so that with the rejection of *aprasrabdhi* we can still keep the list in its full number. T.'s apparent equivalent for 51 comes after 54, but I cannot at present equate it with the Ms. at all; *gzuṅ-ba* should represent a form from *dhṛ* or *bhṛ* or less probably *grah*, not the Ms.'s °*hāratā*. The first part corresponds to *ananukūla* or possibly *apasavya*. Y. conjectures *anuvigrāha*.

16 C.'s first character, *hsü* (Giles, 4716), 'necessary', 'proper', corresponds here to T.'s *mthun-par*, and its second, *ch'ü* (Giles, 3118), to the root *grah*.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Suggested Original
55	vaiśāradya	mi-ḥjigs-pa	id. (52)	vaiśāradya
56	gaurava	ẑhe-sa	id. (53)	gaurava
57	citrīkāra	ri-mor byed-pa	id. (54)	citrīkāra
58	bhakti	dad-pa	id. (55)	bhakti
59	abhakti	ma-dad-pa	id. (56)	abhakti
60	suśrūṣā	bsgo-ba bzhin byed-pa	id. (59)	śuśrūṣā
61	sādara[17]	gus-pa	id. (57)	ādara
62	anādara	ma-gus-pa	id. (58)	anādara
63	prasrabdhi	śin-tu sbyaṅs-pa (64)	? (60)	praśrabdhi[18]
64	hāsa	rgod-pa (63, rgol-pa, Tu.)	omitted	hāsa
65	vāc	ṅag	id. (61a)[19]	vāc
66	viṣpandanā	ḥgul-pa (mgul-pa, Tu.)	id. (61b)	vispandanā
67	siddha	grub-pa	omitted	siddha
68	aprasādha	ma-dad-pa	Do.	aprasāda
69	aprasrabdhi	śin-tu ma-sbyaṅs-pa	id. (62)	apraśrabdhi
70	vyavahāratā	rnam-par byed-pa	? (63)	?vyavakāratā[20]
71	dākṣya	brtan-pa	? (64)	? dākṣya[21]
72	sauratya	des-pa (ñes-pa, Tu.)	omitted	sauratya
73	vipratisāra	yid-la̍ gcags-pa	id. (65)	vipratisāra

17 In mediaeval scripts *sā* and initial *ā* are often almost identical; cp. the similar mistake of *sa* for *a* in 89.

18 For the translation of *praśrabdhi* by *śin-tu sbyaṅs-pa* see S. C. Das, *Tibetan Dictionary*, s. *byaṅ-chub*. C.'s *su* (Giles, 10338) might stand for *pratiśraya;* for the various renderings of *praśrabdhi* see no. 69, Rahder, *Glossary of the Daśabhūmikasūtra*, Eitel, *op. cit.*, Soothill and Hodous, *op. cit.*, 14*b*.

19 C. seems to have joined two characters wrongly here. The first, *fa* (Giles, 3376.), can mean 'utter'. Alternatively the two could correspond to 66.

20 The Ms. has already had *vyavahāratā* under 51. T. would ordinarily give *vikāra*, but in view of the Ms. may signify *vyavakāra*, for which see La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. ii, p. 206. Just possibly *vyavakāra* is to be taken to *kṛ*, in the sense which is found at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. iv, p. 130, n.1. Y. suggests *viśuddhi*, presumably reading *rnam-par byaṅ-ba*, which cannot be brought into relation with C., though it might suggest the Ms.'s reading to be a corruption for *vyavadānatā*. C.'s *fu* (Giles, 3723) throws no light on the solution; Tu. takes it as equivalent to *mrakṣa* and translates 'covering', the latter being a common sense of *fu* in translations. Its sense of 'over-throw' might however be connected with the above suggestion about *vyavakṛ*. No adequate explanation is at present possible.

21 T. may possibly stand for *dākṣya*, though the regular equivalent would be *dhairya*. C. suggests *adhīra*.

No.	Saṃskrit MS.	T.	C.	Suggested Original
74	śoka	mya-ṅan	id. (69)	śoka
75	upāyāsāyāsa	ḥkhrug-pa	id? (67)[22]	upāyāsāyāsa, or upāyāsa
76	bhī (?) ta	rgyags-pa	? (68)	?[23]
77	apradakṣiṇa-grāha	mi-mthun-par ḥdzin-pa	? (66)[24]	apradakṣiṇagrā-ha
78	saṁsaya	tse-tshom	omitted	saṁśaya
79	saṁvarāṇāṁ pariśuddhi	sdom-pa yoṅs-su dag-pa	id. (70)	saṁvarāṇāṁ pariśuddhi
80	adhyāśaya	naṅ legs-par dad-pa (daṅ-pa, Tu.)	id? (71)	?adhyātmasaṁ-[25] prasāda
81	rūpa	ḥjigs-pa	id. (72)	bhirutā[26]
82	śraddhā	dad-pa	id. (73)	śraddhā
83	hrī	ṅo-tsha śes-pa	id. (74)	hrī
84	ārjava	gnaṁ-pa	id. (75)	ārjava
85	avañcana	mi-ḥdrid-pa	id. (76)	avañcana
86	upasama	ñe-bar zhi-ba	id. (77)	upaśama
87	acāpala	rtags-bag ma-yin-pa	id. (78)	acāpala
88	sapramāda	bag-yod-pa	id. (79)	apramāda
89	mārdava	ḥjam-par (byams-par, Tu.) lta-ba	id. (80)	mārdava
90	pratisaṁkhyāna	so-sor brtags-pa	id. (81)	pratisaṁkhyāna
91	nirvaira	yid byuṅ-ba	? (82)	nirvaira[27]
92	pariuāha, or niṣparidāha?	yoṅs-su gduṅ-ba med-pa	? (83)	niṣparidāha[28]

22 C. implies 'disorder', 'confusion', 'bewilderment', and probably corresponds. The word may be simply *upāyāsa*, and *āyāsa* may belong to 76.

23 The normal equivalent of T. is *mada*, and of C. *kaṁsīdya; māna* may be a possible solution.

24 C. means 'not obtaining one's desires' and possibly corresponds.

25 *Adhyāśaya* is certainly wrong, as it has already appeared under 17. C. means 'internal faith', the first part of which probably represents *adhyātma* in view of the Ms., so that T.'s *legs-par* should apparently be corrected to *lhag-par* For the conjectural restoration see *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. viii, pp. 148, 159.

26 This seems the only way of equating the Ms. with T. and C.

27 T. means 'that which arises in the mind', *manobhava* or the like, which implies the same as *nirvaira*. C. indicates *vaira*, but as the qualities from 82 onwards are solely *kuśala*, the negative cannot be omitted.

28 For the same reason as in the previous note, *paridāha* indicated by C. must

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Suggested Original
93	amada	rgyags-pa med-pa	id. (84)	amada
94	alobha	chags-pa med-pa	id. (85)	alobha
95	adoṣa	zhe-sdaṅ med-pa	id. (86)	adoṣa[29]
96	amoha	gti-mug med-pa	id. (87)	amoha
97	asadvat	thams-cad śes-pa-ñid	? (88)[30]	sarvajñatā
98	apratiniḥsarga	mi-gtoṅ-ba	? (89)[31]	apratiṅḥsarga
99	vibhava	ḥbyor-pa	id. (90)[32]	vibhava
100	apatrapyā	khrel yod-pa	id. (91)	apatrāpya
101	apariśraccha-dana	mi-ḥchab-pa	id. (92)	apariccha dana
102	mānana	sems-pa mi-gtoṅ-ba (103)	omitted	? manana[33]
103	kāruṇya	sñiṅ-rje (102)	id. (93)	kāruṇya
104	maitrī	byams-pa	? (94)[34]	maitri
105	adīnatā	zhum-pa med-pa	omitted	adīnatā
106	dirata	dgral bral-ba	? (95)	? aranā[35]
107	ma . . na	rdzu-ḥphrul	? (96)	?[36]
108	nāha	khoṅ-du mi-ḥdzin-pa	id. (97)	anupanāha
109	ali	phrag-dog med-pa	id. (98)	anirṣyā[37]

be rejected. The Ms. is probably to be understood as intending *nirvairaparidāha* to be divided into *nirvaira* and *niṣparidāha*.

29 The use of *doṣa* for *dveṣa* in Buddhist Sanskrit is well authenticated.

30 C. reads *asarvajñatā*, which occurs as 118 and also as 105 of C.'s list. T. is clearly to be followed here.

31 C. gives *pratiniḥsarga*.

32 Y. (p. 64, n. 1) has misunderstood the Chinese, which takes *vibhava* in the technical sense of the opposite of *bhava*, 'existence'.

33 For *manana* or *manyanā*, which perhaps corresponds to T., see *Triṁśikā*, *kārikā* 2, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. viii, p. 192, and *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, p. 225. Y. seems to have read *sems-pa gtoṅ-ba*.

34 C.'s *hsi* (Giles, 4073) suggests *priti* rather than *maitri*.

35 T.s' term seems to indicate this solution. C.'s *shê* (Giles, 9790) ordinarily stands for *upekṣā* or for 'renunciation'; as La Vallée Poussin translated *araṇā* by 'absence de passion' at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. iv, p. 123, *shê* may signify the same here.

36 T. and C. show either *ṛddhi*, *prātihārya* or *vikurvaṇa*, none of which correspond satisfactorily to the remains in the Ms.

37 C. and T. correspond exactly and indicate *anirṣyā* very strongly.

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Suggested Original
110	cetasopatyā-dāna	sems yoṅs-su gtugs-pa med-pa	? (99)[38]	cetaso'paryā-dāna
111	kṣānti .	bzod-pa	id. (100)	kṣānti
112	vyavasadu	rnam-par spoṅ-ba	omitted	?[39]
113	āsauratya	des-pa (ṅes-pa, Tu.) ma-yin-pa	Do.	asauratya
114	iti bhāgānvaya	yoṅs-su loṅs-spyod-paḥi rjes-su mthun-pa	? (101-102)[40]	paribhogān-vaya
115	puṇya	bsod-nams	id. (103)	puṇya
116	asaṁjñisamā-patti	ḥdu-śes (med-) paḥi sñoms-par ḥjug-pa	id. (104)	asaṁjñisamā-patti
117	nairyānikatā	ṅes-par ḥbyuṅ-ba-ñid	omitted	nairyāṇikatā
118	asarvaiñatā	thams-cad mi-śes- pa	id. (105)	asarvajñatā
119	asaṁskṛtā dharmāḥ	ḥdus-ma-byas-paḥi chos	? (106)[41]	asaṁskṛtadhar ma (pl?)

E. H. JOHNSTON

38 C. suggests *cetaso vyavadāna* or the like.

39 Perhaps *vyavasarga;* cp. Rahder, *op. cit.*, s.v.

40 C.'s 101, *li-i*, is properly 'benefit', 'advantage', and 102, *nêng yuṅg*, 'usable', and the two groups may possibly correspond to the suggested Sanskrit; or alternatively *li* may stand for 112 in the sense of 'giving'.

41 C. literally gives *anityasamādhi*, which suggests a corruption in its text.

Indo-Arica

1. The secondary affix *-vya*

The only sure derivatives with the affix *-vya* are the Vedic *bhrātṛvya-* "(father's) brother's son, cousin> rival," and the classical *pitṛvya-* "father's brother.' Cf. Pāṇini: *pitṛvyamātulamātāmaha-pitāmahāḥ* 4. 2. 36.

Vedic *śaravyá* "arrow-shot," and vedic and classical *śaravya-* "target" are not derivatives with *-vya*. It is undoubtedly derived from *śaru* with the affix *-ya* (PW.). Similarly *dravya-* "substance <wooden article, wooden" is derived from *dru* + *ya* (cf. *darvi-* "ladle, wooden spoon"), *savya-* <*sū* + *ya* and *paśavya-* <*paśu-* + *ya*.

Note also the gerundive affix *-tavyà* <*-tu* + *-ya* (*-ía*).

The rather late classical *mṛgavyā-* "hunt," may be either a dialectal (M.I.A.) variation of a derivative of *mṛgayu-* "hunter" (PW.) or a contamination of *mṛgayā-* with *śaravyā-*.

The affix *-vya* stands in the same relation to the affixes *-vaya* (*-vāya*), *-vīya* (*-vī*), *-vi* and *-va* as the affix *-tya* stands to the affixes *-taya, -tīya, -ti* and *-ta*.

The affix *-vaya*, which has obvious affinity with *-maya* both as numerical and non-numerical affix (cf. Pāṇini: *saṃkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ* 5 2. 47), occurs in the two words, both vedic, *cáturvaya-* "*fourfold*", and *druváya-* "wooden dish" (AV.). *druváya-* can be compared with *dravya-* just as *gomáya-* with *gávya-*, *nabhasmáya-* "vaporous" with *nabhyâ-* (in the adverb *abhinabhyám* "near the clouds"), and *sūmáya-* "well-fashioned" with *savya-*.

The affix *-paya* in *katipaya-* is probably allied to *-vaya* and *-maya*.

The affixes *-vāya, -vīya, -vi* are attested only in the following

derivatives from *pada-*: *padavāyá-* "leader, guide," *padavíya-* "following the footsteps, or track," *padavi-* "leader, guide" (vedic); "way, path" (classical).

The affix *-vi* appears only as a primary derivative; e.g., *ghṛśvi-* "lively", *jāgṛvi-* "watchful" etc. Cf. the primary affix *-mī* (*mi*) as in *bhūmī-, bhūmi-, ūrmi-* etc., and the secondary affixes *-vin, -min* as in *vāgvín-* (AV.), *vāgmin-* "eloquent", *ṛgmín-* "jubilant with praise", *aṣṭrāvín-* "obedient to the goad", *svāmin-* (<*svă-*) "master", etc.

The secondary affix *-va* occurs in the pronominal derivative *eva*(m) "thus, indeed", OP. *aiva*, Av. *aeva-* "one", and *keśavá-* "hairy", *śraddhivá-* "credible", *añjivá-* "slippery" (AV.), *śantivá-* "friendly" (AV.) etc. The allied affix *-ma* was much more prolific. It appears in the pronominal derivative *-ima* and in *madhyama-, parama-, carama-, druma-, upama-, pañcama-*, etc.

-tya occurs in *ápatya-* "offspring", *áviṣtya-* "manifest", *níṣṭya-* "foreign", *sánutya-* "secret", etc. OP. *anušiya* "follower" (<**anutya*). In Avestan *-tya* occurs as an ordinal affix too; *viz., bitya-* (<**dvitya*) "second", etc., and so also in MIA. (Aśokan *ekaca-, ekatiya-* "some" (<**ekatya-*). It occurs also in *aptyá-* and *āptyá-* "watery".

-taya occurs in *dáśataya-* "tenfold", *cátuṣṭaya-* (AV.) "fourfold", and also in some classical Skt. words (cf. Pāṇini, 5. 2. 42, 43).

-tīya occurs in the ordinals *dvitīya-, tṛtīya-*, OP. *duvitīya, ssitīya*, and perhaps in the O.I-A. pronominal adjectives *yāvatīya-, tāvatīya-* etc.

-ti (secondary affix) occurs in the numerals: *pañkti-* "fifth", *saptati-, aśīti-*, etc.; in Niya Prakrit *dviti*>*biti* "second", *triti* "third" (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 38). But these forms may as well go back to **dvitya- *tritya-*, or to *dvitīya-, tṛtīya-*. The affix occurs in words like *bahutitha-, yāvatitha-* etc. (Pāṇini

5. 2. 52, 53) In *patti-*, OP. *pastiš* "foot soldier" (<*pad*) the affix may be primary or secondary; cf. also *padāti-*.

-ta occurs in the three Vedic proper names (originally ordinals): *ekatá-* (VS.), *dvitá-, tritá-* (the last two occur in Avestan as well), and also in the substantives *avatá-*, "well", *vasantá-, hemantá-* and *muhūrtá-*.

2. The Pāṇinean affix *-cara*

In the sense of remote past Pāṇini prescribes an affix *-cara* (*bhūtapūrve carat* 5. 3. 53; *ṣaṣṭhyā rūpya ca* 5. 3. 54). Thus, to quote grammarians' examples, *ādhyacaraḥ = ādhyo bhūtapūrvaḥ, kṛṣṇacaro gauḥ = kṛṣṇasya bhūtapūrvo gauḥ*. *cara-*, however, is here the second number of compounds, and it features as the base of the derivative *carama-* (<*cara* + *ma*). It is a cognate of *cira-* and goes back to I-E. q^we*ro-*. The palatalized form of the I-E. interrogative -indefinite pronominal base $*q^we$-/$*q^wo$- occurs also in O.I-A. *cit, ca, cana,* and *cira-*, M.I.A. *carahi* (<**carhi*, cf. O.I-A. *yarhi, tarhi* etc.), and Avestan *cahmā* (<**casmāt*), *cahyā* (<**casya*), *ciš* etc.

3. *pakṣati-*

Pāṇini derives *pakṣati-* "end or beginning (*mūla*) of a fortnight" from *pakṣa-* with the secondary affix *-ti* (*pakṣāt tiḥ* 5. 2. 25). The secondary affix *-ti* appears only in the numerals like *pañkti, saptati-* etc. (see *supra*). It is best to take *pakṣati-* as a result of haplology from **pakṣakṣati-* "end of a fortnight".

4. *udanta-*

udanta- "news, information" is undoubtedly a derivative of **udan* <*vad-* with the affix *-ta*; cf. *vasantá-, hemantá-*. The heteroclitic base *udar-/udan-* "word" occurs in Hittite, e.g., nom. sing. *utar* (*ud-da-a-ar, ut-tar*), gen. sing. * *utanas* (*ud-da-na-a-aš*) (Sturtevant, *A comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, p. 185).

SUKUMAR SEN

Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans

It will doubtless be long before decisive conclusions are reached concerning the full significance of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa discoveries. The most recent step forward has been taken by Dr. L. Sarup, the learned editor and translator of the *Nirukta,* who has concentrated on the relation of the Indus civilization to the *Ṛgveda.*[1] He asks, is it Aryan or non-Aryan in character? It has been so generally assumed that the Indus civilization is pre-Aryan and non-Aryan and that a closer examination of the relations of this culture to that of the *Ṛgveda* is very welcome.

It has further been too readily assumed that a Dravidian origin may be the explanation. The prevalence of this view has been due rather to the lack of positive evidence, so that it has not been easy to bring forward facts against it, but at least Dr. Sarup has no difficulty in showing that the anthropological data do not favour any connexion with what is known as the modern Dravidian type. He concludes that several races contributed to the Indus population, and goes so far as to call it cosmopolitan. He finds that in the statuary there are resemblances to that of Sumer, and that Mongolian types are found. This seems to exclude an Aryan origin as well. He also mentions another view, and says that Mr. E. Mackay accepts the theory of ethnic relationship between the people of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. This is hardly fair to Mr. Mackay, for he only says that it may be "assumed provisionally that the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers in the Indus Valley brick-built cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians had a common ancestry." And he goes on to say that until further sites have been explored, it is impossible to go beyond this provisional assumption. Still, even although

1 *The Ṛgveda and Mohenjo-daro* in *Indian Culture,* Oct. 1937, p. 149 ff.

assumed only provisionally, it remains a possibility, which later evidence may prove. But it is remarkable that Dr. Sarup expresses no opinion on it, and gives no evidence against it.

To ask if the Mohenjo-daro people are Aryan is rather vague, as not only the Ṛgveda people called themselves Aryan but also the Iranians. However, no harm is done as long as it is understood that the present problem is only about the Indo-Aryans. Were they the ancestors of the Indus civilization? Evidently the Mongolian types and mixture of races which make a Dravidian origin unlikely appear to tell still more forcibly against the view that they were Aryan. But leaving that question open Dr. Sarup goes on to establish a different matter—the priority of the Ṛgveda civilization to Mohenjo-daro. He shows first that the Ṛgveda civilization was essentially a village, agricultural, and pastoral civilization. Next, that of Mohenjo-daro was a city and commercial civilization. Then he concludes that the *Ṛgveda* represents a period earlier than the Indus Valley civilization. But he has given nothing to show that Mohenjo-daro is Aryan; he has left it an open question, and if it is non-Aryan, we can infer nothing about their relative dates. A non-Aryan people may quite well have advanced beyond the pastoral stage long before the Aryans began to build cities.

So with phallic worship. The wide prevalence of the phallic cult, says Dr. Sarup, shows the posteriority of Mohenjo-daro to the Ṛgveda. The alternatives we have to start from are either that the Aryan cult of Rudra-Śiva became combined with the phallic worship of a non-Aryan god or that phallic worship originated with the Aryans. Until that is settled nothing can be said about priority. We know that the worship of Rudra-Śiva is never connected with phallic worship in the *Ṛgveda,* and that where phallic worship appears to be mentioned it is reprobated. As Dr. Sarup quotes, "let those whose deity is phallus not penetrate our sanctuary". (*Ṛv.* VII, 21. 5). Whoever there were, they were not worshippers of the Aryan

Śiva-Rudra. Yāska and Sāyaṇa know so little of these *śiśnadevāḥ* that they interpret the word as *abrahmacarya*. The alternative that they were phallic worshippers, who had adopted a non-Aryan practice is not met, and yet until it is answered it is merely begging the question of priority to say that Ṛgveda culture is earlier than that of Mohenjo-daro.

The inference from the art of writing is the same. If the Mohenjo-daro people and the Ṛgveda Aryans are of different races, then the art of writing at Mohenjo-daro has not the least connexion with the culture of the Ṛgveda. Writing may have been practised by any number of peoples before it reached the Aryans. But in this case it is a question of a kind of writing which the Aryans never used, so that it would seem to be cut off from any connexion with the date of the Aryan art of writing. The art of writing, says Dr. Sarup, had not been invented during the period of the Ṛgveda. Rather, it had not been invented by the Ṛgveda people, but there may have been people all around them who had already invented it and were using it. Nevertheless, from the fact that the Mohenjo-daro people had a kind of writing and the Ṛgveda people had not Dr. Sarup concludes that the Ṛgveda civilization was prior.

Dr. Sarup's discussion brngs out several important points. It shows that it is impossible to speak of the priority of either the culture of Mohenjo-daro or of the Ṛgveda until some connexion between the two is established. It also shows what kind of evidence is wanted before a connexion can be assumed. Most of all, some chronological foothold is wanted, and this is now a more hopeful possibility. We now no longer need to discuss the Aryan question in a vacuum. There are the Aryans of Iran, and the names of Indo-Aryan gods and Sanskrit names have been discovered as far away as Asia Minor. Some of these can be dated, for the chronology of Mesopotamia and Western Asia already rests on a much safer basis than the Indian. As for the language of Mohenjo-daro, Dr. Sarup says that we do not

know definitely whether the script was written from right to left or from left to right, nor whether the language was agglutinative, synthetic or otherwise, nor whether it was of an Aryan or non-Aryan character. Father Heras claims to have read it as Dravidian, but has not yet published his solution, and he has evidently not convinced Dr. Sarup.

E. J. THOMAS

The Vāyu-Purāṇa

The original *Vāyu* is perhaps the oldest of the extant Purāṇas.[1] The *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.; III, 191, 16) speaks of a 'Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu'; the *Harivaṃśa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.; I, 7, 13 and 25) refers to 'Vāyu' as an authority; Bāṇabhaṭṭa says in his *Harṣacarita* that he listened to the reading of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* in his native village;[2] and Alberūni repeatedly names a *Vāyu-purāṇa* in his account of India.[3]

The character of the *Vāyu* as a Mahāpurāṇa has sometimes been called in question.[4] The cause of this doubt is the use of the title *'Śiva'* or *'Śaiva'* for *'Vāyavīya'* in the majority of the lists of 'eighteen Mahāpurāṇas'.[5] But this substitution, which has been taken wrongly in favour of the comparatively late sectarian Upapurāṇa called *'Śiva-purāṇa'*, is based on the Śaiva character of the *Vāyu*. The *Skanda* says: "The fourth (Purāṇa), declared by Vāyu, is known as *Vāyavīya*. It is also called *Śaiva* on account of

1 In the following pages the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Vāyu* has been used.

2 *Harṣacarita*, ch. iii, (pavamāna-proktaṃ purāṇaṃ papāṭha).

3 Sachau, *Alberūni's India*, I, pp. 41-2, 130, 168, 194, 247, 287, etc.

4 Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes the *'Vāyu p.'* among the Upapurāṇas. See *Nityācāra-pradipa*, ASB. ed., p. 19. Śridhara Svāmin, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p.*, explains the word *'śaivaka'* as *'Śiva-purāṇa'*. See his commentary on *Bhāgavata* XII, 13, 4. Mitra Miśra recognises the Śaiva as a *Mahāpurāṇa* and says:

यं पि विष्णुपुराणे ब्रह्माण्डमादाय वायवीय-त्यागेन या च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते वायवीयमुपादाय ब्रह्माण्डपुराणपरित्यागेन अष्टादशसंख्या उक्ता सा कल्पभेदेन व्यवस्थापनीया।

See *Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣāprakāśa* (ed. Parvatiya Nityānanda Śarmā, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1906). p. 13.

5 See *Viṣṇu-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) III, 6, 21 ff.; *Bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed.) XII, 7, 23 ff. and XII, 13, 4 ff.; *Kūrma* (Vaṅga. ed.) I, 1, 13 ff.; *Padma* (Anss. ed.) I, 62, 2 ff., IV, 111, 90 ff., VI, 219, 25 ff., and VI, 263, 77 ff.; *Varāha* (Vaṅga. ed) 112, 69 ff.; *Mārkaṇḍeya* (Vaṅga. ed) 137, 8 ff.; *Liṅga* (Jivānanda's ed.) I, 39, 61 ff.; *Śiva* (Vaṅga. ed.) V (*Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*), i, 1, 38 ff.; Śivamāhātmya-khaṇḍa of the *Śūta-saṃhitā* commented on by Mādhavācārya (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1377); *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382); Saṃbhava-kāṇḍa of the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa of the *Śaṃkara-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1363); and so forth.

its connection with (i.e., treatment of) Śiva-bhakti It contains 24,000 ślokas."[6] The description of the fourth Mahāpurāṇa, as given in the *Matsya, Nāradīya* and *Agni,* also agrees with the contents of the present *Vāyu-purāṇa.*[7] None of the Nibandha-writers, who have drawn upon the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva-purāṇa,* have been found to make any confusion between the two; for the verses quoted from the '*Vāyavīya*' or '*Vāyu-purāṇa*' are, in the majority of cases, found only in the present *Vāyu* but not in the *Śiva;* and those quoted from the '*Śaiva*' or '*Śiva-purāṇa*' are sometimes traceable in the present *Śiva* but never in the *Vāyu.* That the *Vāyu* was more important in the eyes of at least the Nibandhakāras is shown by the fact that almost all of them quote verses from it, whereas the *Śiva-p.* is drawn upon by a very few of them. Hence it seems that the attempt to raise the *Śiva-p.* to the status of a Mahā-

6 चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।
शिवभक्तिसमायोगाच्छैवं तच्चापराख्यया ॥
चतुर्विंशतिसंख्यातं सहस्राणि तु शौनक ।

Skanda-p. (Vaṅga. ed.) V, iii, (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1, 33-34a. These verses are also found in the *Revā-māhātmya* which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa.* See Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue,* p. 65.

7 See *Matsya* (Vaṅga. ed.) 53, 18, *Nāradiya* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I, 95 and *Agni* (Vaṅga. ed.) 272, 4b-5. The mention of the Śveta-kalpa as connected with the declaration of the '*Vāyavīya*' *Purāṇa* should not create any difficulty, for the *Vāyu-p.* seems to connect itself with the Varāha-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 11 and 13; 7, 5; 21, 12 and 23) and to identify this Kalpa with the Śveta-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 13; 23, 63 ff. and 114 ff.). Moreover, the *Nāradīya P.,* whose list of contents of the '*Vāyavīya*' *Purāṇa* agrees much with those of our *Vāyu* but not even partially with those of the *Śiva,* also speaks of the connection of the '*Vāyavīya*' with the Śveta-kalpa. The word *bhāga-dvaya-samanvita* used by the *Nāradīya P.* with respect to the '*Vāyavīya*' should not be taken to point to the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* (of the *Śiva-p.*) which also consists of two *bhāgas* (parts). Eggeling, in his *India Office Catalogue,* VI, pp. 1299-1301, describes a few mss. of a Purāṇa which is called '*vāyuprokta-purāṇa*' or '*vāyu-purāṇa*' in the colophons of chapters. It is generally the same as our present *Vāyu,* and is divided into two khaṇḍas (or kāṇḍas) or four *pādas.* The ASB. edition of the *Vāyu* also is divided into two *bhāgas.*

Of the twelve Saṃhitās of the *Śiva-p.* the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* only is declared by Vāyu. So, how could the words *vāyavīya, vāyu-prokta* etc. be applicable to the entire *Śiva-p.* which begins with a Saṃhitā other than the *Vāyavīya*?

purāṇa[8] was due to a comparatively late sectarian zeal.[9] The *Devī-bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed.; I, 3, 14) and the *'Padma-p.'* referred to by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary on the Dharma-saṃhitā of the *Śiva-p.*,[10] include the *Śiva* among the Upapurāṇas.

The *Vāyu* consists of four Pādas—(1) Prakriyā, comprising chaps. 1-6, (2) Anuṣaṅga, chaps. 7-64, (3) Upodghāta, chaps. 65-99. and (4) Upasaṃhāra, chaps. 100 to the end. It deals with all the five topics characteristic of the old Purāṇas. Over and above these, there are a few chapters on Smṛti matters; viz.,

chaps.	16-17	— on the duties of the castes (*varṇas*) and *āśramas*,
chap.	18	— on the penances of yatis,
chaps	57-59	— on *yuga-dharma*,
,,	73-83	— on funeral sacrifices (including impurity due to births and deaths, and purification of things),
chap.	101	— on hells and results of actions done, and
chaps.	105-122	— on the glories of Gayā.

These chapters do not seem to have belonged to the present *Vāyu* in its earliest form. They are in all likelihood later additions. Of these, chaps. 16-18 are comprised in the section on Pāśupata Yoga which betrays the influence of chaps. 39-43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* In this section, which extends from chap. 10 (verses 68 ff.) to 20,

8 In its *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*, the *Śiva-p.* lays claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa saying that the fourth Mahāpurāṇa is the *Śaiva* which consists of twelve Saṃhitās. See *Śiva-p.* V, 1, 41.

9 The verse "……वायवीयमनुत्तमम् । अष्टादशं समुद्दिष्टं ब्रह्माण्डमिति संज्ञितम् ॥ in *Kūrma* I, 1, which includes the *'Śaiva'* among the *Mahāpurāṇas*, should not be taken strongly in support of the early date of the *Śiva-p.* and its character as a Mahāpurāṇa. This verse most probably means: "That excellent (Purana) *proclaimed by Vāyu* is enumerated as the eighteenth and is known as *Brahmāṇḍa*", because the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* also is proclaimed by Vāyu and is called 'vāyu-prokta *brahmāṇḍa*' in the colophons of its chapters.

10 Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, ASB., V, p. 289.

the *Vāyu* has not only a good number of verses in common with the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[11] but has also improved upon the latter with fresh addition of chapters and verses. Now, we have seen that *Mārkaṇḍeya* 39-43 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 200 A.D.[12] Therefore chaps. 16-18 of the *Vāyu-p.* should be dated later still. The fact that the section on Pāśupata yoga is not found in the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* tends to show that it was interpolated after 400 A.D., because the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* could not have been separated earlier than 400 A.D. Consequently, *Vāyu* 16-18 also are to be dated later than that period. As Śūlapāṇi quotes a verse from chap. 18 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka,* they are certainly earlier than 1300 A.D. None of the early Nibandhakāras being found to draw upon them, it is difficult to place the lower limit of the date at a still earlier period.

Chaps. 57-59, dealing with *yuga-dharma,* give an account of the period ranging from the reign of the Nandas to the end of the Āndhra rule in Western India.[13] Therefore, these chapters should not be dated earlier than 200 A.D. They were, however, written earlier than 275 A.D., because the *Matsya-p.* borrowed from the *Vāyu* a good number of chapters, including the three mentioned above, in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.[14] Of these three chapters, chap. 59 has been drawn upon by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (see Appendix).

Chaps. 73-83, on *śrāddha,* are included in the section 'Śrāddha-kalpa' (covering chaps. 71-85), the greater part of which is given as an interlocution between Bṛhaspati and his son Śaṃyu. In these chapters yogins have been given remarkable prominence as invited

11 Cf. *Vāyu,* 16 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 41, 3 ff.; *Vāyu,* 17 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 41, 18 ff.; *Vāyu,* 19 with *Mārkaṇḍeya* 43; and *Vāyu,* 20 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 42, 5 ff.

12 See my essay on the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* in *IHQ.,* XI, 1935, pp. 108 ff.

13 See my essay on 'the Hindu society before 200 A.D. and the Purāṇic rites and customs in the first stage of their development' to be shortly published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

14 See my essay on the '*Matsya-purāṇa*' in *ABORI.,* XVII, pp. 1 ff.

guests.[15] It is said: "Śrāddhas should be carefully offered to yogins. What is eaten by an adept in yoga saves one from great fear. A yogin is superior to a thousand householders, a hundred forest-hermits and a thousand students." Such prominence given to yogins is not traceable in the Codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, who do not seem to have held yogins in high esteem. On the other hand, yogins are given great prominence in the existing Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās which are certainly later than the above mentioned Codes. It is therefore highly probable that the chapters on *śrāddha* in the *Vāyu-p.* belong to a date not earlier than 200 A.D. This date seems also to be supported by the hatred with which the 'nagnas' (the naked) have been mentioned in chaps. 78 and 79.[16] The word *nagna* is said to mean those people who are without garments. Such people are clearly the Jains and the Buddhists, because the terms *nirgrantha* and *pāṣaṇḍa* also have been used in these chapters of the *Vāyu*. The contempt shown to these religious sects could be possible only when their religions were in a decadent state. Buddhism, which found its strongest upholders in Aśoka Maurya and Kaniṣka, was probably in a flourishing condition at the end of the second century A.D. So the chapters of the *Vāyu* cannot possibly be earlier than that time. The mention of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in *Vāyu* 82 points to a date earlier than 500 A.D. It is probable that the chapters under discussion were added to the *Vāyu* about the middle of the third century A.D.

Most of the above mentioned chapters on *śrāddha* have been drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers early and late; viz., Śūlapāṇi has quoted verses from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka* (Jivānanda's ed.); Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 77 and 82 in his *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind.); Kullūkabhaṭṭa from chap. 78 in his

15 *Vāyu*, 71, 50 ff. 16 *Vāyu*, 78, 24, and 79, 25

commentary on the Manu-smṛti; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 75, 76 in his Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (ed. Islampurkar, Bombay); Madanapāla from chaps. 75 and 79-81 in his *Madanapariṇata* (Bibl. Ind.); Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Kṛtyācāra;* (Ms. No. 4339, Dacca Univ. Lib.); Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 81 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Ms. No. 1055C, Dacca, Univ. Lib.); Devaṇabhaṭṭa from chaps. 75 and 78-80 in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (ed. Govt. of Mysore); Ballālasena from chap. 80 in his *Dānasāgara* (India Office Mss.) and from chap. 19 in his *Adbhutasāgara* (ed. Muralidhara Jhā, Benares); and Aparārka from chaps. 74-82 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (see Appendix).

All of the verses in *Vāyu* 73-83 do not seem to have come from the same date. Verses 14-32 of *Vāyu* 82 are most probably spurious. They do not occur in the great majority of mss., nor are they to be found in the corresponding chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* Besides these verses, there are certain others which were interpolated later, but it is very difficult to separate them. The fact that many of the quoted verses, especially on Śrāddha, are not found in the present *Vāyu,* proves that the Purāṇa has undergone substantial losses also.

Chap. 101, on hells and results of actions, probably comes from the same date as chaps. 57-59. As there is no evidence sufficient for the determination of its date, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Chaps. 105-112, on Gayā-māhātmya, did not originally belong to the *Vāyu.* In many mss. of the Purāṇa this Māhātmya has been omitted.[17] On the other hand, it is often found to appear as an independent text in mss. as well as in printed editions. That this appendage was attached to the *Vāyu* earlier than 1400 A.D. is certain, for Vācaspatimiśra quotes numerous verses from chaps. 105 and 111-112 (see Appendix).

17 See *Vāyu-p.*, p. 426, footnote.

Verses quoted from the '*Vāyu-Purāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' in

	Vāyu-p.
1. Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.* (Anss. ed.),	
p. 258 (twice)	= 78, 51b-52a and 52b-54 (except 53a).
p. 387	= 77, 27.
p. 448	= 79, 67.
pp. 454-5	79, 68 and 78-80. Three lines '*anāśramī tapas tepe*' etc. are not found.
p. 473	— Of the four lines quoted, only one tallies with *Vāyu*, 78, 31b; the other three are not found.
p. 475	= 74, 4.
pp. 487-8	= 80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5-8, 16 and 19-21. 74, 1-2. Verses beginning with '*śrāddheṣūpānahau dadyāt*', '*tūlapūrṇe tu yo dadyāt*' and '*vyajanaṃ tāla-vṛntaṃ ca*' are found to tally with *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 16, 8-9 and 10.
p. 490	= 75, 54b-55a.
p. 493	= 78, 48b-49a.
pp. 502-3	= 74, 20b-25a and 26-28. The lines '*svargāpavarga-sopānaṃ*' and '*bhrātaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ*' are not found.
p. 506	= 75, 43
p. 551	= 76, 31-33a and 34b-c.
p. 553	Of the 21 lines quoted, only the first three and the last one tally with *Vāyu*, 78, 8b-9a and 78, 10b respectively. These 21 lines are the same as *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 8b-9, 10b-12 and 14b-20.
p. 554	= 80, 42b-45a and 47-48.
p. 559	= 81, 18.
p. 560	= 82, 2a.
p. 924	= 79, 24b-25.
2. *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasena,	
p. 506	= 19, 18.
p. 507 (twice)	= 19, 17 and 25.
p. 508 (thrice)	= 19, 13, 27 and 14.
p. 509 (four times)	= 19, 16, 33 and 15. The verse '*nagnaṃ śravaṇakaṃ*' is not found.
3. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena,	
fol. 187a	= 80, 59.
4. Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary	
on *Manu*, III, 267	—(Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa*, Veṅkaṭ. ed., III, 14, 11b).
on *Manu*, IV, 49	= 78, 60.
5. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa,	
II, 589	= 79, 18.
IV, 25	= 80, 45.
203-4	—These verses tally with *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 14b-15, 16b and 17b-20.

	Vāyu-p.
208 (twice)	= 78, 31b-32a and 40.
331	= 75, 54b-55a.
366	= 75, 43.
370-371	= 75, 22.
392-3	= 80, 2.
393	= 59, 49.

6. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śridatta Upādhyāya.

fol. 2a	= 78,60.
,, 10a	= 79, 38 and 39b.
,, 12b	= 79, 33a and 34a.
,, 41a	= 79, 46b-47a
,, 64a	= 79, 88.

7. *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara,

fol. 173b	= 81, 2-4.
,, 188a	= 81, 4a.

8. Mādhavācārya's Com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, vol. I, part ii,

p. 369	—These verses, which are not found in the *Vāyu-p.*, are the same as *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 14b-20 (except 16a and 17a).
p. 412	= 75, 54b-55a.
p. 431	= 75, 22.
p. 438	= 76, 31.

9. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla,

p. 486	= 81, 2-4a.
p. 552	—These verses are found not in the *Vāyu* but in the *Brahāṇḍa* (III, 14, 9b, 10b-12 and 14b-17a).

	Vāyu-p.
p. 558	= 79, 53a. The other two lines '*gṛhasthānāṃ*' etc. are not found.
p. 579	= 80, 2.
p. 581	= 75, 54b-55a.
p. 591	= 75, 57b-58a, 71-72 and 75b-76a.
p. 600	= 75, 43.

10. *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,

p. 306	= 78, 48b-49a.
p. 347	= 18, 12.
pp. 429-430	= 78, 69; 79, 20-22a.
p. 474	= 79, 24b-25.

11. *Tirthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra,

p. 7	= 110, 2-3.
pp. 274-5	= 82, 9 and 43; 77, 96b-97a, 98-99, 101-103, 105-106a, (two lines '*snātvā dinatrayaṃ*', etc. on p. 275 of the *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found), 108a and 109.
pp. 280-281	= 108, 13a, 14-19 (one line *rāmatirthe naraḥ snātvā* is not found), 21b-23a, (one line '*āgatya ca*' on p. 281 of the *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* is not found), 22 and 28-30.
p. 282	= 108, 20.
pp. 284-5	= 110, 9-15b, 19-20b, 20c, (one line '*tilājya-dadhi*' is found in the footnote on p. 443 of the *Vāyu-p.*), 56-59a and 61a.

	Vāyu-p.
pp. 285-6	= 105, 18-19a, 26 and 33.
p. 286	= 108, 71b; (one line '*pūtaḥ*' etc. is not found); 111, 17.
p. 288	= 110, 17 and 21-22.
p. 289	= 110, 23-24 and 30-32.
pp. 290-292	= 110, 34-42 and 44-55.
p. 296	= 110, 8-9, 62a and 65.
pp. 298-301	= 111, 1-3; 110, 21, 17-18a and 23 24; 111, 4-6b, 7, 8-10a, 12, 10b-11a, 13-14 and 15-22. Some verses, which are not found in the running text, are given in the footnote on p. 443 of the *Vāyu-p.*
p. 303	= 109, 43. The other three lines are not found.
p. 309	= 111, 23a-b and 24-26.
pp. 310-312	= 111, 30a, 31-32, 35-36, 33-34 and 38-40. One line '*śrāddhāya piṇḍa-dānāya*' and one verse '*āmrāś ca siktāḥ*' on p. 311 of *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found.
pp. 314-8	= 111, 41, 44a, 45a, 44b, 45b-c, 46-49a, 50-52, 54a, 56b-63, 69-71a, 64-68, 73, (two verses are found in the footnote on p. 449 of the *Vāyu p.*), 74-75b.
p. 320	= 105, 26.
p. 321	= 107, 46 and 48.
pp. 321-3	= 111, 77, 78a, 79. Three lines '*dṛṣṭvā natvā'tha*', '*gayāyām dharma-pṛṣṭhe*' and '*gayā-śirṣe*' '*kṣaya-vaṭe*' are given in the footnote on p. 449 of the *Vāyu-p.* 111, 76, 82-84 and 75. 109, 5b and 7b-12. One line '*upendra tvaṃ*' on p. 323 of the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* is not found.
pp. 325-333	= 112, 21-22b, 23-26, (two lines are found in the footnote on p. 451 of the *Vāyu-p.*), 34b, 44b, 46-49a, 30-31, (four lines '*ud'bhijjāḥ*' etc. are not found), 49b-53, (the lines '*śrāddhi nāma*' etc. on p. 327 of the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found), 56-58a, 60 and 58b-59. 108, 12, 24, (five lines '*rāme vanaṃ gate*' etc. on p. 328 of the *Tīrtha-c.* are found in the footnote of the *Vāyu-p.*, p. 436), 43b-44a, (*Vāyu-p.*, pp. 436-7, footnote, verses 1-2, 5-15, 17, 16, 18-26a, 28-32, 34b-38a; three lines '*taṃ dṛṣṭvā*' etc. on p. 332 of the *Tīrtha-c.* are not found).

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

Dates of some Kākatīya Records

The recent Telugu publications *Kākatīya-saṃcika* (Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, 1935) and *Telaṃgāṇā-śāsanamulu*, vol. I (Lakṣmaṇarāya Pariśodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad, 1935) are of great importance to all students of Kākatīya history. The former gives the text of 39 valuable records of the Kākatīya kings, and the latter contains the text of no less than 57 inscriptions of the family. But some 16 records are common to both the volumes. It is however a matter of regret that, excepting the facsimiles of the Kōṭagiri and Malkāpura records in the *Kākatīya-saṃcika*, there are no facsimiles of the inscriptions to enable us to verify the readings of the records. I have recently studied the *Telaṃgāṇāśāsanamulu* in which many passages appear to be wrongly deciphered. My doubts are chiefly based on the readings of dates which are generally given in Śaka years and are also named according to Jupiter's Cycle of Sixty Years (Southern). There are more than ten cases of inaccuracy in the dates, the readings in many of which are undoubtedly wrong. The present note deals with some such inaccuracies. It will be seen that some of the theories (based on such dates), advanced by Dr. Rama Rao in the *Kākatīya-saṃcika* are really unwarranted.

1. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Koṇḍiparti in the Warangal Dist. (No. 8 of *Telaṃgāṇāśāsanamulu*) is said to be dated in Śaka 1113 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śākābde tattva-rudrair = mitavati rudhirōdgāri-vaiśākha-māse* (p. 24). The number of the *Tattvas* is 25 (*Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra*, I, 61), and that of the *Rudras* is 11. The date is therefore undoubtedly 1125 according to the formula *aṅkasya vāmā gatiḥ*. Śaka 1125 (= A.D. 1203) was moreover a Rudhirōdgāri saṃvatsara, while Śaka 1113 was a Virodhakṛt year.

2. Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā in the Narasiṃha temple at Būrugugaḍḍa in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 32 of the same, and No. 28 of *Kākatīya-saṃcika*) is said to bear the date Śaka 1180 (p. 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1180 lagu vibhavasaṃvatsara jyēṣṭha śu 10 guruvāramunāṃdu* (p. 71). This reading would suggest that the generally accepted theory regarding Rudrāmbā's accession to the Kākatīya throne about A.D. 1261 is wrong.[1] Śaka 1180 (=A.D. 1258) was however a Kālayukta year and not a Vibhava year. The correct reading is no doubt Śaka 1190 (with 9 instead of 8 in the third figure), i.e., A.D. 1268, which was a Vibhava saṃvatsara. The details prove that the corresponding date in English Calendar is Thursday, 24th May, 1268. A.D.

3. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati in a mosque at Būdapur in the Mahaboobnagar Dist. (No. 21 of the same) is said to be dated in Śaka 1184 (p. 204) and the date portion is read as *Śakavaruṣaṃbulu 1184 vartiṃ paṃgānu āṃgirasa-saṃvatsarāna.....śrāvaṇa-śuddha-budhavārāna sōma-grahaṇa-kālamuna* (p. 59). Śaka 1184 was a Dundubhi saṃvatsara. The third figure 8 is therefore evidently a misreading for 9, and the date is Śaka 1194 (A.D. 1272) which was an Āṅgirasa year. The question is moreover settled beyond doubt by the fact that there was no lunar eclipse on Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī in Śaka 1184, but there was actually an eclipse of the moon on the above *tithi* in Śaka 1194. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 10th August, 1272 A.D.

4. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Vāḍapalli in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 13 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1133 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣaṃbulu 1133 ḍagu pramādica-saṃvatsaramuna* (p. 38). Now, Śaka 1133 was not a Pramādica, but a Prajāpati saṃvatsara. The only Pramādica year in Gaṇapati's reign (*circa* 1198-1261) was Śaka 1175=A.D.

1 See *Kākatīya-saṃcika*, pp. 56ff. In a previous paper, I accepted this early date for Rudrāmbā's accession, see *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 96.

1253. So, either *pramādica* is a misreading for *prajāpati* or 1133 is a misreading for 1175.

5. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Annavaram in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 12 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1130 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1130 agu kālayuktasaṃvatsara-māgha-śu vidiyā śanivāramuna* (pp. 37-38). Śaka 1130 was however a Vibhava saṃvatsara and the nearest Kālayukta year was Śaka 1120 = A.D. 1198 which seems to be the correct reading of the date. It is probable that the third figure in the date is to be read as 2 and not as 3. But if *vidiyā* = *dvitīyā*, the details are irregular for both Śaka 1130 and 1120. The reading may be wrong.

6. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Nāgulapāḍu in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 10 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1124 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 112 |4| yagu kālaükti-saṃvatsaramunaṃdu* (p. 31). Śaka 1124 = A.D. 1202 was however a Dundubhi year, and the nearest Kālayukta year, as we have seen, was Śaka 1120 = A.D. 1198 which is possibly the correct reading of the date.

7. Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā from Pānugal in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 34 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1187 (p. 206) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣamulu 1187 yagu prabhavasaṃbatsara-adhika-jyēṣṭha-bahula 13* (p. 73). Śaka 1187 was however a Krōdhana saṃvatsara, and the nearest Prabhava saṃvatsara was Śaka 1189 = A.D. 1267 which is evidently the correct reading. Śaka 1189 had an Adhika-Jyēṣṭha which was absent in Śaka 1187.

8. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati discovered near a ruined Śiva temple at Gaṇapavaram in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 18 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1175 (p. 204) and the date portion is read as *śākābdaiḥ bāṇa-bhuvana-vibhāvarīpati-sudhākiraṇa-guṇite śrīmukha-saṃvatsare māgha-śukl-āṣṭamyāṃ dinakara-dine śakavarṣa*

1175 (p. 50). *Bāṇa* = 5; *bhuvana* has been (wrongly) taken to represent 7; *vibhāvaripati* = 1; and *sudhākiraṇa* = 1. According to the general formula, the date then stands as Śaka 1175. But this year was actually not a Śrīmukha but a Pramādica saṃvatsara. The only Śrīmukha year in Gaṇapati's reign was Śaka 1135 which must be the correct date.[2] It is evident that the third figure in the date is really 3 and not 7. As regards the word *bhuvana* which stands for this figure in the date in words, it signifies 3 and 14 (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, pp. 80-81). The details are irregular for Śaka 1175. The eighth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha fell on Monday (not Sunday) in Śaka 1135, corresponding to 20th January, 1214 A.D.

9. Inscription of the time of Gaṇaṃrudra|de|va possibly a misreading for *Gaṇapaddeva*, (i.e., Gaṇapati) from Pammi in the Warangal Dist. (No. 31 of the same, and No. 27 of *Kākatīya-saṃcika*) is given the date Śaka 1156 (p. 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1156 aṃdu durmukhi-saṃvatsara-vaiśākha-śuddha 11 gu* (p. 68). But Śaka 1156 was a Jaya saṃvatsara, and the nearest Durmukha year was Śaka 1158 = A.D. 1236 which should be the correct date. The corresponding English date would be Thursday, 17th April, 1236 A.D.

10. Inscription of the time of Pratāparudra from Maṇūr in the Medak Dist. (No. 45 of the same) is said to be dated in Śaka 1216 (p. 207) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣaṃbulu veyyiṃni-yiṃnūṭa-payyāraguneṃṭi ānaṃda-saṃvatsara-māgha-śu 1 ādivārāna* (p. 88). The only Ānanda year in Pratāparudra's reign (*circa* 1290-1330) was Śaka 1236 = A.D. 1314, which appears to be the correct reading of the date. In place of the letter *pa* after *veyyiṃni-yiṃnūṭa* (i.e., 1200) I am inclined to read *muppai*, and for *śu 1 ādivārāna* I suggest the reading *śu 7 āditya-vārāna*.[3] The

2 Prof. Raychaudhuri first suggested to me the possibility of Śaka 1135 being the correct date of the record.

3 The figures 1 and 7 are sometimes confused; see *JAIHRS.*, vol. XI, p. 10.

corresponding English date appears to be Sunday, 12th January, 1315 A.D.

11. Inscription of the time of Prola from Mātēḍu in the Warangal Dist. (No. 4 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1043 (p. 202) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣaṃbulu 1043 śarvari-saṃvatsara-caitra-śuddha 3 vaḍḍavāramunāṃdu* (p. 4). Śaka 1043 was however a Plava saṃvatsara, and the previous year, i.e., Śaka 1042 = A.D. 1120 was a Śārvari saṃvatsara.[4]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

4 The calculations in the present note are based on L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. I part (see Tables I [i] and II).

Nirṇayakaustubha or Laghunirṇayakaustubha of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa

The importance of fixing approximate dates, etc., for performing various religious ceremonies and duties has been recognised by the Hindu society from time immemorial. Innumerable references and remarks about *kāla* lie scattered in the vast literatures of Astronomy, Purāṇa and Smṛti. But it is the Nibandha writers who devoted special treatises to this subject. Among the available treatises the earliest is *Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana who flourished in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. Prof. P. V. Kane has pointed out (*Hist. Dh.*, I, p. 319) that Jīmūtavāhana names seven predecessors who dealt with the subject of *kāla*, cf.

जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरान्धुक संभ्रम-हरिवंश धवल-योगेशैः ।
कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति ॥ *Kālaviveka*, p. 8.

After Jīmūtavāhana, the subject received exhaustive treatment at the hands of many Nibandha-writers. From the 11th century down to the middle of the 18th century several works have been written on this subject.

The object of this article is to present a work which probably is the last work. There is only one ms. so far known of this work and that is deposited in the Government collection of the B.O.R., Institute of Poona. Following is a short description:—

No. 350 of 1875-76; size—8⅜ in. by 4 in. Extent:—45 leaves; 9 lines to a page; 27 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; handwriting legible; benedictory phrase, topics and the colophon are tinged with red pigment; corrections made with yellow pigment; paper old and musty.

Begins:—श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
प्रणम्य जानकीजानिं महाशब्दोपनामकः ।
विश्वेश्वरः सुबालानामबबोधार्थमादरात् ॥१॥

हेमाद्रिमाधवौ वीक्ष्य मयूखं कौस्तुभं तथा ।
यत्नान्निर्णयसिंधुं च मदनं निर्णयामृतम् ॥२॥
कल्पद्रुमं च तिथ्यर्कं कालतत्त्वविवेचनम् ।
एतेषामभिधातेन तनुते लघुनिर्णयकौस्तुभम् ॥३॥

Ends: —अथ पुण्यतिथयः ।

अमावास्या तु सोमेन सप्तमी भानुना तथा ।
चतुर्थी भानुपुत्रेण अष्टमी बुधसंयुता ॥
चतस्रस्तिथयः पुण्याः सूर्यग्रहणसंनिभाः ।
स्नानं दानं तथा श्राद्धं तत्सर्वं चाक्षयं भवेत् ॥
तुलामकरमेषेषु प्रातःस्नानं सदा भवेत ॥

इति कार्तिकमाघवैशाखस्नानानि । तानि मलमासादौ गुर्वस्तादावपि कार्याणि । यदा वैशाखादौ मलमासपातस्तदा मासद्वयं स्नानदानादि ।

इति पौंडरीकयाजिविश्वेश्वरविरचितं निर्णयकौस्तुभं समाप्तम् । संवत् १७६३ फाल्गुन शुक्ल भृगौ लिपिकृतं श्रीनंदेन शुभं ॥

Like other works on the subject, the *Nirṇayakaustubha* starts with the discussion of the nature of *tithi* and the divisions of the day. Then the anniversaries of ten avatāras is fixed. Next follow the important festivals like *Rāmanavamī, Dolotsava, Madanotsava* occurring in different months. Then comes the fixing of *grahaṇa* (eclipses) followed by a discussion about the *saṅkrānti*. The description of *puṇyatithi* brings the work to a close.

Apart from its intrinsic merit, the importance of the work lies in the fact that it names about 38 authorities. The author, before finally giving his own opinion on any point, enters into a discussion and gives the views of other writers on the subject. Some of the writers are quoted as many as 24 times. These names are very helpful in determining the age of our author and in bringing together at one place the writers on the subject of *kāla*. I have depended upon Prof. Kane in giving the dates of the writers or works

against their names. Figures in brackets indicate the number of times a work or an author is quoted in the *Nirṇayakaustubha*.

1. Anantabhaṭṭa (1) Several people of that name.
2. Aparārka (1) Commentator on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, about 1115-30 A.D.
3. Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārta (2)=Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, 1490-1570 A.D.
4. Āśvalāyana (1).
5. Kātyāyana (1).
6. *Kālatattvavivecana* (9) by Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A.D.
7. *Kālādarśa* (2) by Ādityabhaṭṭakavivallabha, 1200—1325.
8. *Kṛtyaratnāvali* (10) by Rāmacandra, son of Viṭṭhala, 1648-9.
9. *Kaustubha* (20)=*Smṛtikaustubha* by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, about 1675 A.D.
10. *Govindarṇava* (1)=*Smṛtisāgara* or *Dharmatattvāvaloka* by Śeṣanṛsiṁha, between 1400-1450 A.D.
11. Candrikākāra (1) Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭamaunin, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A.D.
12. *Tithyarka* (3)=by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, about 1683.
13. *Tristhalisetu* (1) by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, about 1550-60.
14. *Divodāsiya* (5) Earlier than 1500 A.D.
15. *Dikṣita* (2) Earlier than 1100 A.D.
16. *Dipikā* (1)=*Kālanirṇaya*° or *Tithinirṇaya*°?
17. *Nirṇayadipa* (2) mentioned in *Nirṇayasindhu*
18. *Nirṇayasindhu* (23) by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, 1612 A.D
19. Nirṇayakṛt (1) same as above?
20. *Nirṇayāmṛta* (14) by Allāḍanātha, earlier than 1500 and later than 1250.
21. *Purāṇasamuccaya* (1).
22. *Pratāpamārtaṇḍa* (1) by Pratāparudra, about 1500 A.D.
23. Prapitāmahacaraṇāḥ or Asmatprapitāmaha-Ratnākarabhaṭṭacaraṇāḥ (4)
24. *Prayogaratna* (1) many of this name.
25. *Bhāgavata* (1).
26. *Madanapārijāta* (1) by Viśveśvesarabhaṭṭa, 1360-90 A.D.
27. *Madanaratna* (17) by Madanasiṁhadeva, 1300-1500 A. D.
28. Manu (1).
29. *Mayūkha* (16) by Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa, 1610-45.

30. Mādhava (21)=Mādhavācārya, 1330-60 A.D.
31. *Rāmakalpadruma* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Kamalākara, about 1640-70.
32. *Vidhānapārijāta* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Nageśa, composed at Benares in 1625.
33. Vṛttikṛt (1)?
34. *Vratārka* (1) by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nilakaṇṭha, between 1625-75.
35. *Smṛtikaustubha* (5), see no. 9 above.
36. *Smṛtyarthasāra* (1) by Śrīdharācārya?
37. Hemādri (24) 126-70 A.D.
38. Nārada (1).

Thus we see that the *Nirṇayakaustubha* quotes a work of so late a date as 1683 A.D. Hence, he cannot be earlier than that, and Prof. Kane is wrong in putting him earlier than 1500 A.D. (*Hist. Dh.*, I, p. 742). Another statement of Prof. Kane which requires revision is that on p. 573 of his *Hist. Dh.*, I. He says that *Nirṇayakaustubha* is "mentioned by Raghunandana and Śaṅkara in *Saṁskārabhāskara*." In the first place, Raghunandana (= Raghunandanabhaṭṭācārya, author of *Smṛtitattva*) is very respectfully mentioned as Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārta twice by *Nirṇayakaustubha*, and the work of Śaṅkara (= Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nīlakaṇṭha), viz., *Vratārka* is also once mentioned by *Nirṇayakaustubha*. Secondly, there is no *Saṁskārabhāskara* composed by Śaṅkara except that what is also called *Saṁskāramayūkha* by Nilakaṇṭha revised by his son. And this is quoted 16 times in the *Nirṇayakaustubha*.

Now we see that the only information afforded by the ms. about the author Viśveśvara is that he was surnamed as *Mahāśabda* (in the first verse) and *Puṇḍarikayājin* (in the last colophon) and that he was the great-grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. We know of one Viśveśvara, of the Śāṇḍilya gotra, surnamed *Mahāśabda*, who was the son of Rāmeśvara, grandson of Gaṅgārāma and great-grandson of Ratnākara and who composed *Pratāpārka* (based on his ances-

tor's *Jayasiṁha-kalpadruma*) under the patronage of Pratāpasiṁha, grandson of Jayasiṁha of Amber. I am tempted to quote an extract from *Pratāpārka* as given in Peterson's *Alwar Cat.* (pp. 129-30, no. 328).

स्वस्तिश्रीमनुजातिराजितमहावंशावतंसोऽखिल-
क्षोणीपालविशालसद्गुणगणैर्भूमण्डले विश्रुतः ॥
आसिंधुस्फुरदुज्ज्वलोज्ज्वलयशाः स श्रीभृतो भूभृतां
भूषा श्रीजयसिंहभूपतिपतिर्भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥२॥
येन श्रीश्रुतिमार्गपंकजवती सूर्येण धर्मादरा-
ल्लुप्तप्राय इहाखिलः श्रुतिपथः प्राकाशि धर्मावहः ॥
येनाकारि तुरंगमेध उदिताच्छास्त्रोक्तमार्गात्पुन-
र्भूदेवामरशाखिना सुकृतिना काले कलावद्यहो ॥३॥
तस्यार्यात्तनयः प्रसिद्धविनयः श्रीमाधवो माधव-
श्रीपादाब्जरतिर्धरासुरनतिर्भूमीपतिः सन्मतिः ।
यत्सौंदर्यकला विलोक्य विकलः कामोऽपि कामं मुदा
लोकैराकलिताकल्पनापटुतरैः शोभाभरान्निर्ममे ॥४॥
तत्सूनुर्विलसत्प्रतापमहिमा श्रीमत्प्रतापाभिधो
भूयो भूपतिभूषणोऽखिलगुणग्रामाभिरामोत्सवः ।
वैरिव्रातविघातको बहुकलावैदग्ध्यविद्यानिधि-
र्भूविख्यातयशाः क्षितौ विजयते युद्धोद्भटो विष्णुवत् ॥५॥
... ॥६॥
श्रीशांडिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि
श्रोतस्मार्तसमस्तकर्मनिपुणः श्रीदेवभट्टो महान् ।
रामांघ्रिप्रवणस्ततोऽजनि सुधीः सम्राट् स रत्नाकरः
काशीस्थो बहुविश्रुतो निजकुलालंकारचूडामणिः ॥७॥
कृत्वा येन मतां मतेन विधिवत्सद्वाजपेयं पुन-
श्चक्रे वैदिकसत्कृतेन कृतिना श्रीपुंडरीकः क्रतुः ।
विप्रेभ्यो विधिवत्प्रदाप्य बहुशो ग्रामान्विकामार्थदान्
कीर्तिर्येन च संविधाय विमला ब्रह्मा पदं प्रापिता ॥८॥
स्वस्ति श्रीजयसिंहनामनृपतेर्नामांकितो भूतले
ग्रंथः पंडितसम्मतोऽतिललितः कल्पद्रुमाख्यः कृतः ।
विद्याविश्रुतसत्कुशाग्रमतिना तत्तद्गुणाम्भोधिना
श्रीरत्नाकरशर्मणा जयति स क्षोदक्षमो धीमताम् ॥९॥
तत्सूनुः सुकृती कृती समभवद्भूदेवदेवद्रुमो
गंगाराम इति प्रथामधिगतः श्रीमान्महायाजकः ।

येन क्षोणिपतिप्रपूजितपदांभोजेन काश्यां मुदा
दत्ता ब्रह्मपुरी निधाय विधिवद्धर्मीसुरेभ्योऽचिरात् ॥१०॥
आसीत्तत्तनुजो निजान्वयगुणावासोऽतिशान्तो महो-
भृषा भूसुरमंडनं मुनिरिव ख्यातः स रामेश्वरः ।
येनालं परकामिनीपरधनाकांक्षापि नाराधिता
स्वप्नेऽपि स्फुटकीर्तिना कलयता श्रीशंभुना तुल्यताम् ॥११॥
जातस्तत्तनयो द्विजातिविनयो विश्वेश्वरस्सन्दतिः (?)
स्वस्ति श्रीसुमतिप्रतापधरणीपालाज्ञया धर्मधीः ।
आदाय प्रपितामहेन रचितात्कल्पद्रुमाद्विस्मृता-
त्सारं संतनुते बुधोपकृतये सोऽर्कं प्रतापादिकम् ॥१२॥

Prof. Kane thinks that this work was composed about 1750 A.D. Now, it is quite evident that this Viśveśvara and Viśveśvara, the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha* are identical. We know that *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* was composed by *Ratnākarabhaṭṭa*, son of Devabhaṭṭa. The work is in 19 chapters and it was composed under the patronage of Savāi Jayasiṁha of Amber, who performed *Jyotiṣṭoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Paunḍarika* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The date of completing *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* is—

शाके विक्रमपार्थिवस्य शुभदे व्योमर्षिमप्तेन्दुयुग-
वर्षे शोभनसंज्ञके शिवतिथौ मासे नभस्याह्वये ।
कूर्मश्रीजयसिंहदेवनगरे पुण्येंबिकेशांचिते
ग्रन्थः कल्पतरुः समाप्तिमगमत् सज्ज्ञानवित्तप्रदः ॥१॥

(Peterson's *Cat. of Alwar mss.*, p. 118, Extract 305)

This date works out to be Saturday the 25th of July, 1713 A.D. In his note "Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap" (*Indian Culture*, January, 1937, pp. 547-8), Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh says in foot-note 3—"This research apparently refers to Jaya Sinha's compilation on Smṛti entitled *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*." Mr. Ghosh is wrong, for the author or compiler is Ratnākarabhaṭṭa who was a *guru* of Jayasiṁha. In *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (which has got only one ms. and that is No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona), the author Kavi Kṛṣṇa refers to Ratnā-

kara and other scholars at the court of Īśvarasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha:—

तस्याखिले पंडितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुभ्रातृसुतोऽतिविद्वान् ।
श्रीपांडरीकाध्वरयाजयो(को)ऽभून्नित्यं मर्मार्पे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥ ५॥
ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥६॥
तदात्मजः श्रीव्रजनाथमा(ना)मा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ भ्रातरौ संविहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने (नौ) ॥६। (fol. 37a)

The point raised by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar (*Indian Culture*, vol. III no. 2, pp. 376-9) has been successfully controverted by Mr. P. K. Gode in his article "Some Contemporary Evidence regarding Aśvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sewai Jayasingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.)." *IHQ.*, December 1936 (pp. 364-7).

It is interesting to note that references to Jayasiṁha's performing *Aśvamedha* are found at several places in works of poets or scholars, who were almost his contemporaries. For instance, Vrajanātha, son of Prabhākara who was a brother of Ratnākara, says in his *Padyatarangiṇi* (B.O.R.I. Mss., nos. 724 and 725 of 1886-92 composed in 1752 A.D. in honour of Mādhavasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha)—

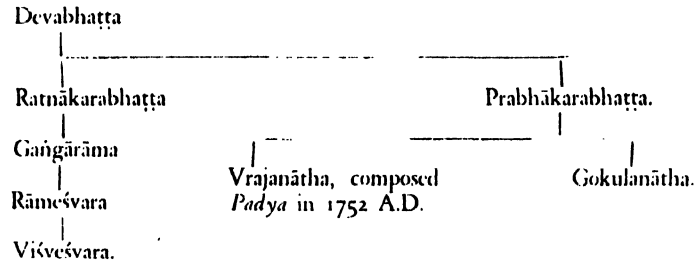
केनाथकारि नहि तेषु तुरंगमेधः । 3b.
पारीक्षितोऽपि विदधे हयमेधमुच्चैः । 4a.
वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधमुच्चैः । 5c.
(Concluding verses).

Then Sadāśiva Śarmā, son of Gadādhara, also at Mādhavasiṁha's Court (जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माग्रयः । माधवसिंहसुधर्मासदसि सुधर्मः स्वधर्माग्रयः । १३०॥ quoted from *Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*, ms. No. 436 of 1887-91 by Mr. M. M. Patkar in his article "*Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*—A poem in praise of King Mādhava-*siṁha* of Jaipur by Śyāma Laṭṭu; composed in 1755 A.D."—*Poona Orientalist*, vol. I, no. 4, pp. 34-37), composed a work on Dharma-

śāstra, called *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* (Ms. No. 236 of 1887-91 of B.O.R.I.) wherein he refers to Jayasiṁha as follows—

काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरंगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।
अंगदिनः कुंडलिनः कंकणिनो येन विरचिता बु(वि)बुधाः ॥४ fol. 1b.

Now, we arrive at the following genealogy of our author Viśveśvara:



From *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa*, vol. 13, p. 122, we learn that Pratāpasiṁha, died in 1803 after reigning for 15 years. So that, he reigned from 1788-1803. Therefore, Viśveśvara must have composed his Pratāpārka *after 1788 A.D. Nirṇayakaustubha* also must be placed somewhere near about this date.

HAR DUTT SHARMA

The Problems of "Definition" and "Perception" in Śri Madhva's Epistemology

I. *"Definition"*

According to Jayatirtha, "Definition" is (1) what is invariably present in all the defined objects and (2) absent from objects other than the defined. The term 'invariably' brings out that the distinguishing trait should be found in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If we take only one of the two factors to constitute a definition, it lands us in the fallacy of over-pervasion: (1) A cow is a 'horned-animal'. This definition includes all other horned animals, such as buffaloes, sheep, etc.

(2) Dewlap is 'what is not found in animals other than cows'. 'Tawny colour' also is not found in animals other than cows. Hence the definition is overpervasive.

So both the factors: (1) invariable presence of the distinguishing trait in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined; and (2) its absence from objects other than the defined constitute together the 'definition'.

The first purpose of a definition is to facilitate our understanding of objects in their distinctive individuality and independence. The second is to mark off one class from another, each retaining its independence. To differentiate one individual from another within the limits of the given class is the third use of a definition. It is immaterial whether these purposes are stated separately or otherwise. Some hold that the one purpose of definition is individualisation of entities. A definition synthesises the features belonging to a class and the distinctive characteristics of the individuals coming under it.

In traditional Western logic "Definition" proceeds on the principle *'per genus et differentiam'*. A definition should state the proximate genus. This fact points out that the defined is a species coming under the genus stated. The differentia consists of quality or qualities which distinguish the defined from the species that are co-ordinate with it. The purpose of a definition according to Indian logicians also is to differentiate the defined object from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes. Definition helps us to denote the import of words.

According to the Nyāya school, "Definition" proceeds on the basis of the presence of the generic attribute in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined. There are two *jātis* according to the Nyāya school. One is '*sattā*' the highest universal or 'summum genus' (*parā jāti*), which brings all existence together, and emphasises their community of nature. The other is *aparā jāti*, which is many in number. The 'potness' is different from the 'clothness'. The universals are not ubiquitous like space or soul. They exist in particular individuals. *Jāti* is defined as 'one eternal, and inheres in many things.' It is found in Substance, Quality and Action only. It is this common element found in objects (*anugata dharma*) that makes us cognise all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If *jāti* is assumed as one and eternal, what happens exactly to 'potness' when the pot is broken? The *jāti* cannot get destroyed' because it is eternal. Nor can it be said that a part of it is lost, for it is impartite. The resourceful logician tells us that it abides in Time. The question now arises whether it was not in time the pot existed. Madhva was not the first to criticise the Nyāya view of 'Sāmānya.'[1] The *jāti* of the Nyāya school is only a dharma.

1 See *Mānameyodaya*, pp. 229, 230, and *Indian Culture*, vol. I, article on 'The Buddhist Estimate of the Universal'.

There is no proof or warrant for the conception of such a common attribute.[2] The humanity in each man is different. On the cremation of an individual the 'humanity' in him alone is destroyed. So the humanity in each individual is different. Madhva repudiates the Nyāya conception of jāti, and admits a number of dharmas in its place. So 'potness' and 'clothness' are dharmas, and not jāti.

Madhva holds that there are two types of relations between an attribute and a substrate.[3] Some dharmas exist in the *dharmin*, till its destruction; e.g., 'potness' exists in pot till the destruction of the pot. Quality, Action and *jāti* are of the very nature of the dharmi itself. They are technically called *'yāvad-dravya-bhāvi'*. The relation of the above mentioned objects to their attributes is identity. The second type of relation that exists between a Substance and its attribute is called 'ayāvad-dravyabhāvi' or 'khaṇḍitaṃ'; e.g., the relation between (1) vikāra and the vikārin, (2) cause and effect, (3) movement and its object. The dharmas in the above examples get destroyed prior to the destruction of the *dharmis*.

2 नरत्वादिकमप्येवं तत्तद्धर्मतयेयते ।
न सर्वधर्म एकोऽस्ति समुदायस्तु भिन्नगः ।
एतादृशश्च सादृश्यं पदार्थेषु पृथक् पृथक् ॥
एकस्मिन् स विनष्टेऽपि यतोऽन्यत्रैव दृश्यते ।
कुतो भस्मत्वमास्थस्य नरत्वं पुनरिष्यते ॥
एकत्वे नास्ति मानञ्च श्रुतिरप्याह सादरम् ।
Madhva's *Aṇuvyākhyāna*, p. 186.

3 गुणक्रियाजातिपूर्वधर्माः सर्वेऽपि वस्तुनः ।
रूपमेव द्विधा तच्च यावद्वस्तु च खण्डितम् ।
खण्डिते भेद एकत्वं च यावद्वस्तु न भेदवत् ।
खण्डितं रूपमेवात्र विकारोपि विकारिणः ।
कार्यकारणयोश्चैव तथैव गुणतद्वतोः ।
क्रियाक्रियावतोस्तद्वत् तथा जातिविशेषयोः ।
Madhva's *Tattvaviveka*, p. 24, *Daśaprakaraṇa*, vol. I.

The relation between such dharmas and their *dharmins* is a relation of identity and difference.

It is not identity in difference. The relation of the threads to the cloth is a case of identity. This relation exists only when the cloth is existent. Supposing we take away the threads which go to make up the cloth, what exactly is the relation of the threads and the cloth? The relation now is not identity, because we see the threads, but not the cloth. The cloth belongs to the past (atita), and the threads alone are seen in the present (vidyamāna). So their relation is not identity but difference. Madhva is of opinion that at one particular time the relation of cloth to the threads was identity, but now it is difference. When the cloth and the threads were one, the relation was identity; when the threads are taken away, the relation is difference. In two different moments the substrate and the attribute are related in two different ways: (1) identity and (2) difference. Madhva never says that at the same moment an attribute and a substrate are in a relation of identity and difference.

The objects of this world are entirely different from one another, and their attributes are also different.[4] A further question crops up at this stage as to how we distinguish the various attributes which are identical with objects. It is to explain this fact Madhva brings in the category '*Viśeṣas*.' They are many in number. They exist in every object unlike the *viśeṣas* of the Nyāya school which are present only in eternal substances. The *viśeṣas*

4 भिन्नाश्च भिन्नधर्माश्च पदार्था निखिला अपि ।

Madhva quotes this śruti in *Anuvyākhyāna*, p. 186; but it is not traceable.

5 भेदहीने त्वपर्याये शब्दान्तरनियामकः ।
विशेषो नाम कथितः सोस्ति वस्तुष्वशेषतः ॥
विशेषास्तेप्यनन्ताश्च परस्परविशेषिणः ।
स्वनिर्वाहकतायुक्ताः सन्ति वस्तुष्वशेषतः ॥

Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, p. 165.

are *svatovyāvartaka*. It is a dharma of every *padārtha*. Though there is no difference between the *dharmin* and the attribute, it is this *viśeṣa* that helps us to cognise the attributes which though in a relation of identity are yet different.

What exactly is the need for the assumption of *viśeṣa*? Why not say that the substance itself functions as *viśeṣa*?

A substance is an object of cognition (*jñānaviṣaya*). Let us take for example a pot. We cognise it as a pot. In the cognition 'this is a pot' (*ayaṃ ghaṭaḥ*), there are three factors: (1) "this" aspect *idampadārtha*, (2) *ghaṭatva* (the *prakāra*), (3) the relation between them, i.e., *saṃsarga*. If our cognition can give us an apprehension of all these aspects where is then the need for *viśeṣa*? Our cognition or perception of a pot can only tell us the fact that the pot has a colour. The perception cannot tell us anything about the substrate being either different or otherwise from the attribute. Perception gives us the cognition, *rūpavān ghaṭaḥ*. It never gives us the cognition, *ghatāt rūpam bhinnam*. So perception can never give us the knowledge of the exact nature of the relation fixing one relatum as the substrate and the other as the attribute. When we say that perception cognises the relation between the substrate and the attribute it may be thought that the two relata are different.

Relation obtains not only between two differents, but between two identities also,[6] e.g., take the question, 'Does Time exist now?' The answer is that it exists. The relation of 'Time' as existent now, and 'Time' eternal is identity. Perception does not help us in cognising the nature of the relation. That can only be cognised on the basis of eternality and non-eternality. Certain substrates are

6 The term 'relation' involves difference of some kind or degree, without which the concept is unintelligible. Madhva's argument to establish a relation between two identicals appears specious. If it be true that our perception is of the form 'Rūpavān ghaṭaḥ' the cognition of difference is already involved in what leads to the use of the possessive suffix.

eternal and their attributes are also eternal. Substrates and attributes are also sometimes identical. In such cases we do not have any basis of distinction to call one the substrate and the other the attribute. We cannot here say that the substance itself gives us the cognition. To say so would be to beg the question, because we do not know which is the substrate and which the attribute. In order to explain such facts Madhva posits a special potency called viśeṣa which helps us to cognise the substrate and the attribute.

Madhva is of opinion that definition proceeds on the basis of similarity (*sādṛśya*). When we define a cow as an animal which has a dewlap, the definition through this distinguishing quality, namely, the 'possession of a dewlap' helps us to cognise all cows as cows. This cognition is based on the perception of similarity abiding in different cases of having a dewlap. Similarity is an independent category. It is defined *ekanirūpitāpara-vṛtti*, i.e., while being determined by one it is present in many; though its determinant is one, it is not one and the same in all. Its main function is the indication of difference. It always expresses itself in a relational form. It is always expressed in the form of a quality. There is no bare similarity. Madhva holds that though it is prolix to admit plurality of similarities, yet the concept of similarity is unintelligible otherwise. If A and B are similar, A's similarity to B is different from B's similarity to A. The argument that it is one and the same similarity that abides in both is not right. Let us illustrate it. For example, take the statement: The face is similar to the moon. The moon is the determinant. Its locus is the face. Now let us reverse the position in the analogy: 'the moon is similar to the face.' The face is the '*nirūpaka*.' Owing to the difference in the determinants and their respective loci we have to grant that the two similarities are different.

Let us now examine the axiom: 'Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, e.g., A is equal to C, B is

equal to C. So A is equal to B. When we speak of them we speak of it only with reference to some quality. Equality and similarity are not fundamentally different. The difference between them is one of degree and not of kind. Equality refers to a more precise and definite uniformity than the one referred to by similarity. On this ground we are justified in passing from equality to similarity. The similarity may be with reference to wealth or power. When A is said to be similar to C with reference to wealth or power, B is similar to C with reference to wealth. It is this property indicating similar similarity that helps us to cognise A and B as similar. This can be put in the form of an inference. 'A is similar to B, because A and B are both similar to C, like another instance.'[7]

The function of similarity is the differentiation of the defined object from other members of its own class and from the members of other classes. This can be put in the form of an inference. 'The cow is different from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes, because it has a quality similar to the dewlap, like another cow.

The relation of 'word' and 'word sense' too is known only through similarity. The word sense of *jāti* and *vyakti* cannot be explained through the help of the generic attribute.[8]

According to the Nyāya school there is no *jāti* in jāti, and no *particularity* in particularity. Further the definition on the basis of generality is possible only for the first three padārthas. The padārthas that have no jāti cannot be defined in the same manner. This leads the Nyāya school to adopt two separate methods to ex-

7 This argument which is in the form of an inference would appear to involve the fallacy of *petitio principi* because probans (hetu) assumed is the thing to be proved.

8 इति व्युत्पत्तिरपि हि सादृश्येनैव गम्यते । सर्वेषु युगपच्छब्दः सदृशेषु प्रवर्तते ॥
.....जातितश्चेत् कथं तासु तत्र चेदनवस्थितिः ।
Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, pp. 186-87.

plain definition. In doing so they fall a victim to the defect of prolixity.

II. *Perception*

Perception is one of the chief instruments of knowledge. It is accepted by all the schools of Indian Philosophy. Inference and other instruments of knowledge depend on perception for their data. Perception is immediate and direct.

Madhva defines the instruments of perpetual cognition in two ways: (1) 'the instrument of perpetual cognition is the defectless sense organ.'[9] This definition satisfies the definition of 'Kāraṇa' put forward by the ancient Nyāya school, namely, 'an instrument is a special cause qualified by a function (*vyāpāravat asādhāraṇakāraṇam*). In short 'the defectless functioning organ' is the instrument of perpetual cognition.

(2) Another definition of 'kāraṇa' put forward by the Nyāya school is 'the distinctive cause is the instrument (*asādhāraṇa-kāraṇam*).' The 'distinctive cause' is that after whose operation the effect results without the intervention of any other factor (*svavya-vahitottarakālinakāryotpattikatvam*). Madhva's second definition of the instrument of perpetual cognition, i.e., 'the contract of a defectless sense organ with a defectles object;'[10] satisfies the second view of '*kāraṇa*' put forward by the Nyāya school.

These two definitions or perception are not opposed to each other. They are so framed as to satisfy the two definitions of 'kāraṇa.' It is only a question of the distribution of emphasis.

Jayatirtha after defining the instrument or perpetual cognition as the 'contact of a defectless sense organ with a defectless object' proceeds to enumerate the defects of objects and the defects of the sense organ. We find a similar list of the defects in the *Sāṅkhya-*

9 Madhva's *Tattvanirṇaya*, p. 15. 10 Madhva's *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, p. 1.

kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.[11] The defects of objects are (1) being too distant (2) being too near, (3) being obstructed, (4) being indistinguishably mixed with similar things. These defects prevent us from knowing the objects, and distort our knowledge of them.[12] The sense organs which help us in cognising objects are of two kinds: (1) physical sense organs (*prakṛti indriya*) (2) witness consciousness (*sākṣin*). The witness consciousness cognises the following objects: (1) the pure existence of the Ātman, (2) its attributes, (3) its nescience, (4) manas and its modifications, (5) pleasure and pain, (6) time and space.[13] The physical sense organs are six in number: (1) smell, (2) taste, (3) sight, (4) sound, (5) touch, (6) manas. The sense of taste tastes all the six rasas. The sense of touch and sight cognise the following objects: (1) objects that have size and colour, (2) some attributes, (3) movements and jāti. The sense of touch feels the air about us. The sense of hearing has sound for its object. The defects of the senses are (1) non-contact of the organs with the mind, (2) affections of the sense organ such as jaundice, cataract (kāca), etc.

Manas cognises all the objects through the instrumentality of the outer senses. Its independent function is to be an aid to recollection. Its defects are attachement, etc.

Perception is of four kinds: (1) Īśvara's perception, (2) Lakṣmī's perception, (3) Yogic perception, and (4) Ayogic perception. The perceptions of Īśvara and Lakṣmī are of the very nature of their selves,[14] (*svarūpendriyātmakam*). In the case of the other two, cog-

11 अतिदूरात् सामीप्यादिन्द्रियघातान मनोऽनवस्थानात् सौक्ष्माद्व्यवधानाद् अभिभवात् समनाभिहाराच्च । '(Non-perception may be) because of extreme distance, (extreme) proximity, injury to organs, non-steadiness of mind, subtlety, veiling, suppression, and blending with what is similar.'—*Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa v. 7, p. 25. translated by S. S. S. Śāstri (Madras University).

12 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 23, p. 124.

13 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 24, p. 126.

14 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 25, p. 128.

nitions are partly derived from Svarūpa indriyas and partly from the outer sense organs. The objects of these various types of perception are the same as those of the respective cognitions, i.e., they are just as extensive as the object of Īśvara's jñāna, Lakṣmī's jñāna, etc.[15]

The outer sense organs are of three kinds: (1) divine, (2) demonic and (3) that kind of sense organ which shares the nature of both the divine and the demonic. The cognition by the divine senses is mostly valid, by the demonic senses mostly invalid; and that by the third type of sense organ is partly valid and partly invalid.[16]

The svarūpendriya of the Mukti yogins cognises correctly the that as well as the what of an object. The Nityasaṃsārins and Tamoyogyas cognise correctly the 'that' of an object. Their cognition of the 'what' of an object is sometimes wholly erroneous and sometimes a mixture of validity and invalidity.

The Nyāya school enumerates six types of contacts between the sense organs and the object; these bring about perception. They are (1) conjunction (*saṃyoga*), (2) inherence in what is in conjunction (*saṃyukta-samavāya*), (3) inherence in what is inherent in what is in conjunction (*saṃyukta-samaveta samavāya*) (4) inherence (*samavāya*), (5) the relation of the subject and attribute (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyabhāva*).

The contacts of the senses of touch and sight with objects like the pot, and the contact of mind with Ātman are examples of 'saṃyoga.' The contacts of the senses of touch, sight, and mind with the attribute, movements, and jāti of the object are examples of 'saṃyuktasamvāya relation'. The contacts of the senses of smell and taste with the odours and tastes of objects; and the contact of mind with the senses of taste, sight and smell, and touch with the

15 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 27, p. 142.
16 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 28, p. 146.

jāti abiding in the quality and movement of objects are examples of the 'saṃyuktasamaveta samavāya relation.' The contact of the senses of hearing with sound is a case of samavāya relation. The contact of the sense of hearing with the jāti element in sound is a case of 'samaveta samavāya relation.' The contacts of the above mentioned senses with inherence, and non-existence of objects are instances of 'viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣa-bhāva.'

Further the Nyāya school enumerates two distinct kinds of perception (1) the indeterminate perception (*nirvikalpaka*), (2) the determinate perception (*savikalpaka*). Nirvikalpaka is the primary stage of non-relational perception. When the sense perception is differentiated and interpreted, we have a determinate perception. Though indeterminate perception cannot as such be shown to be experienced, it is proved to exist as a necessary presupposition of our determinate knowledge of objects. The Nyāya school holds 'that the cognition of the attribute is the cause of the cognition of the qualified object (*viśiṣṭajñānam prativiśeṣaṇajñānam kāraṇam.*) Hence there must be stage of cognition which is not of the viśiṣṭa; i.e., (nirvikalpakapratyakṣa) stage in perception.

According to the Nyāya school there are eight types of determination of an object, viz., (1) substance (2) quality, (3) action, (4) jāti, (5) particularity, (6) inherence, (7) non-existence and (8) name.[17]

Madhva holds that all perception is determinate and perception 'is the concrete apprehension of an object with all its determinations.' Madhva refutes the nirvikalpaka stage of perception. The Nyāya view that there are six types of contacts is also refuted by him.

There is nothing to prevent the sense from cognising the object as well as the attributes at the first contact. Further if the 'conjunc-

17 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 29, p. 151.

tion type of contact' cognises the object only, and 'inherence in what is conjunction' type of contact cognises the attribute only, how are they synthesised? The Nyāya school cannot hold that the 'inherence in what is conjunction type of contact' is an imperative cognition, because that line of interpretation is not in accordance with its principles. The cognition that arises is one, and it is needless to postulate two contacts as its cause.

Madhva rejects the two categories of the Nyāya school, namely, 'inherence' and 'particularity'. After the rejection of these two categories there remains only one type of contact, i.e., conjunction, and that Madhva accepts.

Inherence (*samavāya*) is a type of inseparable relation elevated to the rank of a distinctive category by the Nyāya school. It exists among certain objects alone and is technically called 'ayutasiddha'. They are (1) substance and attribute, (2) substance and movement, (3) particular and universal, (4) ultimate things and viśeṣa, and (5) whole and part. The 'samavāya' relation does not obtain between normally separable things. The attribute and the substance are related by the independent category of 'samavāya.' At this stage a question crops up as to what relates the 'samavāya' to the quality and the substance. This 'samavāya' needs another samavāya and so the argument lead us on to infinite regress.[18] If it is said that 'samavāya' needs no other 'samavāya' to relate it to the attribute or the subject, we could as well have assumed that substance itself can get related, to its attribute without any aid. The principle of parsimony requires us not to postulate a separate category called samavāya.

The category of 'viśeṣa' postulated by Madhva to differentiate the attribute from the substance is different from the 'viśeṣa' of the Nyāya school. According to the latter 'viśeṣa' is the differentia of

18 *Vedāntasūtra*, chap. II, pp. 2 and 13.

ultimate things (nityadravyas). Madhva believes that 'viśeṣa' helps us to differentiate all things (not only ultimate things). 'Viśeṣas' are infinite in number. The viśeṣa in each is unique fact. It is a self-differentiating principle.[19]

Madhva does not admit a non-relational attributeless indeterminate perception. With him perception is always concrete and determinate. The chief function of perception is to give us a clarified presentation of an object with its attributes.

P. Nagaraja Rao

19 Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, chap. I, vv. 21, 22, p. 161.

The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government

I

In Ch. 2, Bk. VIII, of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, entitled *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*, we come across a discussion of two forms of government called respectively *dvairājya* and *vairājya*. In order to comprehend the nature of the discussion we must first of all understand what K. means by *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*. *Vyasanacintā* is thus explained in the preceding chapter:

व्यसनयोगपद्ये सौकर्यतो यातव्यं रक्षितव्यं चेति व्यसनचिन्ता ।
दैवं मानुषं वा प्रकृतिव्यसनमनयापनयाभ्यां सम्भवति ।
गुणप्रातिलोम्यभावः प्रदोषः प्रसङ्गः पीडा वा व्यसनम् ।
व्यस्यत्येनं श्रेयस इति व्यसनम् ।

The expressions *daiva, mānuṣa, naya, anaya* and *apanaya* are explained in VI. 2:

दैवमानुषं हि कर्म लोकं यापयति । अदृष्टकारितं दैवम् । तस्मिन् इष्टेन फलेन योगोऽयः । अनिष्टेन अनयः ।
दृष्टकारितं मानुषम् । तस्मिन् योगक्षेमनिष्पतिर्नयः । विपत्तिरपनयः ।
तच्चिन्त्यम् । अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति ।

Generally, therefore, *vyasana* may be rendered as 'destruction of well-being,' and *vyasanacintā* takes account only of that kind of vyasana which may be described as *mānuṣa* (caused by human agency) or *dṛṣṭakārita* (of which it is possible to see a cause). *Vyasanacintā* arises when simultaneous vyasanas require consideration; that is to say, when there is vyasana to two objects, and we have to choose between two alternatives and mould our actions accordingly. *Rājarājyayor-vyasanacintā* thus arises when there is *vyasana* to *rājā* as well as to *rājya*, and we are faced with alternatives requiring us to make our choice and act according to it.

Let us see, first of all, what the terms *rājā* and *rājya* denote here. The initial sūtra of the chapter (VIII. 2) helps us to see: *rājā rājyam iti prakṛtisaṅkṣepaḥ*. This has often been misunderstood but is clearly explained in Śaṅkarārya's commentary to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra:*

Text

अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दण्डश्च पञ्चमः ।
एताः प्रकृतयस्तज्ज्ञैर्विजिगीषोरुदाहृताः ॥
एताः पञ्च तथा मित्रं सप्तमः पृथिवीपतिः ।
सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमित्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ॥

Commentary

अमात्यादियुक्तो मण्डलं चिन्तयेदित्युक्तम् ।
तत्र राज्ञोऽमात्यादिपञ्चकस्य (चा)नयोः कस्य प्रधानगुणभावः इत्याह अमात्येत्यादि ।
एताः प्रकृतय इति ।
द्रव्यप्रकृतित्वाद् एताः पञ्च विजिगीषोः स्वत्वेनोदाहृताः ।
मित्रं राजप्रकृतित्वात् स्वामिप्रकृतावन्तर्भूतम् ।
तेन सप्तप्रकृतयो राजराज्यभेदाद् द्विधावस्थिताः ।
तथाचोक्तम्—**राज्ञा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः** । (*Kaut.* VIII. 2)
तत्र राज्यम् अमात्यादिप्रकृतिपञ्चकम् ।
शेषा राजप्रकृतिः ।
सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमिति । एवं मन्यते यथा राज्यमित्यभिधानप्रत्यययोः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं द्रव्यप्रकृतयः एवम् राजप्रकृतिरपि ।
तस्मात् प्रकृतिसप्तकमेव राज्यमिति ॥

The gist of this gloss is that, in the Kauṭiliya formula *rājā rājyam iti prakṛtisaṅkṣepaḥ*, out of the seven elements of State viz. *amātya, janapada* (or *rāṣṭra*), *durga, kośa, daṇḍa, svāmī* and *mitra*, the first five are together termed *rājya*, while the remaining two (*svāmī* and *mitra*) are together termed *rājā*, because *svāmī* ('head') and *mitra* ('ally') are akin to each other and come under the same class. The first five are denominated *dravyaprakṛtayaḥ*, apparently because they form the ingredients composing the *rājya;* and the last two are denominated *rājaprakṛtiḥ*, apparently because they form the sovereign element in the State. Bṛhaspati, however, employs the term *rājya* to denote all the seven elements from a point of view expounded by the commentator; and we need not go here into the question of terminology preferred by Bṛhaspati. That K. distinguishes between *dravyaprakṛti* and *rājaprakṛti* is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* VI. 2, where we find, immediately after the passage

cited above (terminating with अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति), the following statement:

राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिष्ठानम् विजिगीषुः। तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यनन्तरा अरिप्रकृतिः। तथैव भूम्येकान्तरा मित्रप्रकृतिः।

And we are further told:

एवं चतुर्मण्डलसंक्षेपः। द्वादश राजप्रकृतयः। षष्टिर्द्रव्यप्रकृतयः। संक्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः।

We are now in a position to appreciate the nature of the discussion in the K. chapter entitled *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*. A State being composed of rājā and rājyam—the sovereign element and the subject element—the ruler and the ruled—what are we to do when there is simultaneous vyasana to ruler and ruled? In brief, what is to be our course of action in case there is r e v o l u t i o n affecting the f o r m o f g o v e r n m e n t?

K., conformably to tradition, stands forth as an advocate of monarchy; but he devotes a small part of the discussion to two other forms of government named *dvairājya* and *vairājya*. These two forms are, however, discussed incidentally as offering themselves for consideration when we have to consider vyasana to rājya. But K. first discusses the situation arising out of vyasana to the rājā. from the point of view of the rājā. He is concerned here only with internal revolution, and vyasana to mitra as coming under rājaprakṛti is considered separately in ch. 5, Bk. VIII. Let us follow K. textually (VIII. 2):

राज्ञोऽभ्यन्तरो बाह्यो वा कोप इति।

अहिभयादभ्यन्तरः कोपो बाह्यकोपात् पापीयान्।

अन्तरमात्यकोपश्चान्तःकोपात्।

तस्मात् कोशदण्डशक्तिमात्मसंस्थां कुर्वीत।

This is further explained in IX, 3:

मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजानामन्यततरकोपोऽभ्यन्तरकोपः...मन्त्र्यादिवर्जानामन्तरमात्यानामन्यतरकोपोऽन्तरमात्यकोपः।

राष्ट्रमुख्यान्तपालाटविकदण्डोपनतानामन्यतमकोपो बाह्यकोपः।

With these definitions of *bāhyakopa, abhyantarakopa* and *antaramātyakopa,* it is easy to see that the intention in ch. 2, Bk. VIII,

is to record the opinion that the gravest danger to the king proceeds from disaffection of interior officers other than *mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarāja,* and he suggests, as a general precaution, that the king should keep under his own control the power of *kośa* and *daṇḍa,* Treasury and Army. All this is from the point of view of the *rājā.* K. now changes to the point of view of the *rājya* and proceeds:

द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसङ्घर्षेण वा विनश्यति। वैराज्यं तु प्रकृतिचित्तग्रहणापेक्षियथास्थितमन्यैर्भुज्यते इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। पितापुत्रयोर्भ्रात्रोर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेममात्मावग्रहं[1] वर्तयेतेति। वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्याच्छिद्य 'नैतन्मम' इति मन्यमानः कर्शयित्वापवाहयति पण्यं वा करोति विरक्तं वा परित्यज्यापगच्छतीति।

"Of *dvairājya* and *vairājya, dvairājya* is destroyed by reciprocal likes and dislikes of the parties (belonging to the two rulers) or by mutual friction (between the rulers themselves); *vairājya,* however, caring to make itself attractive to the prakṛtis, is in truth enjoyed by the others (i.e. by all)—thus the authorities. (But) K. dissents (and says): a *dvairājya* of father and son, or of two brothers, entailing equal security of possession (to both rulers), remains under the control of high State officers (*amātyāḥ*). A *vairājya,* on the other hand, is wrested from one who lives (by another who), thinking "this is not mine," oppresses (the prakṛtis) and ostracizes them or sells it (to the opposite party); or, disregarding the disaffected, disappears."—In thus rendering the latter portion of the text here, I have kept in mind a passage in IX. 4:

प्रकृतीरस्य कर्शयिष्यामि; अपवाहयिष्यामि; आयोगेन आराधयिष्यामि वा।...प्रतिपक्षे वा अस्य पण्यमेनं करिष्यामि।...[2]

It will be perceived that *dvairājya* means "government by two."

1 Gaṇapati Śāstri reads: *tulyayoga-kṣmamamātyāvagraham* which is probably correct (Cf. XIII. 1: *tulyayogakṣemamamātyānāmāyudhīyānāṃca kathayeyuḥ*).

2 Ostracism (*apavāhana*) is referred to by Aristotle (*Politics*, III) as having been instituted by democratic States, and is said to have been practised on a large scale by great powers, by Babylonians, Medes and the Persian king. *Apavāhana* was associated with Mauryan conquests, as attested by Aśoka in the Fourteenth Rock Edict, section XIII; Aśoka heartily disliked the practices.

Dvairājya is referred to at some length by Kālidāsa in *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Act V, and is also mentioned as *do-rajja* in the Jaina *Āyāraṅgasutta;* ancient history furnishes two typical instances, one at Sparta, the other at Rome. *Vairājya* certainly denoted to the pre-Kauṭiliya authorities a form of government dependent on popular will, as the expression *prakṛticittagrahaṇāpekṣi* implies, and its defence by the authorities on the ground that it is in truth enjoyed by everybody (*yathāsthitam anyair bhujyate*) shows its democratic character. The picture drawn by K. belongs however, to a degenerate form of government in which, owing to a split between the ruler and the ruled, the State is, as it were, cut up into two hostile sections; and whichever be in the ascendant, there being no feeling of unity or common possession, the State suffers. As Plato remarks when criticizing oligarchy (*Republic,* VIII) that "such a city is not one, but of necessity two, one consisting of the rich, the other of the poor, dwelling in one place and always plotting against one another;" and again (*Ibid.,* V) when pleading for unity and community, that, "if some citizens are grieved and others glad at the same sufferings of the city, and all do not say 'mine' and 'not mine' at the same time with regard to the same objects, it is an evil state of affairs." Aristotle (*Politics,* V) characterizes as absurd Plato's view that an oligarchy consists of two cities, and asks: "Is not this just as much the case in the Spartan constitution, or in any other in which either all do not possess equal property, or in which all are not equally good men?" This is significant as showing that, in oligarchies as well as democracies, even in a dvairājya like Sparta, the State *is* cut up into two inimical sections. As Aristotle himself remarks (*ibid.*): There is an error common to both oligarchies and to democracies—in the latter the demagogues, when the multitudes are above the law, are always cutting the city in two by quarrels with the rich, whereas they should always profess to be maintaining their cause; just as in

oligarchies, the oligarch should profess to maintain the cause of the people, and should take oaths the very opposite of those which they now take. For there are cities in which they swear—"I will be an enemy to the people, and will devise all the harm against them which I can;" but they ought to exhibit and to entertain the very opposite feeling; in the form of their oath there should be an express declaration—"I will do no wrong to the people."

Upon the position of *vairājya* in pre-Mauryan times the *Ait. Br.* throws some light. In a coronation-ceremony, the prospective ruler is called upon to consecrate himself to five types of earthly government, viz., *rājya* (found in the Madhyadeśa among Kuru-Pāñcālas, etc.), *sāmrājya* (found in the East among Prācyas), *bhaujya* (found in the South among Satvants), *svārājya* (found in the West among nīcyas and apācyas, explained by Sāyaṇa as 'inferior in race' or 'inferior in manners') and *vairājya* (found in the North, beyond the Himālayas, among Northern Kurus and Northern Madras). It is noteworthy, as was long ago pointed out, that, in a strictly symmetrical enumeration, we read of *rājānaḥ* ('kings') being consecrated to rulership in forms of government denominated *rājya, sāmrājya, bhaujya* and *svārājya,* while we read of *janapadāḥ* ('peoples') being consecrated to the form of government denominated *vairājya;* so that we must hold *vairājya* to have been distinctively a non-monarchical form of government,—an inference harmonizing with what the Kauṭilīya tells us regarding pre-Mauryan *vairājyas.*

Etymologically, the term *vairājya* has been explained variously. Sāyaṇa, commenting on the *Ait. Br.* text, explains it in one place, as *viśeṣeṇa rājatvam,* and in another place as *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśiṣṭyam.* Martin Haug, K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar equate it with 'kingless government.' R. Shamashastri takes it to mean 'foreign rule.' If, however, we look to Vedic uses of *vi-rāj,* we get at its primary meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious.' That

this meaning is appropriate to the *Ait. Br.* text we are discussing follows from Ṛgveda, I. 188. 4. 5. 6.:

प्राचीनं बर्हिरोजसा सहस्ववीरमस्तृणन् ।
यत्रादित्या विराजथ ॥
विराट् सम्राड् विह्वीः प्रह्वीर्बह्वीश्च भूयसीश्च याः ।
दुरो घृतान्यक्षरन् ॥
सुरुक्मेहि सुपेशसाधिश्रियाविराजतः ।
उषासावेह सीदतः ॥

Here we find the term *virāṭ*, *samrāṭ* etc. associated with *virāj* meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious,' so that the same meaning should be applicable to the text of the Ṛgvedic *Ait. Br.* wherein *samrāṭ*, *virāṭ* etc. are spoken of together. *Vairājya* therefore denoted primarily a form of government in which the ruling element ruled by reason of its shining or illustrious character—an *Aristocracy*, as Greek philosophers would call it. The aristocratic element ruled under authority from the *janapada* or the entire body of the people; and this representative or universal character of the rule finds its analogue in the parallel conception of the Universal Virāṭ figuring in the famous *Puruṣa-sūkta* (*ṚV.* X, 90.)

The *Ait. Br.* throws some light also on a dominant characteristic of *vairājya* government. In treating of food suitable to various kinds of rulers (VII. 5. 6.), *udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) is declared to symbolize food and drink and is assigned to *bhaujya; aśvattha* (F. religiosa) is stated to stand for prowess and is assigned to *sāmrājya;* while *plakṣa* (F. infectoria) is held to signify glory and is assigned to *svārājya* as well as to *vairājya*. It would appear therefore that, in a *vairājya* or *svārājya*, glory was prized; and Plato would describe such a form as a *Timocracy*, the next best to his ideal Aristocracy.

II

It will be interesting to compare the classification of governments by Plato with the classification contemplated in the Kauṭiliya. In the *Statesman*, Plato adopts, as one basis of division, that of the

number of persons exercising supreme authority—a basis, as Dunning[2a] remarks, already common in Greek thought and employed by Herodotus (III. 80). According to Plato, when subject to Law,

The rule of One is Royalty
The rule of the Few is Aristocracy
The rule of the Many is Democracy.

The Indian classification does not recognize any essential difference between the Few and the Many; it proceeds on what may be called the basis of grammatical number—Singular, Dual and Plural. Thus,

The rule of One is Rājya
The rule of Two is Dvairājya
The rule of More than Two is Vairājya.

This is, logically, a comprehensive classification, since any government must be either by One, or by Two, or by More than Two.

Aristotle (*Politics,* V) conceives of the rule of Two (*dvairājya*) as a kind of limited Royalty: "The more restricted the functions of kings, the longer their power will last unimpaired; for then they are moderate and not so despotic in their ways; and they are less envied by their subjects. This is the reason why the kingly office has lasted so long among the Molossians. And for a similar reason it has continued among the Lacedaemonians, because there it was always *divided between two,* and afterwards further limited by Theopompus in various respects, more particularly by the establishment of the ephoralty." Aristotle (*Ibid.,* III) likewise asserts that the best government is "that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family, or many persons, *excelling in virtue,* and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled, in such a manner as to attain the most

2a *Political Theories,* p. 36.

eligible life." Virtue he places above everything else, so much so that we find him advocating (*Ibid.*, III) rule by One individual or One family which "happens to be so pre-eminent in virtue as to surpass all others," after stating that "a people who are by nature capable of producing a race superior in virtue and political talent are fitted for kingly government." Elsewhere (*Ibid.*, VII), he cites Scylax as affirming that, among the Indians, kings had marked superiority over their subjects. Scylax explored the Indus shortly before 500 B.C.; he was probably describing the conditions prevailing then in areas watered by the Indus.

III

Returning to the Kauṭilīya text, we find the author of the *Arthaśāstra* launching into a discussion as to what kind of king is preferable to what other kind. It will be observed that the alternatives discussed are not simply theoretical but such as must have presented themselves in practical politics already when the book was written; the ideal king's accomplishments having been previously recounted in Bk. VI, Ch. 1. In fact, as we have seen, the very title of the chapter *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*—implies consideration of measures to be taken in order to preserve the well-being of the State. We here get a glimpse into the state of affairs obtaining in the world of politics immediately before K. and may realize to ourselves the type of king favoured by K. against his predecessors in politics. Three pairs of alternatives are discussed:

अन्धश्चलितशास्त्रो वा राजेति? अशास्त्रचक्षुरन्धो यत्किञ्चनकारी दृढाभिनिवेशी परप्रणेयो वा राज्यमन्यायेनोपहन्ति। चलितशास्त्रस्तु यत्र शास्त्राच्चलितमतिर्भवति शक्यानुनयो भवतीत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। अन्धो राजा शक्यते सहायसम्पदा यत्र तत्र वा पर्यवस्थापयितुमिति। चलितशास्त्रस्तु शास्त्रादन्यथाभिनिविष्टबुद्धिरन्यायेन राज्यमात्मानञ्चोपहन्ति।

"(Which is better), a king with no eye or a king deviating from *śāstra*? The authorities say: A king with no eye, that is, with no eye for *śāstra*, acts arbitrarily and is obstinate or, guided by

others, injures the kingdom by injustice. But a king deviating from *śāstra* is, where he is inclined to deviate, amenable to persuasion.—Not so, says Kauṭilya: A king with no eye is, with liberal assistance (of officers) capable of collecting himself (against improper conduct) everywhere. But a king deviating from *śāstra* deviates deliberately and, by injustice, injures the kingdom as well as himself."

This attitude becomes intelligible when we recall the concluding verse of the Kauṭiliya:

येन शस्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ।

The Nanda kings who had preceded Candragupta are here represented to have appropriated *śāstra* ('Law'), *śastra* ('Army') and *bhū* ('Earth') to themselves, and the author of the treatise is said to have, from a feeling of resentment (*amarṣeṇa*),[3] forthwith (*āśu*) rescued (*uddhṛtāni*) these from them. In the body of the treatise we find that the king has control over *śastra* and *bhū* but not over *śāstra* which is left to qualified State-officers called *amātyāḥ*. This is clear from a comparison of K.'s enumeration of the ideal king's accomplishments (Bk. VI, ch. 1) which has no reference to mastery of *śāstra* (although, of course, a prince is required to learn *śāstra* as part of his training, Bk. I, chs. 1-5) with his enumeration of the ideal *amātya's* accomplishments (Bk. I, ch. 9) which require an *amātya* to be *cakṣuṣmān*, his *śāstracakṣuṣmattā* being declared ascertainable from equals in learning (*samānavidyebhyaḥ*). The concluding portion of the last-named chapter sums up K.'s entire attitude:[4]

3 On *amarṣa* the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cites the śloka:

आक्षिप्तानां सभामध्ये विद्यैश्वर्यबलाधिकैः ।
नृणामुत्साहसम्पन्नो ह्यमर्षो नाम जायते । *Nāṭ. S.*, VII. 77.

4 Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 109) thinks that the verse refers to the rescue of *Arthaśāstra* from oblivion; but the context contains no such idea and clearly implies that K. rescued the śāstra, and bhū from the Nanda kings' control. The Purāṇas also speak

पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलम् षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्याम् च अभिविनीतम् आपदाम् दैवमानुषीणाम् अथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारम् कुर्वीत। तम् आचार्यम् शिष्यः पितरम् पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनम् इव च अनुवर्तेत।

The king is here represented as dependent on his *purohita* even like a pupil on teacher, a son on father, a servant on master, and the qualifications of the *purohita* enumerated here include, beisde his priestly skill, a special training in *daṇḍanīti*. Then comes the verse:

ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम्।
जयत्यजितमत्यन्तम् शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम्।

"A prince (*kṣatra*), brought up by a brāhmaṇa, well-advised by ministers, following *śāstra* and provided with *śastra*, attains complete success, being invincible." The king therefore had to follow śāstra or Law but had control over śastra or Army. He was thus not a tyrant, but a constitutional monarch.

The next alternatives in K.'s discussion are:

व्याधितो नवो वा राजेति? व्याधितो राजा राज्योपघातममात्यमूलम् प्राणाबाधम् वा राज्यमूलमवाप्नोति। नवस्तु राजा स्वधर्मानुग्रहपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिः प्रकृतिरञ्जनोपकारैः चरतीत्याचार्याः।

नेति कौटिल्यः। व्याधितो राजा यथाप्रवृत्तम् राजप्रणिधिम् अनुवर्तयति। नवस्तु राजा बलावर्जितम् "ममेदम् राज्यम्" इति यथेष्टम् अनवग्रहः चरति। सामुत्थायिकैरवगृहीतो वा राज्योपघातम् मर्षयति। प्रकृतिषु अगूढः सुखमुच्छेत्तुम् भवति। व्याधिते विशेषः पापरोगी अपापरोगी च नवेऽपि अभिजातोऽनभिजात इति[5]

"(Which is better), a diseased or a new king? The authorities say: In a diseased king's rājya, either the rājya suffers on account of Officers (upon whom the king has to rely), or the king loses his life on account of the *rājya* (i.e. the five dravyaprakṛtis). But a new

of Mahāpadma and his line being in possession of "the earth which K. 'will rescue' (uddhariṣyati) for the Mauryas; and reference is made to Mahāpadma's śāsana being absolute (anullaṅghita): see Pargiter, *Dyns. Kali Age*, pp. 25-6. According to tradition, K., who was proud of his learning, wanted to occupy a seat of honour in the Nanda court, and, being insulted, swore to destroy his dynasty. The tradition is known to the *Bṛhatkathā*.

5 Cf. *Mudrā Rākṣasa*, Act IV. 15—*Maurye nave rājani*. Viśākhadatta depended on incorrect tradition. See my paper "Was Candragupta low-born?" in *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 466 ff.

king pleases and benefits the (dravya)prakṛtis by favour, remission of taxes, gift and honour according to his own dharma. But Kauṭilya dissents and says: A diseased king performs his kingly duties as directed. But a new king, thinking 'this kingdom, obtained by force, is mine,' behaves arbitrarily and without restraint; or, being under the clutches of those who elevated him to the throne, suffers the kingdom to be oppressed, and, being unpopular, is easily uprooted. There is, however, a distinction among diseased kings,—the disease may be pāparoga or aparoga; also among new kings,—the king may be h i g h-b o r n or l o w-b o r n."

The term *nava* means "not hereditary": it is used antithetically to *pitṛpaitāmaha* in Bk. I, ch. 8 where Kauṇapadanta is stated to have recommended hereditary Officers (pitṛpaitāmahān amātyān),[6] while Vātavyādhi is represented as opposing this view and recommending instead the appointment of n e w m e n (*navān amātyān kurvīta*) to these offices; and Kauṭilya himself a 'new man' (cf. Roman *novus homo*), characteristically approves of the appointment of able Officers, irrespective of their being 'new' or hereditary, descent from a high State-officer being in his eyes no qualification. Concerning, however, the desirability of having a 'new' king, it is to be noted that the question raised is not the theoretical question: Which is better? A new king or a hereditary king? The question is: Which is better? A new king or a diseased king? By implication, of course, this 'diseased king' could not be a 'new king'; for, there can be no sense in calling for choice between a 'diseased new king' and simply a 'new king' free from disease. The question therefore amounts to this: Which is better? A diseased monarch ruling by hereditary right, or an undiseased monarch having no

6 K. distinguishes mantriṇaḥ from amātyāḥ in Bk. I, ch. 8 as 'advisers' from 'executive officers'. An amātya could be a mantrin only when he had passed three tests initiated by the purohita (ch. 10) whose qualifications (detailed in ch. 9) include training *ṣaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanityām ca*. K. sees no limit to the number of mantrins constituting the mantriparisad.

hereditary right to the throne? The question is raised not for the first time by K.: it had been raised by his predecessors denominated vaguely as *ācāryāḥ*. They had evidently been faced with a situation which left them to choose between a diseased king and a new king. In other words, a ruling king of an established dynasty was afflicted with disease, and the appointment of a new king had to be contemplated. The pre-Kauṭilīyan authorities sanctioned the overthrow of an existing dynasty, because the king was diseased, and favoured the appointment of a king having no hereditary right to the throne. We are most forcefully reminded of Mahāpadma; his dynasty is designated *nava*-Nanda, apparently as distinguished from his predecessors, the *pūrva*-Nandas from whom according to the *Bṛhatkathā*, Candragupta was descended. And when we reflect on K.'s adverse remarks relating to the behaviour of *nava* kings and to their being 'easily uprooted', the traditional picture of K. uprooting the overbearing and arbitrary *nava*-Nandas gains in definition. The picture stands out in vivid relief as K. goes on to discuss the next pair of alternatives:

दुर्बलोऽभिजातो बलवाननभिजातो राजेति ? दुर्बलस्याभिजातस्य उपजापम् दौर्बल्यापेक्षाः प्रकृतयः कृच्छ्रेण उपगच्छन्ति । बलवतश्चानभिजातस्य बलापेक्षाः सुखेन इत्याचार्याः ।

नेति कौटिल्यः । दुर्बलमभिजातम् प्रकृतयः स्वयम् उपनमन्ति । जात्यम् ऐश्वर्यप्रकृतिः अनुवर्तत इति । बलवतश्चानभिजातस्य उपजापम् विसंवादयन्ति । अनुयोगे साद्गुण्यम् इति ।[7]

"(Which is better), a weak and high-born king, or a strong and low-born king? The authorities say: In the case of a weak and high-born king, the prakṛtis (i.e. the dravyaprakṛtis having regard to his weakness, endure with difficulty (i.e. hardly tolerate) his secret measures; and, in the case of a strong and low-born king, they,

7 In place of अनुयोगे साद्गुण्यम् we should perhaps read अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम् — cf. Bk. VII. ch. 5—स्त्रीणलुब्धा हि प्रकृतयः भर्तरि स्निग्धा भतृहिते तिष्ठन्ति । उपजापम् वा विसंवादयन्ति । अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम् इति ।

8 Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* II:

अपि क्षमन्तेऽस्मदुपजापं चन्द्रगुप्तप्रकृतयः ? बाढं क्षमन्ते यथाप्रकाशमनुगच्छन्त्येव ।

having regard to his strength, endure with ease (i.e. submit to) his secret measures. But Kauṭilya dissents and says: The prakṛtis spontaneously submit to a weak and high-born king; for, it is a characteristic of power to attach itself to high birth. And (the prakṛtis) baffle the secret measures of a strong and low-born king; for, the character of virtue (is revealed) in enquiry."[9]

It will be observed that, in these combinations of the categories of birth and strength, the pre-Kauṭilīya thinkers emphasize the importance of strength and pass over the factor of birth, whereas K. considers high birth to be more important than strength, consistently with his view expressed in Bk. VI. ch. I that the king should be *mahākulīnaḥ*, "of high family." This is significant as showing that K.'s master was of high birth and displaced a line of strong but low-born monarchs whose elevation to the throne had met with approval from the pre-Mauryan politicians whom K. calls the *ācaryāḥ*. Those politicians seem to have found Mahānanda, the last member of the well-born dynasty of earlier Nandas (pūrva-Nanda), weak (durbala), diseased (vyādhita) and having no eye for Law (andha or śāstracakṣus), and decided to sanction the transference of royalty from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma, a new *nava* and low-born *anabhijāta* monarch, described in the Purāṇas as a son of Mahānanda by a Śūdra woman, who made himself powerful (*balavān*) by securing control over *śāstra*, *śastra* and *bhū*, i.e. over Law, Army and Land. The relation headed by K. overthrew Mahāpadma's line and re-established on the throne the high-born Candragupta, a scion of the earlier Nanda dynasty, who changed his dynastic designation apparently because 'Nanda' had become a hated name. K. instituted a reform in the constitution by taking away from the king all real control over Law.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

9 Or, if we emend the text as suggested above (note 7),—"for, all virtue is comprised in devotion."

The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China

In his epoch-marking paper entitled *Deux Intinéraires de Chine en Inde* Prof. Paul Pelliot discussed the various views put forward in modern times on the origin of the name China, and reached the conclusion that the hypothesis put forward in 1655 A.D. by Father Martini deriving the name from that of the first *Ts'in* dynasty (249-207 B.C.) was the most satisfactory explanation so far known. He said that this etymology was satisfactory from the standpoints of phonetics and geography, historically probable and still attested by indigenous Chinese tradition.[1] This was in 1904.

When the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya came to light some years later, the late Prof. Jacobi stood up for its authenticity and a fourth century date for the present text, and he did not shrink from the logical results that followed from his stand. Two of the theses put forward by him are of interest to the subject of this paper. One of them relates to the name of China. In *Kauṭilya*, II, 11 we have the expression, *kauśeyaṁ cīnapaṭṭāśca cīnabhūmijāḥ*. This is a clear reference to varieties of Chinese silk.[2] If the name China is rightly derived from Ts'in, then the occurrence of this name in a work professedly of the late fourth or early third century B.C. renders it suspect, and this is, in fact, the ground taken by some scholars who assign the work in its present form to a date much later than the reign of Candragupta Maurya. But Jacobi follows the other alternative and says: "The name *Cīna* is hence secured as a designation for China in B.C. 300, so that the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of Ts'in (B.C. 247) is definitely ex-

1 *BEFEO*, iv, p. 149.

2 Jacobi renders *cīnapaṭṭa* into ribbons of silk, and Pelliot objects to it with reason. *Toung Pao*, xiii, p. 728 n.

ploded. On the other hand, this notice is of interest also as proving the export of Chinese silk into India in the fourth century B.C.".[3]

This position of Jacobi was discussed soon after by Laufer and Pelliot in the *Toung Pao*.[4] The former accepted Jacobi's arguments as conclusive and even suggested that the Chinese Buddhists of later times first encountered the name *Cīna* in Sanskrit texts and then by a most happy chance read the word *Ts'in* into the word *Cīna*. He said that the Chinese were not known to have called themselves 'the people of Tsin' and added: 'There is no reason to believe that the word *Cīna* had its origin in China or its foundation in a Chinese word. It is very possible that it arose in India or in Farther India.' He then made the interesting observation: "the one fact clearly stands out that the series of names headed by *Cīna* or *Tsīna* and followed by the classical names *Thinai* or *Sinai* and finally ending in our word China spread along the maritime route of the Indian ocean, in opposition to the names Seres and Serike by which China became known in the West overland'. He concluded by suggesting that as I-tsing says that *Chi-na* more specifically related to Canton, *Cīna* might have been the ancient (perhaps Malayan) name of this part of the Chinese coast in times anterior to the settlement of the Chinese in those regions.

Pelliot on the other hand was much more critical of Jacobi's arguments on the age of the *Kauṭilīya*, but proceeded to show that the connection between Ts'in and China could still be maintained even with a 300 B.C. date for Kauṭilya. He set aside Laufer's view that the name *Cīna* reached India along the sea route; he said: "It is only in the second half of the third century B.C. that the influence of the Chinese reached Kuang-tong, and there is no trace of a navigation which might have placed Southern China in commercial relations with the Indian ocean from this period. When,

3 *SKPA.*, 1911, p. 961, as translated by Laufer in *TP.*, xiii, p. 719.
4 xiii (1912), pp. 718-42.

towards 128 A.D., Chang Kien, being the first to traverse the route across Chinese Turkestan, sojourned in Bactriana, he saw there Chinese products which had come by way of India; but these products were textiles and bamboos of Sseu-Ch'üan, and for going from China to India they did not make use of the sea route by Canton or Tonkin, but the land route by Upper Burma. It is very probable that it is by this way also that the Hindus gained their first knowledge of the Chinese world. That this knowledge might go back to the fourth century B.C. is not absolutely impossible. Indeed from this time, the kingdom of Tch'ou, which was not Chinese by its origins but already moved in the Chinese orbit, extended up to Yunnan; communications, very precarious, might from this period have revealed to each other the two great civilizations of Eastern Asia. But there is nothing to show that such was in reality the case. It seems much more probable that the first relations were a reaction to the formidable shake by which Ts'in Che-houang-ti galvanized all the peoples to the south of the Blue River. We thus think it quite possible that the Chinese were known in India under the dynastic title of this sovereign, who was no doubt abhorred by his countrymen, but who was probably the most magnificent leader of men his country had so far produced, and who knew how in a few years to extend considerably to the south and to the north-west the prestige of his race and name."

Pelliot then cited two passages from the *Ts'ien han chou* relating to the first century B.C. in which the Chinese are called 'people of Ts'in,'[5] and showed that among the Hiong-nu as in India the most ancient name for China and the Chinese was derived from Ts'in. And he added: "If by chance the date 300 B.C. is confirmed for the appearance of the name *Cīna* in India in the sense of China, we should then suppose that it was the state of Ts'in,

5 *TP.*, xiii, pp. 736-40

anterior to the dynasty of Ts'in Che-houang-ti, that gave rise to it. This state is found in Chàn-si in the N. W. of China, in contact with the populations of Central Asia," but like the name Khitai in later times the name Cīna began to be applied to China first in Central Asia from that of the principality by which one entered China from there. But as there is as yet no decisive evidence of such a high antiquity for the name Cīna, he concluded, the view that the name is a memento of Ts'in Che-houang-ti seems still to be the most probable. This view holds the field and is followed unreservedly by Cordier in his *Histoire Générale de la Chine*.[6]

The second thesis of Jacobi that concerns us is his view that the *Kauṭilīya* throws light on the age of the Hindu colonisation of the East. He suggested that the phrase *abhūtapūrvam janapadam* in the chapter on Janapadaniveśa (II, i) must be taken to refer to Indo-China, as by Kauṭilya's time the whole of India had become fully Hinduised. Accordingly he concluded that the spread of the Brahminical religion and the Sanskrit language in Indo-China must have begun many centuries earlier than is usually supposed. Both Louis Finot and Pelliot are inclined to dismiss the argument as of no value. They are impressed by the fact that the Chinese evidence on Fu-nan does not take us further back than the third or second century A.D.;[7] and feel that we should have much more direct evidence before we can proceed to date the beginning of the Hindu expansion to the East earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. Finot has argued that, though Brahminised, Dekkan still offered vast spaces for settlement, and that Kauṭilya must have had them in mind, rather than thought of distant Indo-China. And he brushes aside the reference in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[8] to Aśoka's missions to Suvarṇabhūmi as religious history having nothing to tell us on the history of colonisation.

6 Pp. 213-4.

7 *BEFEO.*, xii (1912) No. 8, pp. 1-4; *TP.*, xiii (1912), p. 729. 8 xii. 44.

Blagden, on the other hand, is inclined to a less sceptical estimate of the value of the *Mahāvaṁsa* story. He says: "The precise position of Suvaṇṇabhūmi is not beyond doubt, but its early missionaries, Soṇa and Uttara, have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their branch of the Church; and though the tale has been embellished with many legendary accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be dismissed as being altogether devoid of foundation. Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date; and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively early period, though it may well be hazardous at present to attempt to fix that date exactly."[9]

For the contacts established in these very early times it is not surprising that we lack more direct evidence and are thrown on guesses based on slight hints derived from different quarters. But there are two pieces of evidence bearing directly on the antiquity of maritime relations between India and China, which confirm each other and together seem to constitute as direct an evidence of these contacts as we are ever likely to get. One of them we owe to Pelliot himself. It is a passage from the *Ts'ien han chou* of Pan Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the first century A.D. The passage is as follows:

"From the gates of Je-nan,[10] from Siu-Wen and Ho-p'ou travelling by boat for five months we reach the kingdom of Ton-Yuan. After a further journey of about four months by sea is reached the kingdom of Yi-lou-mo. By sailing still further for a period of over twenty days, the kingdom of Chen-li is reached.

9 *Ep. Birm.*, iii, pp. 83-84.

10 Upper Annam, at the interior of the Gulf of Tonkin.

From there you travel more than ten days by land to the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou.[11] From the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou, going by boat for more than two months you reach the kingdom of Houang-tche. The habits of the people there generally resemble those of the people of Tchou-yai. These are extensive and populous lands, full of strange products. From the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.) all of them have been sending tribute.[12] There are official interpreters who belong to the (administration of the) palace *houang-men* (*yellow-gate*); with the recruits they go by sea to buy shining pearls, glass,[13] rare stones and strange products, giving gold and silks in exchange. In the lands to which they go, the people supply them with food and join them in their repast. The merchant ships of the foreigners take them to their destination by turns. These foreigners also profit by the trade; (besides) they also plunder and kill people. Moreover (the passengers) have to be afraid of tempests which drown them. If nothing happens, they take many years to go and come back. The large pearls measure up to seven fingers.[14] In the period of *Yuan-che* (1-6 A.D.) of the emperor P'ing, Wang Mang desired to transform the government and manifest stately power. He sent rich presents to the king of Houang-tche and asked him to send an embassy bringing a live rhinoceros as tribute. From the kingdom of Houang-tche, going by boat for about eight months, we reach P'i-tsong.[15] Travelling again by sea for about two months, we get to the frontier of Siang-lin in Je-nan. They say that to the south of Houang-tche lies the kingdom of Ssen-tch'eng- pou, whence the interpreter envoys of the Han return."[16]

11 Pagan—Ferrand—*JA.*, 11: 14 p. 47.

12 i.e. have had trade relations with China. See *Colas*, ii, p. 25.

13 pi—lieou-li, sometimes taken to be *vaiḍūrya*.

14 Pelliot himself expresses a doubt about his translation of this sentence.

15 Pisang island on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. *JA.*, 11: 14; p. 47.

16 Pelliot in *Toung Pao*, xiii (1912), pp. 457-9; cf. *JA.*, 11: 13, pp. 451-5.

It is seen, observes Pelliot, that Pan-Kou has joined two series of data, one going back to the period of the emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.), and the other coming from the envoys of Wang Mang in the initial years of the Christian era. He also points out that in this passage, in spite of its obscurities, we are in the realm of history, not legend. Now the country which is reached after a year's voyage from the coasts of Indo-China, and from which pearls and glass were procured, must have been in the midst of the Indian Ocean,[17] possibly even at its western end. Herrmann locates Houang-tche in Abyssinia and Laufer in Malaya; Ferrand rejects these identifications with good reason,[18] and says: "Phonetically, the equivalence Houang-tche < Kāñcī is satisfactory for the epoch of Han; historically it is possible"[19] that China had relations with Kāñcī in the second century B.C. Let us note also this. A Cōḷa embassy of the eleventh century from Coromandel to Canton took eight months to complete the journey; Pan Kou gives ten months to one year for the same voyage, nearly a dozen centuries earlier. Chinese vessels, it should be noted finally, had not yet begun to sail to India; they began to do so only much later. And the Chinese are distinctly stated by Pan Kou to have depended for their transport on foreign ships. But he makes it no less clear that from the first century B.C. the products of Southern India had begun to reach China by sea, and that at the beginning of the Christian era, under orders of the Court, a Chinese mission traversed the entire Indian Ocean.[20]

Thus we have good reason to think that the maritime contacts between China and Southern India reach as far back as the second century. This is confirmed by a curious find of a Chinese coin, most probably of the second century B.C., from Mysore. This coin was discovered in 1909 by R. A. Narasimhachar in the

17 Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 460.
18 *JA.*, 11: 13, p. 453 *n.* 2.
19 *JA.*, 11: 4, pp. 45-6.
20 *TP.*, xiii, p. 461.

Candravalli site, and Taw Sein Ko to whom the coin was referred made the following observations on it:[21]

"There are four Chinese characters on the coin, of which three are very much blurred. The following dates have been suggested: 138 B.C., 502 A.D., and 886 A.D. The first appears to be the most appropriate, because in the second century B.C., during the reign of Emperor Han Wu-ti, the limits of the Chinese Empire almost coincided with its present boundaries, and Chinese arms were carried to Korea in the north, to Tibet in the west, and to Annam in the south. Most probably, Chinese merchants visited Southern India during that period, and they came from Canton or some other southern port bringing with them Chinese brass coins of low value. It is on record that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a brisk commerce carried on between China and Southern India and Ceylon."

If the Chinese traversed the entire Indian Ocean at the beginning of the Christian era and used foreign vessels earlier in the second century B.C. for travelling to and from Kāñcī, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the eastern expansion of Hinduism began much earlier than is commonly believed.

The antiquity of land contacts again does not rest only on the texts of Kauṭilya discussed by Jacobi. The term *Cīna* occurs in many early Sanskrit texts, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti*, as is well known; but the trouble is that there is no general agreement on the exact age of the particular texts that enter into such discussions; but it seems that the prevailing views err by underrating the antiquity of the contacts between India and China both by land and sea, and that, on the whole, Jacobi and Winternitz were nearer the truth in their estimates of the chronology of Indian literature and culture than others have found it possible to concede.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

21 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1910, pp. 44.

Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha of Padmanandi

Indian cosmography is a subject by itself. Many Jaina texts, earlier and later, both in Prākrit and Sanskrit, treat this subject in an exhaustive manner giving many a minute detail. In the Ardhamāgadhī canon, works like *Sūrapaṇṇatti*, (Skt. Sūryaprajñapti), *Jambuddiva-paṇṇatti* (Skt. Jambudvīpa-prajñapti) and *Caṃdapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Candra-prajñapti) are devoted to this subject. An excellent account of Jaina cosmography is given by Dr. W. Kirfel in his work *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920, pp. 208-340). Many Śvetāmbara texts, both canonical and non-canonical, are used by him. Among the Digambara works Indravāmadeva's *Trailokyadipikā* and Nemicandra's *Trailokyasāra* (Prākrit) are drawn upon. With the Digambaras *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Trilokaprajñapti) of Jadivasaha (Skt. Yativṛṣabha) and *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Jambudvīpa-prajñapti) of Paümaṇaṃdi (Skt. Padmanandi) are considered as the most important Prākrit works dealing with cosmography. So far as I know, no commentaries are available on these texts; and further the obscurity of the subject-matter and the unsatisfactory preservation of the text only heighten the difficulties of a student who wants to wade through the technical details of these works. From the linguistic point of view these two texts are very important, as they contain much additional matter for the student of Prākrit grammar. *Tiloyapṇṇatti* is being tentatively edited by me in the *Jaina Antiquary* (Arrah, Bihar); and I propose to discuss in this article some important details about *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti*, a Ms. of which has just reached my hands.

The paper Ms., measuring 14 by 8½ inches, is a recent copy (Vaiśākha śu. 1, Saṃvat 1971), and belongs to the Ailaka Pannālala Digambara Jaina Pāṭhaśālā, Sholapur. It has 84 leaves in double

folios. Though carefully copied in bold Devanāgarī script, there are scribal errors here and there.

The copyist calls it *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti,* but the actual title of the text, as mentioned in the colophons of various Uddeśas, is *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha.* The word *saṃgraha* indicates that the author is compiling the contents from some earlier source, whose name was perhaps *Dīvasāgarapaṇṇatti,* as indicated by the following two verses:

दे वन्दिदूण सिरसा वोच्छामि जहा-क्कमेण जिण-दिट्ठं ।
आयरियपरम्परया पण्णत्तिं दीव जलधीगं ॥
आयारिय-परम्परया सायर-दीवाण तहा य पण्णत्ती ।
संखेवेण समत्थं वोच्छामि जहाणुपुव्वीए ॥

The contents are attributed to Mahāvīra; they were codified into texts by Gaṇadharas, and handed down by succeding teachers (I. 8 etc. & XIII. 141 etc.). Padmanandi says that he is writing down a summary of what was traditionally handed down:

आयरिय-परम्परेण य गंथत्थं चेव आगयं सम्मं ।
उवसंहरित्थ लिहियं समासदो इ णायव्वं ॥[1]

In all there are thirteen Uddeśas, and the total number of gāthās comes to 2426, as seen from the following table:

	Name of the Uddeśas:	No. of gāthās:
I.	उवघाय-पत्थावो[2]	74
II.	भरहेरावय-वंस-वण्णणो	210
III.	पव्वद-नदी-भोगभूमी- वण्णणो	246
IV.	महाविदेहाहियारे चत्तदेशो[3]	291
V.	महाविदेहाहियारे मन्दरगिरि-जिणभवण-वण्णणो	125
VI.	महाविदेहाहियारे देवकुरु-उत्तरकुरु-विण्णास-पत्थारो[4]	177
VII.	महाविदेहाहियारे कच्छाविजय-वण्णणो	152
VIII.	महाविदेहाहियारे पुव्वविदेह वण्णणो	198
IX.	महाविदेहाहियारे अवरविदेह वण्णणो	197

1 The line appears to be defective. 2 Is it *upodghāta-prastāvaḥ?*
3 The last word appears to be corrupt.
4 The last word looks like *-yacchāro* as well.

	Name of the Uddeśas:	No. of gāthās:
X.	लवण समुद्द वावण्णणो	102
XI.	वाहिर-उहार-दीव-दीसायर[5]-नरयगदि-सिद्धखेत्त-वण्णणो	365
XII.	जोइसलोय-वरणणो	113
XIII.	पमाण-परिच्छेदो	176

The names of the Uddeśas, read in the light of Dr. Kirfel's account of Jaina cosmography, give a fair idea of the contents of the work. As far as I have seen, the whole work is written in gāthā metre; and the Prākrit dialect used by Padmanandi is Jaina Śaurasenī. Now and then there are descriptions of some regions which remind us of the long compounds in the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

Though no date of the composition is mentioned, Padmanandi has supplied us with some information about his spiritual genealogy in the concluding verses. There was a great saint Vīranandi who was endowed with five Mahāvratas, pure in faith, possessed of knowledge and the merits of self-control and penance, free from attachment etc., heroic, full of five-fold conduct, kind to six classes of living beings, free from infatuation, and above pleasure and pain (XIII. 158-9). His great disciple was Balanandi, who was well-versed in the Sūtras and their interpretation, who was of deep wisdom, who abstained from scandalising others, who was free from attachment, and who was endowed with faith, knowledge and conduct (XIII. 160-1). And his disciple was Paümaṇaṃdi (Skt. Padmanandi), endowed with many a virtue, free from three Daṇḍas, pure with reference to three Śalyas, free from three Gāravas, who had reached the other end of Siddhānta, who was endowed with penances and other vows, who was devoted to faith, knowledge and conduct, and who was free from preliminary sins (XIII. 162-3). Padmanandi tells us that he received instructions in the scripture from Siri Vijaya (Sk. Śrivijaya), also mentioned as Risi Vijaya (Skt.

5 The reading is not satisfactory.

Ṛṣi Vijaya), who was a great monk of spiritual virtues and a great teacher of Paramāgama (XIII. 144-5, 164). There was a famous and learned monk Māghanandi; he had a well-disciplined and wise pupil Sakalacandra; his disciple was Śrīnandi; and it is for the sake of Śrīnandi that Padmanandi wrote this work. The work was written when Padmanandi was staying in Bārā-nayara, i.e. the town of Bārā, in the country of Pariyatra, the contemporary king of which was Śānti-bhūpāla[6] (*Vārā-nayarassa pahū naruttamo Sa|ṃ|ti-bhūpālo,* 166) who was respected by the sovereign king (Narapati), who was heroic, who was endowed with many religious virtues, and was devoted to Jainism. To state the bare facts in brief, Padmanandi was a monk, his immediate predecessor was Balanandi, the pupil of Vīranandi. He studied under Śrīvijaya, and composed or compiled this work for Śrīnandi, the disciple of Sal alacandra, the pupil of Māghanandi. The work was composed in the town of Bāra in the country of Pariyatra, when the contemporary chief was Śānti.

To commemorate the memory of Winternitz who has so much obliged the students of Indian literature by his authoritative studies, I have just introduced this work to the students of Prākrit literature. An attempt to discuss the date and other details will be made at a later stage, as I am in search of some more Ms. material.

A. N. Upadhye

6 The Ms. reads Sati, apparently a scribal error for Saṃti=Śānti.

Gauḍapāda

"नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ।"

"This is not said by the Buddha."

The following is the last but one kārikā of the fourth or last chapter of Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra:*

क्रमते नहि बुद्धस्य ज्ञानं धर्मेषु तायिनः ।
सर्वं धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥

Literally it says that according to the Buddha who instructs the way known to him (*tāyin*)[1] *jñāna* 'knowledge' does not approach the *dharmas* 'elements' of existence (i.e. it does not relate itself to the objects). But all *dharmas* and *jñāna*—this is not said by the Buddha.

1 The word *tāyin* is thus interpreted by Prajñākaramati in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*, p. 75: तायिनाम् इति, स्वाधिगतमार्गोपदेशकानाम् । यदुक्तं तायः स्वदृष्टमार्गोक्तिः (*Pramāṇavārttika*, ed. R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 2. 145). See the present writer's paper, 'Pramāṇavārttika' of Dharmakirtti' in *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, 1937. This explanation is partly followed by Udayanācārya in his *Tātparyaṭikā-pariśuddhi* (Bib. Ind.) in explaining *tāyin* in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tātparyaṭikā*, 2 (अक्षपादाय तायिने)। तायी तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकः । Prajñākaramati (*loc. cit.*) offers another explanation: अथवा तायः सन्तानार्थम् आसंसारमप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाणतया अवस्थायिनाम् । This word is widely used in Buddhist [e.g. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, p. 421; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, III. 2; *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Bib. Bud.) pp. 25, 57, 67, etc.] and Jaina [e.g. Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, (Bib. Ind., vol. 1, pp. 1, 47); *Daśavaikālika* (Devacānd Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhāra, No. 49, p. 115)] works and is misunderstood. Sometimes it is read as *trāyin* 'protector,' and *tāpin*, as in the present case. As a name for Buddha it is translated into Tibetan by *Skyob pa* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, § 1. 15) which suggests its Sanskrit equivalent *trāyin* 'protector'. See *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 140; *JPTS.*, 1891-1893, p. 53; *JA.*, 1912, p. 243; *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 450-1.

It has been repeatedly shown in the *Āgamaśāstra*[2] (specially in IV. 96) that *jñāna* is *asaṅga* 'free from attachment, i.e. free from any relation to its objects', as the *dharmas* or objects have no reality. Here the author refers to that fact and concludes showing the supreme truth that according to the Buddha there is neither *jñāna* nor *dharmas* as he has said neither of them: *naitad buddhena bhāṣitam*.

What does the last line mean? Scholars of the orthodox school interpret it in various ways, but without sufficient justification.[3] In this paper an attempt will be made to throw some new light on the line.

In one way it can be said that there are only two things, *jñāna* 'knowledge' and *jñeya* 'knowable' or *dharmas* 'elements of existence', 'objects'.[4] Here we are told that neither of them is said by the Buddha. But how? Has he ever said anything? The Buddhists would give the answer in the negative. According to them the Buddha has never uttered a single word, as the following quotations will show:

Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakakārikā*, XX, 25:

सर्वोपलम्भोपशमः प्रपञ्चोपशमः शिवः ।
न क्वचित् कस्यचित् कश्चिद् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितः ॥

Tathāgataguhyasūtra quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* on the above:

यञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽनुत्तरां सम्यक् सम्बोधिमभिसम्बुद्धो यञ्च रात्रिमुपादाय परिनिर्वास्यति अन्तरान्तरे तथागतेन एकमप्यक्षरं नोदाहृतं न व्याहृतं नापि प्रव्याहरति नापि प्रव्याहरिष्यति ।

2 See IV. 72: चित्तं निर्विषयं नित्यमसङ्गं तेन कीर्तितम् ।
See also IV. 97, 79 (*nihsaṅga*); cf. III. 32 (*agraha*).

3 Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Ananta Krishna Shastri: *Vedāntarakṣāmaṇi*, 1937, Introduction, p. 6.

4 See our text, IV. 1.

Laṅkāvatāra, ed. B. Nanjio, 1923, pp. 142-3:

याञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो याञ्च रात्रिं परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे एकमप्यक्षरं तथागतेन नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति। अवचनं बुद्धवचनम्।

Nāgārjuna in his *Niraupamyastava*, ed. G. Tucci, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 309 ff. 17:

नोदाहृतं त्वया किञ्चिदेकमप्यक्षरं विभो।
कृतज्ञश्च वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्षेण तर्पितः॥

Bhagavat quoted in *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264, and *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 365 (with a slight change):

अनक्षरस्य धर्मस्य श्रुतिः का देशना चका।
श्रूयते देश्यते चापि समारोपादनक्षरः॥

Laṅkāvatāra, p. 137:

न मे यानं महायानं न घोषो न च अक्षराः।[5]

तत्त्वं ह्यक्षरवर्जितम्। *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

निरक्षरत्वात्तत्त्वस्य। *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

Vajracchedikā, ed. Max Müller, p. 24:

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन देशितः। एवमुक्त आयुष्मान् सुभूतिर्भगवन्तमेवमोवचत्। यथाहं भगवन् भगवतो भाषितस्यार्थमाजानामि नास्ति स कश्चिद् धर्मो यस्तथागतेनानुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरित्यभिसम्बुद्धो नास्ति धर्मो यस्तथागतेन देशितः॥

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः। सुभूतिराह। नो हीदं भगवन् नास्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः।

Laṅkāvatāra, p. 144:

यस्याञ्च रात्रयां धिगमो यस्याञ्च परिनिर्वृतः।
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे नास्ति मया किञ्चित् प्रकाशितम्॥

Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 539:

अवाच ऽनक्षराः सर्वे शून्याः शान्तादिनिर्मलाः।
य एवं जानति धर्मान् कुमारो बुद्ध सोच्यते॥

5 Cf. *Āgamaśāstra*, IV. 60: यत्र वर्णा न वर्तन्ते।

The passages quoted above show that the Buddha has said nothing. Let us now try to understand what it signifies. This statement is based on two grounds: (i) *pratyātmadharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the highest truth that it is realised in one's own self, and (ii) *paurāṇasthitidharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the elements of existence that remains from the past. This requires some explanation.

As regards the first it is held that the transcendental reality (*paramārtha*) springs up only as an inward conviction (*pratyātmavedya*), it cannot be attained through an instruction from others (*aparapratyaya = paropadeśāgamya*), for it cannot be expressed by any speech or word. So we are told that for the noble the transcendental truth is silence.[6] This is well-known in the Vedānta.[7] Candrakīrtti writes in his *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 493:

सर्वं एवायमभिधानाभिधेयज्ञानज्ञेयादिव्यवहारोऽशेषो लोकसंवृतिसत्यमित्युच्यते। नहि परमार्थत एव तत् सम्भवति। कुतस्तत्र परमार्थे वाचां प्रवृत्तिः कुतो वा ज्ञानस्य। स हि परमार्थोऽपरप्रत्ययः शान्तः प्रत्यात्मवेद्य आर्याणां सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतः। स नोपदिश्यते न चापि ज्ञायते।

Thus the Buddha did not say anything in fact, yet the people according to their own dispositions think that he did so. We read therefore in a text, *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 539, just after the passage, No. 2, cited above:

अथ च यथाधिमुक्ताः सर्वसत्त्वा नानाधात्वाशयास्तां तां विविधां तथागतवाचं निश्चरन्तीं संजानन्ति। तेषामेवं पृथक् पृथग् भवति। अयं भगवान् अस्मभ्यमिमं धर्मं देशयति। वयं च तथागतस्य धर्मदेशनां शृणुमः। तत्र तथागतो न कल्पयति न विकल्पयति सर्वकल्पविकल्पजातवासनाप्रपञ्चविगतो हि शान्तमते तथागत इति विस्तरः।

यदि तर्ह्येवं [न]कश्चित् कस्यचि[त् कश्चि-]द् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितस्तत् कथमिम एते विचित्राः प्रवचनव्यवहाराः प्रज्ञायन्ते। उच्यते। अविद्यानिद्रानुगतानां देहिनां स्वप्नायमानानामिव

6 *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 56: परमार्थो हि आर्याणां तूष्णीम्भावः।

7 *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II. 4. 1: यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह। See also *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II. 3; *Brahmasūtras* with *Śaṅkara*, III. 2-17; *The Basic Conception of Buddhism* pp. 19 ff.

स्वविकल्पाभ्युदय एषः। अयं भगवान् सकलत्रिभुवनसुरासुरनरनाथ इमं धर्ममस्मभ्यं देशयतीति।

The following may also be cited here from the *Laṅkāvatāra* p. 194:

न च महामते तथागत अक्षरपतितं धर्मं देशयन्ति।० पुनर्महामते योऽक्षरपतितं धर्मं देशयति स प्रलपति। निरक्षरत्वाद् धर्मस्य। अत एतस्मात् कारणान्महामते उक्तं देशनापाठे मयान्यैश्च बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैर्यथैकमप्यक्षरं तथागता नोदाहरन्ति न प्रव्याहरन्तीति। तत् कस्य हेतोर्यदनक्षरत्वाद्धर्माणाम्। न च नार्थोपसंहितमुदाहरन्ति। उदाहरन्त्येव विकल्पमुपादायानुपादायान् (०दानान् ?) महामते सर्वधर्माणां शासनलोपः स्यात्।

And the conclusion arrived at here is that one should rest on the meaning and not on only letters, for one who rests on letters not only ruins oneself, but also cannot make others understand:

अर्थप्रतिशरणेन[8] महामते बोधिसत्त्वेन महासत्त्वेन भवितव्यं न व्यञ्जनप्रतिशरणेन।[8] व्यञ्जनानुसारी महामते कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा स्वात्मानं च नाशयति परार्थांश्च नावबोधयति। *Op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.

This second ground is this: The Buddha has said nothing because what he is reported to have said was from the past. Nothing depends on the birth or absence of birth of the Tathāgatas, the true nature of elements of existence remains always the same. This is meant by the statement that the speech of the Buddha is no speech (अवचनं बुद्धवचनम्).

Taking both the grounds together the *Laṅkāvatāra* says (pp. 143-4):

यदुक्तं भगवता यां च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो यां च रात्रिं परिनिर्वास्यति अन्तरान्तर एकमप्यक्षरं तथागतेन नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति अवचनं बुद्धवचनमिति किमिदं सन्धायोक्तम्। भगवानाह। धर्मद्वयं महामते सन्धाय मयैतदुक्तम्। कतमद्धर्मद्वयम्। यदुत प्रत्यात्मधर्मताश्च पौराणस्थितिधर्मताश्च।० उत्पादाद् वा तथागतानामनुत्पादाद्वा तथागतानां स्थितैवैषा धर्माणां धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता पौराणनगरमहापथवन्महामते। तद्

8 In such cases other texts read °*pratisaraṇa* for °*pratiśaraṇa*.

यथा कश्चिदेव पुरुषोऽटव्यां पर्यटन् पौराणं नगरमनुपश्येदभविकलप्रवेशं। स तं नगरमनुप्रविशेत्। तत्र प्रविश्य प्रतिनिविश्य नगरं नगरक्रियासुखमनुभवेत्। तत् किं मन्यसे महामते अपि नु तेन पुरुषेण स पन्था उत्पादितो येन पथा तं नगरमनुप्रविष्टो नगरवैचित्र्यञ्च। आह। नो भगवन्। भगवानाह। एवमेव महामते यन्मया तैश्च तथागतैरधिगतं स्थितैवैषा धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता तथता भूतता सत्यता। अत एतस्मात् कारणान्महामते मयेदमुक्तं यञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो० नोदाहरिष्यति॥

The following may also be quoted here from the *Vajracchedikā*, p. 24, just after the passage, No. 9, cited above:

तत् कस्य हेतोः। योऽसौ तथागतेन धर्मोऽभिसम्बुद्धो देशितो वा अग्राह्यः सोऽनभिलप्यः। न स धर्मो नाधर्मः। तत् कस्य हेतोः। असंस्कृतप्रभाविता ह्यार्यपुद्गलाः।

This is the significance of the passage under discussion (i.e. सर्वे धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम्, IV. 99), and it is reasonable that the author who begins the chapter (IV) with *jñāna* and *dharmas*[9] should state in conclusion the transcendental truth about them.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

9 ज्ञानेनाकाशकल्पेन धर्मान् यो गगनोपमान्।

A Tun-huang Prelude to the Karaṇḍavyūha

Manuscript No. 241[1] of the Pelliot Tibetan Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, deserves to be studied thoroughly. Here is, in the meantime, a brief analysis.

The title, in Tibetan, which can be translated, or restored in Sanskrit *bhūta-mārga-nirdeśa* (བཀའ་ཡིན་ལས་བསྟན་ བ་)[2] is followed by a few lines of Buddhist invocation. Then an instruction anonymous and without any localisation, addresses the dead man in a direct speech (ཅོ་འདས་པ་ཁྱོད་ཅོག་ཡིག །"O Dead One! Listen!"). The anonymous instructor describes the Great Hell (ཀ་ཉག་ཆེན་པོ), the world of the *preta* and the world of the animals, that is to say the three evil *gati,* and then the "land of the gods" (རྒྱལ་ཡུལ)

The Great Hell lies 8,000 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. The dead man who falls (སྐྱེ) into it can be saved by Avalokiteśvara if he takes refuge in this Bodhisattva by means of the formula: *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya sva hā.*

The world of the *preta* is 500 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. In case he has fallen there, the dead being who calls upon Gagana-gañja is saved by the formula: *ōṃ ga ga na sam ba ba jra ho da ha sa.*

Out of the world of the animals, which lies between the Great Ocean, the Great Iron Mountain and the four *dvīpa,* the deceased is rescued by Ñan-caṅ-sbyoṅ (*Durgatiśodhana) through his propitiatory formula: *na ma sa rba dur ga de// ba ri ço da ni// ra ja ya da*

1 Eighteen sheets of paper measuring 7 cm. 8 to 31 cm. The end is decorated with a flower and a scaly dragon.

2 I have quoted faithfully the spelling of the Tibetan ms.

tha ga da ya a ri ha di// çud de byi çud de// sa rba kar rma a ba ra na byi çud de sva hā.[3]

If the dead man manages to escape those three dangers he goes then to the land of the gods, on the Meru, north of the Jambudvīpa. The description of the abode of the gods and of its inhabitants contains nothing unusual, save this indication: Śākyamuni and the *dharmayuvarāja* (ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བུ) Ārya Maitreya reside in the dwelling place of the Tuṣita *deva,* surrounded by the Bodhisattva Vasumitra (Ba-su-myi-tra), Simhāntarikṣa (སེང་གེ་བར་སྟང་) etc. and innumerable *devaputra.*

After these descriptions of the three evil regions that the dead man must contrive to avoid and of the divine land which he must endeavour to reach, following the instructor's exhortations, come six paragraphs, separated by small drawings. One of them, bearing the title: (རྨ་སྦྲེལ་བ་) can be easily identified, notwithstanding the difficulties which the writing and the spelling of the manuscript offer: it is a version, notably shortened, of the *Balahajātaka.*

In short, the Tun-huang manuscript offers a type of populat text which exalts the Bodhisattvas of salvation, and Avalokiteśvara in particular. It is this kind of literature, amplified, much adorned, and above all crowded with ready-made 'clichés' of the decaying Mahâyânism, which is recognizable in the *Karaṇḍavyūha* in prose. This compilation develops, in order to illustrate Avalokiteśvara's liberating influence, the three themes which are also connected with this Bodhisattva in the Tun-huang manuscript: salvation of the beings who have sunken in the Great Hell; miraculous formula; description of a previous life in the shape of the horse saver Balaha.

This comparison between the *sūtra* of the Mahāyāna and the popular text suggests another point: in the Tung-huang manus-

3 It is the essential formula of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-nāmadhāraṇi* cf. Sanskrit collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 62, text 25.

cript, Avalokiteśvara's miraculous formula is: *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya,* whereas in the *Karaṇḍavyūha,* it is the famous *mantra* in six syllables: *oṃ maṇi padme hum.* But M. Pelliot notes[4] that this magical formula is not attested prior to 1000 A.D. Moreover, there is not a single instance of its appearing upon the thousands of Tibetan sheets and rolls (though many of these are covered with graffitti) found in the Tsien fo-t'ong and which are kept in Paris.

It seems likely that the Tun-huang manuscript is anterior to the period when the mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hum* was used, that is, anterior to 1000 A.D., and of course, anterior to the redaction of the *Karaṇḍavyūha* in prose where this mantra holds an outstanding place, because, if the manuscript was a shortened reading of the Mahâyânist text, the famous formula would without any doubt have been quoted instead of *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya.*

MARCELLE LALOU

4 *T'oung Pao,* XXXI, 1934, 1-2, pp. 172-76 or *Bibliographie Bouddhique,* VI, No. 173 bis.

Advaitācāryas of the 12th and 13th Centuries*

In the history of the development of the various Advaitic Schools, the period which witnessed the rise of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita is of importance, because it shows the state of the Advaita philosophy and the criticisms provoked by it. The two main schools of Advaita-Vivaraṇa prasthāna and Bhāmati prasthāna had already secured adherents throughout India, Vācaspati had been criticised by the Prakaṭārthakāra as a follower of Maṇḍana who had criticised Śaṅkara. Therefore it is important that we should note the relative chronological position of the various outstanding authors after Śaṅkara.

Śaṅkara, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] cannot be placed later than 620 A.D. since he is later than Diṅnāga and far earlier than Bhavabhūti-Śrīkaṇṭha (720 A.D.) and was the older contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Mr. Kunhan Raja has doubted the testimony of I-tsing as to the date of Bhartṛhari and gives evidence to show that Bhartṛhari must be assigned to an earlier date probably the 5th century.[2] Śurēśvara, the disciple of Śaṅkara is earlier than Pātrakeśari Vidyānanda, the disciple of Akalaṅka (*c.* 600 A.D.).[3] Sarvajñātman can no longer be assumed to be the disciple of Surēśvara, as he mentions Dēvēśvara, Dēvānanda and Śreṣṭhānanda as his *guru, parama guru* and *parātpara guru*.[4]. Sarvajñātman is later than Vimuktātman, the author of *Iṣṭasiddhi,* who was later than Bhāskara.[5] Bhāskarīya Vēdāntins are mentioned by Prabhācandra,[6] who is a pupil of Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda. Therefore Bhāskara cannot be placed later than the middle of the 7th century. Moreover Śāntirakṣita and his disciple Kamalaśīla (740 A.D.) criticise

* The paper was read in the 8th All India Oriental Conference, Mysore and now revised.

1 *QJMS.*, 1930. Proc. VIII. *Or. Confce.* 1935, p. 562.

2 *S. K. Iyengar Comm. Vol.* 3 *An. Bh. Or. Inst.*, 1931.

4 *Pramāṇa Lakṣaṇa, JOR.*, 1937; *Mad. Uni. Journal*, 1937.

5 *Iṣṭasiddhi,* GOS., p. 375. 6 *Pramēya Kamala Mārtaṇḍa.*

the Advaita doctrine[7] and Ubēyaka is criticised by Kamalaśila and Vimuktātman.

Then comes another great figure, Vācaspati (841 A.D.), who is followed by the Prakaṭārthakāra. The *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* was written by Prakāśātman, known also as Svayaṃ prakāśānubhava, a disciple of Ananyānubhava,[8] Prakāśātman implies that Ananyānubhava wrote on Ātma Saṃbuddhi probably referring to the work *Ātmatattva* mentioned by Jñānaghana. Jñānaghana was the disciple of Bōdhaghana and wrote his *Tattvaśuddhi* on the basis of '*ananyānubhavānandādvitiya ātmatattvam*', (which probably implies that Ananyānubhavānanda wrote a work called *Ātmatattva*), prior to Jñānaghana.[9] Therefore Jñānaghana was a contemporary of Prakāśātma Yati, who was a disciple of Ananyānubhava guru. But the Śriṅgēri list gives early dates for Bōdhaghana and Jñānaghana.

Śaṅkara	
Sureśvara	(Ś. 695=777 A.D.?)
Nityabōdhaghana	773-848 A.D.
Jñānaghana	848-910 A.D.
Jñānōttama Śiva	910-953 A.D.
Jñānagiri	953-1038 A.D.
Nṛsiṃhagiri	1038-1107 A.D.
Īśvaratīrtha'	1098-1146 A.D.
Nṛsiṃhatīrtha	1146-1228 A.D.
Vidyātīrtha	1228-1333 A.D.
Bhārati Kṛṣṇatīrtha	1333-1380 A.D.
Vidyāraṇya	1380-1386 D.D.

7 *Tattvasaṁgraha*, GOS., Intro.

8 वंदे तमान्मसंबुद्धस्फुरद्ब्रह्मावबोधतः ।
अर्थतोपि न नाम्नैव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरुः ॥ *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa.*

9 शश्वद्बोधधनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

If we can safely accept these dates, Jñānaghana must be placed before 910 A.D. Therefore Ananyānubhava's date also falls in the 9th century and his disciple, the Vivaraṇakāra must be a contemporary of Jñānaghana. The *Vallāla-carita* says that one Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri became the preceptor of Ballālasena and that for this *Mahārāja-guru* a Maṭh was constructed at Pradyumnēśvara. Mr. J. C. Ghosh[10] thinks that this Siṃhagiri is the same as Gauḍēśvarācārya. But in the Śriṅgēri list Jñānottama Śiva was the successor of Jñānaghana and is placed between 910 and 953 A.D. But the Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri is either Nṛsiṃha or Siṃhagiri (1038-1107 A.D.) or Nṛsiṃhatirtha (1146-1228 A.D.) most probably the latter, who was the contemporary of Ballālasena (*c.* 1150 A.D.). Therefore it is not possible that Siṃhagiri was also known as Gauḍēśvarācārya. If Jñānottama Śiva is the same as Jñānottama Gauḍēśvarācārya, he must be the contemporary of some ruler of Bengal in the 10th century.

Moreover, there seem to be two Jñānottamas—one a native of the Chola country who wrote commentaries on the Naiṣkarmya and *Iṣṭasiddhi* granthas, and the other Gauḍēśvarācārya who is the author of *Nyāyasudhā*, *Jñānasiddhi* and *Jñānasudhā*. The first Jñānottama, of the Cola country was not an ascetic and mentions only his father as his preceptor. Also he had the appellation '*miśra*', showing his connection with Bengal. The guru of Citsukha on the other hand was probably known as Satyānanda also[11] Another disciple of Jñānottama was Vijñānātman.[12]

इह खलु निखिलोपनिषत्कदम्बकतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चितम् अनन्यानुभवानंदाद्वितीयात्मतत्त्वम् अधिकृत्य केषु चिदर्थेषु तत्त्वं परिशोधनं विधीयते—*Tattvaśuddhi* of Jñānaghana (*Mad. Uni. Journal*, 1937).

10 *IHQ.*, Dec. 1937.

11 ज्योतिर्यद्वक्षिणामूर्तिर्व्यासशंकरशब्दितम् ।
ज्ञानोत्तमाख्यं तद्वंदे सत्यानंदपदोत्थितम् ॥
(*Bhāṣyabhāva Prakāśikā* of Citsukha).

12 *Śvētaśvatarōpaniṣadbhāṣyaṭikā* of Vijñānātman.

Citsukha is the author of *Bhāṣyabhāva Prakāśikā* and *Tattvapradīpikā*. His disciple was Sukha-prakāśa the author of *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* and *Tattvapradīpikā-Vyākhyā*. Sukha Prakāśa's disciple Amalānanda is the author of *Kalpataru* (1247-1260 A.D.).[13] Another disciple of Sukha Prakāśa was Ānanda Jñāna, the author of *Tarkasaṁgraha(?)*. The date of Citsukha is therefore *c.* 1200 A.D. and that of his guru is probably *c.* 1180 A.D.

If we investigate the inscriptions at Siṃhācalam and Śrikūrmam,[14] we have—

Narasiṃhamahāmuni Ś. 1152, 1168.

Naraharitīrtha Śrīpāda (Mādhva) Ś. 1186, 1193, 1200, 1213, 1214, and 1215.

Narasiṃha Bhārati Ś. 1278, 1280, 1281, 1283.

Jagannāthatīrtha Śrīpāda Ś. 1295.

Vāsudēva Bhārati (disciple of Narasiṃha Bhārati) Ś. 1310.

Rāghava Bhārati (disciple of Vāsudēva) Ś. 1312.

Narasiṃha mahāmuni is no other than Citsukha Bhaṭṭāraka of the inscription of Ś. 1142, (1220 A.D.).[15] The inscriptions also mention a Vāsudēva Yati in 1255 A.D. and a Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya—a family man in 1283 A.D. A Citsukha Sāmayājin is mentioned in the years 1266 and 1284 A.D. therefore there were at least two Citsukhas separated from each other by an interval of about half a century.

Sukhaprakāśa the disciple of Citsukha I, was also a pupil under Ānandātman. Amalānanda in his *Kalpataru* says that Sukhaprakāśa was his vidyāguru, and his dikṣāguru was Svayamprabha Anubhavānanda[16] (probably identical with Ānandānubhava) whose

13 *Kalpataru*, सुखप्रकाशयतिनं तं नौमि विद्यागुरुम् ॥

14 *SII.*, V and VI.

15 *MER.*, 134 and 365 of 1899.

16 स्वयंप्रभसुखं ब्रह्म दयारचितविग्रहम् ।
यथार्थानुभवानंदपदगीतं गुरुं नमः ॥—*Kalpataru*.

guru was Ānadātma Yati.[17] Ānandānubhava was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa Jyōtisa and wrote a commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi* and *Nyāyaratnadīpāvaḷi*, and is later than Ānandabōdha the pupil of Ātmāvāsa and the author of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Pramāṇamālā*.

Another disciple of Ānandātman was Śaṅkarānanda[18] who wrote Dīpikās on the Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas. Śaṅkarānanda was the teacher of Bhāratikṛṣṇa-tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya[19] Mr. Tripāṭhi[20] regarding Ānandagiri says that he is the same as Ānanda Jñāna and in his previous āśrama he was known as Janārdana and wrote *Tattvālōka*, under the guidance of Anubhūti Svarūpa. Later Ānandagiri became the disciple of Śuddhānanda.[21] One Śuddhānanda is mentioned along with Kaivalyānanda and Saccidānanda as guru of Svayamprakāśa who wrote commentaries on *Advaitamakaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara and on *Harimīḍē stotra*. *Svayamprakāśa* is later than Vidyāraṇya and Bhōganātha, and must be assigned to the 16th century. Therefore this Śuddhānanda is different from the guru of Ānandagiri.

Ānandagiri is as we have seen, was also known as Janārdana in his previous āśrama. The son of Janārdana is Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya the author of *Ṛjuvivaraṇa* on the *Pañcapādikā*

17 आनंदात्मयतीश्वरं तमनिशं वंदे गुरूणां गुरुम् ॥

—*Kalpataru*.

18 माण्डूक्योपनिषद्भाष्यां करिष्ये पदचारिणीम् ।
श्रोमात्माभेदसंबोधाद् आनंदात्मप्रकाशनीम् ॥

(*Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadbhaṣya dipika*)

19 नमः श्रीशंकरानंदगुरुपादांबुजन्मने ।
स विलासमहामोहग्राहग्रासैककर्मणे ॥

(*Pañcadaśi*)

20 Introduction to *Tarkasaṅgraha* (G.O.S.).

21 शुद्धानंद पदाम्भोज द्वंद्वमद्वंद्वतास्पदम् ।

(*Māṇḍūkyōpaniṣadbhāṣyaṭika*).

vivaraṇa.[22] This Sarvajña Viṣṇu calls himself a disciple of Indrapurṇa Pūjyapāda, (who was probably a pontiff of the Kāmakōṭipiṭha). Now the great Vidyāśaṅkara was the son of Śāraṅgapāṇi and was born at Bilvāraṇya. In his previous āśrama he was known as Sarvajña Viṣṇu[23] and was initiated by Candraśēkhara according to the Kāmakōṭipiṭha tradition. If Śāraṅgapāṇi and Janārdana are the same, the author of *Ṛju-vivaraṇa* is no other than the great Vidyāśaṅkara. Vidyātīrtha in his *Rudrapraśnabhāṣya* however mentions Paramātmatīrtha as his guru, while the Śriṅgēri list makes him the successor of Narasiṃhatīrtha. But it is not improbabale that Vidyaśaṅkara studied under more than one teacher. Śāyaṇa in his *Śaṅkara Darśana* mentions Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya as the author of a Vivaraṇa on the Vivaraṇa (evidently *Ṛjuvivaraṇa*).[24] Mr. R. Narasiṃhācārya thought that Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭa is the father of a Sarvajña and Cennubhaṭṭa.

We have to distinguish this Ānandagiri from a later Ānanda or Anantānandagiri. Lakṣmīdhara the author of *Advaitamakaranda* (on which Svayamprakāśa wrote a commentary) says that his guru was Anantānanda.[25] This Brahmavid Lakṣmīdhara is probabaly identical with the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Madhura in the time of Deva Rāya I (1406 A.D.). Lakṣmīdhara was the son of Singaḷā, the sister of Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha.[26] Therefore

22 स्वामीन्द्रपूर्णपूज्यपादशिष्यसर्वज्ञशास्त्रविशारदजनार्दनात्मजसर्वज्ञविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायकृतौ... ऋजुविवरणे.....

23 विल्वारण्यजशार्ङ्गपाणितनयः सर्वज्ञविष्णुः श्रयन
सन्यासं गुरुचंद्रशेखरमुनेरास्थाय पीठं गुरोः ।
योगेशस्य च चक्रराजवसतेर्देव्याश्च सक्रोर्चने
श्रीमन्माधवयुक्तभारतियतिप्रष्ठैर्महिष्ठैर्वृतः ॥

24 *IA.*, 1916.

25 कटाक्षकिरणाचांतनमन्मोहाब्धये नमः ।
अनंतानंदकृष्णाय जगन्मंगलमूर्तये ॥
Advaita Makaranda

26 *Ar. S. India*, Rep. 1907-8. *SII.*, IV, p. 267.

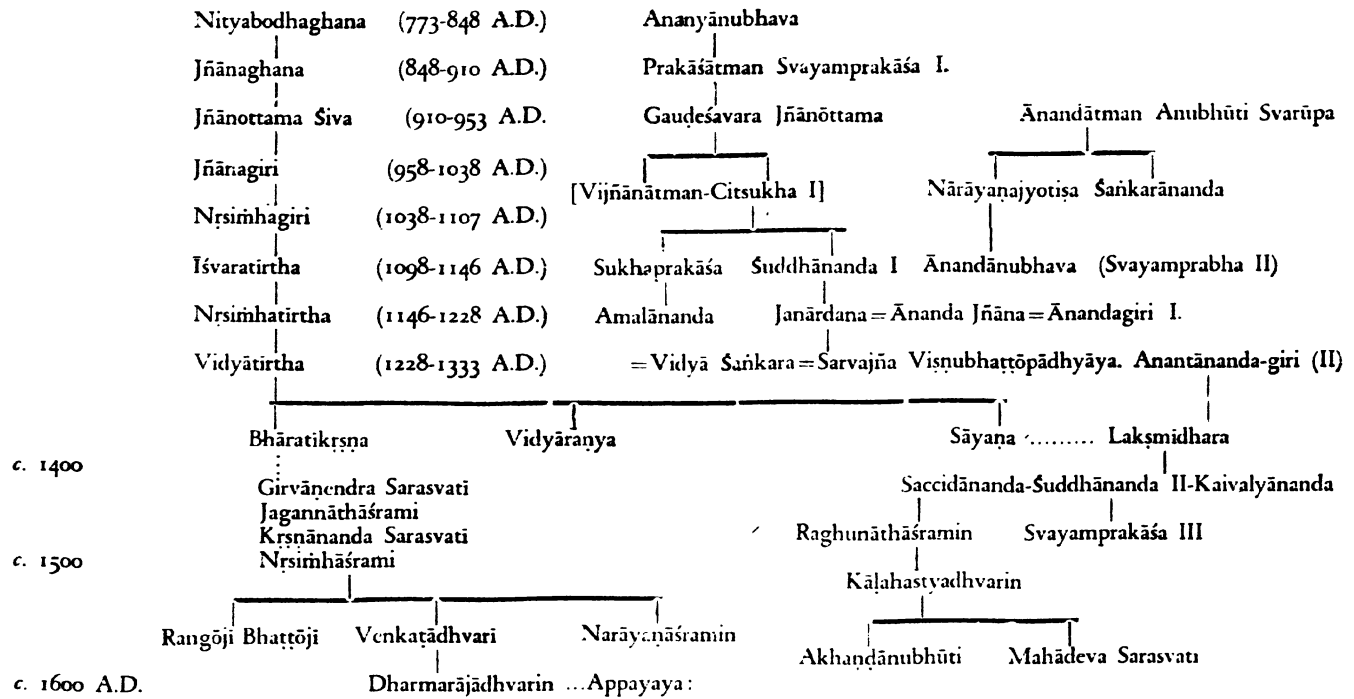
Anantānandagiri must be placed in *c.* 1380 A.D. Several works attributed to this Ānandagiri like *Praśnabhāṣyaṭīkā*, *Aitareyōpaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā*, *Śaṅkaravijaya* quote from the works of Śaṅkarānanda, Sāyaṇa, and Bhōganātha.

A pupil of Ānandagiri I was, according to Mr. Tripāṭhi,[27] Akhaṇḍānanda the author of *Tattvadīpana* and *Ṛjuprakāśikā* the *Tattvadīpana* mentions Ratnācala (giri?), his disciple Bōdhapṛthvidhara (giri) and then salutes Ānanda Śaila (giri). But in the *colophon* Akhaṇḍānanda calls himself the disciple of Akhaṇḍānubhūti. The author of *Ṛjuprakāśikā* says that he was the pupil of Svayamprakāśa. He belonged to the Nalagantu Vaṃśa, and his parents were Kāḷahastyadhvarī and Yajñāmbā. His previous name was Raṅganātha. At the request of Imaḍi Jagadēkarāya, he wrote *Ṛjuprakāśikā*. This Immaḍi Jagadēkarāya was a chief of Chennapatna near Bangalore (*c.* 1600 A.D.).[28] Therefore his guru Svayamprākāśa must be placed in *c.* 1580 A.D. Therefore Mr. Ṭripāṭhi's contention that Akhandānanda or Akhaṇḍānubhūti, the author of *Tattvadīpana* was a pupil, of Ānandagiri I is wrong.

The father of Akhaṇḍa Yati, Kāḷahastyadhvarī is the author of *Ratnakōśaprakāśikā* and he is probably identical with Kāḷahasti. yajvan who wrote a commentary on the *Bhēdidhikkāra* of Nṛsiṁhāśramin[29] and calls himself the disciple of Raghunāthāśramin. Akhaṇḍānanda also wrote a commentary on Govardhana's commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Kēśavamiśra. Govardhana's date is *c.* 1560 A.D.[30] Svayamprakāśānanda, the guru of Akhaṇḍa Yati was also the guru of Mahādēva Sarasvati, the author of *Tattvānusandhāna*.

S. Srikantha Sastri

27 *Tarkasaṁgraha* G.S.O. Introduction.
28 *Vijayanagar Comm. Vol.*, p. 323.
29 *Bheda-dhikkāra* Mad. Uni. Series, Intro.
30 *Tarkabhāṣā* of Kēśavamiśra.


Nityabodhaghana (773-848 A.D.)
Jñānaghana (848-910 A.D.)
Jñānottama Śiva (910-953 A.D.
Jñānagiri (958-1038 A.D.)
Nṛsiṁhagiri (1038-1107 A.D.)
Īśvaratirtha (1098-1146 A.D.)
Nṛsiṁhatirtha (1146-1228 A.D.)
Vidyātirtha (1228-1333 A.D.)
Ananyānubhava
Prakāśātman Svayamprakāśa I.
Gauḍeśavara Jñānōttama
[Vijñānātman-Citsukha I]
Sukhaprakāśa
Śuddhānanda I
Amalānanda
Janārdana = Ānanda Jñāna = Ānandagiri I.
= Vidyā Śaṅkara = Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya.
Ānandātman Anubhūti Svarūpa
Nārāyaṇajyotiṣa Śaṅkarānanda
Ānandānubhava (Svayamprabha II)
Anantānanda-giri (II)
Bhāratikṛṣṇa
Vidyāraṇya
Sāyaṇa
Lakṣmidhara
c. 1400
Girvāṇendra Sarasvati
Jagannāthāśrami
Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvati
c. 1500
Nṛsiṁhāśrami
Saccidānanda-Śuddhānanda II-Kaivalyānanda
Raghunāthāśramin
Svayamprakāśa III
Kāḷahastyadhvarin
Rangōji Bhaṭṭōji
Venkaṭādhvari
Narāyaṇāśramin
Akhaṇḍānubhūti
Mahādeva Sarasvati
c. 1600 A.D.
Dharmarājādhvarin ...Appayaya:

Gilgit Ms. of the Vinaya Piṭaka

The Gilgit mss., so far dealt with by me in this *Quarterly*, belong mostly to the later period of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Since the discoveries of the fragments of the Sanskrit Sūtra and Vinaya texts in Eastern Turkestan and the neighbouring places, the Buddhist scholars have been eagerly hoping to obtain more information about the activities of a Hinayāna sect which attained prominence in India in the post-Aśokan, and particularly, in the Kushan period. The history of Buddhism as also the history of India of the few centuries before and after the Christian era are still incomplete and await the discovery of further materials, and so it is a matter of gratification that Gilgit has yielded some, which will throw light on a hitherto unknown aspect of Indian culture, for which the world of Indologists should be grateful to H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, his present Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary for their appreciation of the importance of these finds and taking up the work of their publication in right earnest.

A few leaves of the ms., of which a preliminary account is being given here, passed into the hands of Sir Aurel Stein, who handed them over to the British Museum, the authorities of which again passed them on to the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Professor Lévi published two leaves (49b—51a) with the errors and omissions along with a facsimile of a leaf of the ms. in the *JA.*, CCXX (1932), pp. 26-36. The remaining leaves (i.e. from leaf no. 55) have been kindly placed by the Kashmir Government at my disposal for an emended edition.

Many leaves of this ms. have been lost or destroyed or have passed into different hands. A fragmentary leaf of this ms. has been preserved at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by Prof. Heras who was kind enough to show it to me when I was last in Bombay.

In the present ms. there are many leaves which do not bear the leaf mark and it is only with the help of the Tibetan version that the leaves can be placed properly. The few leaves published here are without any mark but they correspond to leaves 14-17 of the Derge edition of the Kanjur. The Sanskrit text corresponding to the first 3 leaves is lost and so it has been restored by me. The first and last lines of many of the leaves have been destroyed and so these omissions have also been restored. The restorations are printed here in smaller types. Our ms. begins at leaf 55 and ends with the words: *Saṃghabhedavastusamāptam,* but with omissions here and there.

The first leaf of the Dulva (see p. 411) furnishes us with a list of the chapters of the first book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* from which it is evident that the present ms. represents the original of the first four volumes of the Dulva (Narthang edition, see *Asiatic Researches,* XX, pp. 45-78). The Sanskrit *Vinaya* is divided into four books entitled (i) *Vinaya-vastu,* (ii) *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and *Vinaya-vibhaṅga,* (iii) *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* and (iv) *Vinayottara-grantha* corresponding to the four divisions of the Pāli text, viz., (i) *Mahāvagga,* (ii) *Sutta-vibhaṅga,* (iii) *Cullavagga* and (iv) *Parivāra-pāṭha.* The present ms. therefore contains the whole of the *Vinaya-vastu* i.e. the *Mahāvagga* of the Pāli text. There are many agreements, sometimes *verbatim,* between the Sanskrit and Pāli versions but there is a wide divergence in the contents. Our text is composed in the style of the *Mahā-vastu,* the first book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas, both the texts containing several stories relating to the anterior births of Sākyamuni and his noted disciples including the famous upāsakas and upāsikās. The agreement between the Mahāsaṅghika *Vinaya* and our text presents a new problem, I mean, the probable form of the original *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the relation of the Pāli *Piṭaka* to the same.

In the present ms., there is a large number of quotations from the *Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama* and *Ekottarāgama,* and these

when published, we hope, will contribute substantially to our knowledge of the Sanskrit *Sūtra Piṭaka*.

With the find of this ms. and the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* we may say that almost half of the Sanskrit *Vinaya* has been recovered and we may hope to find the rest if the Kashmir Government carries on further excavations in the region where these mss. have come to light.

Prof. Lévi announced that he had in his possession leaves 43-53 of the present ms. and we have got the leaves from 55; the first four leaves are published here, and 2 or 3 leaves exist in fragmentary condition. There is thus a gap of about 30 leaves. The restoration of this portion from the Tibetan version has been entrusted to my student Mr. Anukul Chandra Banerji who has already completed the translation. As the work of editing the ms. proceeds, I hope to publish further materials on the subject in question. Thanks are due to Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri Sahityabhūsaṇa for transcribing the ms.

TEXT

नमो रत्नत्रयाय। नमो विच्छिन्नबन्धनाय। नमः सर्वतीर्थिक-मारसेन-प्रमर्दनाय। नमो बोधिप्राप्ताय।

आगारं हित्वा दुष्करो प्रव्रज्या। प्रव्रज्य च पुनर्दुष्करो जनपदचर्याधिगमानन्दः। कथमानन्दोत्पत्तिः। दुष्करा सम्यक्क्रिया। दुष्करं काषायवस्त्रधारणम्। सुदुष्करं कुशल-शीलकर्मचित्तमिति।

अथ विनयवस्तुविभागाः—प्रव्रज्यावस्तु प्रवारणावस्तु चर्मवस्तु भैषज्यचीवरकठिनवस्तु कौशाम्बीकर्मवस्तु पाण्डुलोहितकवस्तु पुद्गलवस्तु पारिवासिकवस्तु पोषधवस्तु संघभेदवस्तु चेति। अथ प्रव्रज्यावस्तुनः संविभागाः—शारीपुत्र-तीर्थिकः। द्वौ श्रामणेरौ। अर्हद्घातकः। कुण्डः —सर्वमिदं समासतः शारीपुत्रप्रव्रज्या इति। उपसम्पन्नविधानम्। उपसेनादि इति समासतः पञ्च विभागाः।

अथ बोधिसत्त्वस्तुषितालये वसति स्म। तेन समयेन अङ्गदेशो राजाधिराज इति नाम राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिक्षं बहुजनाकीर्णम्। मगधदेशो महापद्म

इति नाम राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिक्षं बहुजनाकीर्णम्। एकस्मिन् समये अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् एकस्मिन् समये च राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायः। यदा अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकायः पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वितः तदा राजगृहं स्थापयित्वा मगधदेशमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म। पुनर्यदा राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकायः पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वितः तदा चम्पां स्थापयित्वा अङ्गमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म। अपरेण समयेन अङ्गराजस्य चतुरङ्गबलकायो मगधदेशमाक्रमितुमारब्धः। मगधदेशवासिनो राजान महापद्ममारोचयामासुः 'देव अङ्गराजेन चतुरङ्गबलकायसमन्वितेन मगधदेशः समाक्रान्तः' राजा महापद्म एतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतोऽङ्गराजदेशाभिमुखं प्रयातः। अथ महापद्मस्य हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तिकाया अङ्गराजेन गृहीताः। राजा महापद्मोऽपि पराजितो भीतोऽभिभूतः। अपरेऽपि क्षत्रिया राजगृहे प्रत्यागताः। राजगृहं प्रविश्य तस्य द्वारं बध्वा तत् प्राकारैः परिवेष्टयामासुः। अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः 'त्वं चेद् बहिरागच्छसि इति कुशलं नोचेद् बहिरागच्छसि आकाशपथे गमिष्यसि शरेण पातयिष्यामि। त्वं चेत् पृथिव्यन्तरं प्रवेक्ष्यसि शक्रुया उद्ग्रहीष्यामि। त्वं चेत् पर्वतशिखरे तिष्ठसि तत्रापि ते नात्मरक्षणमिति।' राजा महापद्म एतं लेखं पठित्वा व्यथितः करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापरव्यवस्थितो दुःखितश्चाभवत्। अथ सोऽमात्यानामन्त्र्य एतदुवाच 'भवन्त एषोऽङ्गराजः परन्तपो निष्ठुरो महाबलकायप्रभावाद् अस्माकमेतं लेखं प्रेषितवान्। किमिदानीं विधेयमिति। ते गाथया अभाषन्त।

संशयमाप्ते विषये प्राणेषु च रक्ष्याः प्राणाः सर्वैः।
इत्याहुर्बुधा यतः पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणाः॥

एतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राजा कण्ठे असिं बध्वा बहिर्गतः। अथाङ्गराजस्तस्य वार्षिकं शुल्कं निर्धार्य प्रक्रान्तः।

तेन समयेन बोधिसत्त्वस्तुषितालये निषण्णः पञ्चमहाविलोकितानि विलोकयति स्म। कामावचरान् षड्देवनिकायान् विस्कृत्वो ज्ञापयित्वा स गजवरमहाप्रमाणं मातुः कुक्षिमवक्रामति स्म। समनन्तरावक्रान्ते च बोधिसत्त्वे महान् भूमिचालः अभूत। सर्वमिदं लोकधातुस्त्रायस्त्रिंशदेवाश्च तस्य वर्णरूपतेजसा अवभासिताअभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च। यत्र लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवंमहानुभावयोरेवंमहर्धिकयोराभया वर्णेन च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटाः तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति। अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं संजानते स्म। एवमाहुरन्येऽपि किल भोः सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति।

बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये चतुर्महानगरेषु चत्वारो महाराजा अभूवन्। तद्यथा राजगृहे महापद्मस्य पुत्रः। श्रावस्त्यां ब्रह्मदत्तस्य पुत्रः। उज्जयिन्यां राज्ञोऽनन्तनेमेः पुत्रः। कौशाम्ब्यां राज्ञः शतानीकस्य पुत्रः। भगवतो बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये सर्वेमिदं लोकधातुस्त्रायस्त्रिंशदेवाश्च तस्यानन्ताभया अवभासिता अभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च यत्र लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवंमहानुभावयोरेवंमहर्धिकयोराभया वर्णेन च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटाः तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति। अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं संजानते स्म। एवञ्चाहुः अन्येऽपि किल भोः सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति।

राजा महापद्मोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलोऽयं महिष्या बिम्बायास्तनयः अतोऽस्य बिम्बिसार इति नाम कार्यम्। राजा ब्रह्मदत्तोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रे जाते लोकधातुः प्रकटपरिस्फुटोऽवभासितश्चाभवत्। अतोऽस्य प्रसेनजिदिति नाम कार्यम्। राजा अनन्तनेमिरचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलः। अतोऽस्य प्रद्योत इति नाम कार्यम्। राजा शतानीकोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलोऽयम्। अतोऽस्य उदयन इति नाम कार्यम्। अथ पञ्चभिरमात्यैः बिम्बिसारस्य जातिमहं कृत्वा गोत्रानुरूपं नामधेयं **व्यवस्थापितम्। बिम्बिसारः कुमारोऽष्टाभ्यो धात्रीभ्योऽनुप्रदत्तः। द्वाभ्यामंकधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां क्षीरधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां मलधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां क्रीडनिकाभ्यां धात्रीभ्याम्।** ताभिर्धात्रीभिर्दुग्धेन दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च उत्तमोत्तमैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु **वर्धते हृदस्थमिव पंकजम्। यदा स महान् संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। संख्यायां गणनायां मुद्रायां**[1] **यानि च तानि राज्ञां क्षत्रियाणां शिल्पस्थानकर्मस्थानानि। तद्यथा हस्तिग्रीवायामश्वपृष्ठे रथे त्सरौ धनुषि पर्याणे निर्याणे अंकुशग्रहे पाशग्राहे तोमरग्राहे**[2] **च्छेद्ये भेद्ये वेध्ये** तद्यथा दूरवेध्ये शब्दवेध्ये मर्मवेध्ये अक्षुरणवेध्ये दृढप्रहारितायां चेति **पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतायी संवृत्तः। तान्यपि पंचामात्यपुत्रशतानि पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतायीनि संवृत्तानि। स पित्राष्टादशसु श्रेणीष्ववतारितः।**

1 Tib. adds मुष्टिबन्धे शिखाबन्धे पादबन्धे।

2 Tib. adds here चर्यायां शौचे समाचारे च उपन्यस्तः। तेष्वपि पारं गतः। अष्टसु परीक्षासु कुशलो जातः। रत्नपरीक्षायां वास्तुपरीक्षायां वस्त्रपरीक्षायां रथपरीक्षायां हस्तिपरीक्षायामश्वपरीक्षायां स्त्रीपरीक्षायां भूतपरीक्षायां चेति।

अतोऽस्य श्रेष्यो विम्बिसार इति ख्यातिः। ततोऽपरेण समयेन स हस्तिस्कन्धाधिरूढो जनपदाभिर्गच्छति। तेन ते दृष्टाः अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेयाः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तः। स कथयति। भवन्तः कस्यैते करप्रत्यायान् उद्ग्राहयन्ति। ते कथयन्ति। अङ्गराजस्येति। स कथयति। किं नास्माकमिति। ते कथयन्ति। देव करदाः। स कथयति। भवन्तः शब्दयतैतान् पौरुषेयानिति। ते शब्दिताः। स कथयति। भवन्तः सोऽपि राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तो वयमपि राजानः क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ताः। तत् कथमुद्ग्राहयथ। इतः परं मा उद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति। ते संलक्षयन्ति। अप्रकृतिज्ञोऽयं कुमारः। गच्छामो वयम्। महापद्मस्य राज्ञो गत्वा आरोचयामः। ते राज्ञो महापद्मस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयन्ति। देव वयमङ्गराजस्य पौरुषेया बिंबिसारेण कुमारेण करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो निवारिताः। किन्नु ग्राहयामो नेति। स कथयति। भवन्तः अप्रकृतिज्ञोऽयम् इह कुमारः। यथैव यूयं भूताः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयत तथैवेति। अथ ते पुनः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो जनपदेभ्यो विवर्तिता दृष्टाः। उक्ताश्च। भवन्तो न मया यूयं निवारिताः। मा भूयः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति। कस्माद्यूयं पुनः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयथ। यदि तावत्तिष्ठथेत्येतत् कुशलम्। यदि न तिष्ठथ तदा सीमाबन्धनं कारयेयम्। ते अचिन्तयन्। कुमारो व्याडो विक्रान्तः। स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यदनर्थं करिष्यतीति। ते अङ्गस्य राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयन्ति। देव महापद्मस्य राज्ञो बिंबिसारो नाम कुमारः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयितुं निवारयति। यथ्-पेक्षिष्यते स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यत्कालेन महाननर्थं करिष्यतीति गाथां भाषन्ते।

शक्यः करुहैश्छेत्तुं यावद् बालो हि पादपः।
स एव वृद्धो दुश्छेद्यः परशूनां शतैरपीति॥

अथ अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखः प्रेषितः। बिम्बिसारस्य कण्ठे अग्निं बध्वा प्रेषय यवसयोग्यमशनं वा सज्जीकुरु। एषोऽहमागच्छामीति। महापद्मो राजा लेखं श्रुत्वा व्यथितः। तेन बिंबिसारः कुमारः शब्दापितः। उक्तश्च। पुत्र कस्मात्त्वया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेया निवारिताः। स कथयति। देव कस्मात् परतन्त्राः करप्रत्यायान् प्रयच्छामः। पुत्र वयं करदा इति। स कथयति। देव सोऽपि राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः। कस्माद्वयं तस्य करप्रत्यायाननुप्रयच्छामः। केवलं मम देव चतुरंगं बलकायमाज्ञापय। वयमङ्गराजेन सह संग्रामं करिष्यामः। अथ महापद्मेन राज्ञा लेखोऽनुप्रेषितो या ते शक्तिर्बलं वीर्यं पराक्रमस्तत्र ह्रापयिष्यसीति। स श्रुत्वा रुषितोऽमात्यानामन्त्रयते। सन्नाहयन्तु भवन्तो चतुरंगं बलकायम्।

तेन बलकायेन मगधविषय आक्रमितव्यः। अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायं सज्जीकृत्य हस्तिकाय-मश्वकायं रथकायं पत्तिकायं मगधविषयं नाशयितुमारब्धो नाशयतीति। मगध-विषयनिवासिना जनकायेन महापद्मस्य राज्ञ उद्ग्राहका दत्ताः। देव अङ्गराजेन मगध-विषय आक्रान्तः। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा महापद्मो व्यथितः करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापर-व्यवस्थितः। अथ तेन बिम्बिसारं कुमारं शब्दापयित्वा तस्य चतुरंगो बलकायो-ऽनुप्रदत्तः। बिंबिसारः कुमारस्तान् सर्वान् कुमारान् संनिपात्य कथयति। अह-मङ्गेन राज्ञा सार्धं संग्रामयिष्यामि। किं करणीयम्। ते कथयन्ति। देव भवतां यथा-वस्था अस्माकमपि तथैव भवेत्। अथ ते इमां गाथां भाषन्ते:

यस्मिन् मनुष्ये रमते कुलश्रीः स सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः।
तस्मिन् विनष्टे विनश्यन्ति सर्वे नाभेर्विनाशादिव चक्रपादाः॥

अहं भवद्भिः सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः। यत्र भवतः पादौ तत्र नः शिरांसि। अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतो राजगृहान्निर्गतः। तेन समयेन राजा महापद्मोऽमात्य-परिवृत उपरि प्रासादतलगतस्तिष्ठति। तेनासौ निर्गच्छन् दृष्टः। सोऽमात्या-नामन्त्रयते। भवन्तः कस्येयं सेनेति। ते कथयन्ति। देव बिंबिसारस्य कुमारस्येति। स कथयति अहो प्रभूतबलकायोऽयमिति बलकायबिम्बिसारः संजानते। केचित् श्रेण्यो बिंबिसार इति संजानते। केचित् सैनिकबिम्बिसार इति। बिम्बिसारः कुमारः कुमारानामन्त्रयते। भवन्तोऽयमङ्गो राजा उद्दीर्णबलवाहनः। न शक्नुमो बलेन पराजेतुम्। अतोऽस्य परिरक्षितं दुर्गमाक्रम्य उपायकौशल्येन हन्तव्य-मिति। ते तस्य मुक्तसन्नाहस्य शिविरे निपतिताः। तैरङ्गो राजा प्रघातितः। अङ्गस्य राज्ञश्चतुरंगो बलकायश्चतुर्दिशं विद्रुतः। अथ श्रेणिकबिम्बिसारेण चतुर्दिश-मश्वदूताः प्रेषिताः। भो भवन्तोऽपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ता वयमपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ताः। निवर्तन्तां भवन्तः। अहं भवतां वृद्ध्युपादानं प्रज्ञापयिष्यामीति। ते निवर्तिताः। ततो यश्चंपायामारक्षकः स्थापितः। तेन श्रुतं यथा अङ्गराजो निहतः। तेन द्वारं बध्वा स्थितः। अथ तत् प्राकारैः परिवेष्टयामासुः। बिम्बिसारः कुमारोऽनुपूर्वेण चंपां गतः। तेन दीर्घया लतया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः शिरो बध्वा दर्शितम्। यस्ते स्वामी तस्येयमेवंरूपा समवस्था कृता। यदि तावन्निर्गच्छसि निर्गच्छ। यदि न निर्गच्छसि तवापि एवंरूपावस्था भविष्यति। स श्रुत्वा व्यथितः संलक्षयति। पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणा इति। स कण्ठे असिं बध्वा निर्गतः।

ततो बिंबिसारेण कुमारेण चंपामवष्टभ्य महापद्मस्य राज्ञो लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः। देव मया अङ्गराजं विनाश्य चंपानगरं प्रतिलब्धम्। आज्ञापय किमन्यदपरिप्राप्तं

परिप्रापयामीति। महापद्मो राजा तुष्टः। तेन तस्य पद्ममौलिच्छत्रं तमनुप्रेषितम्। पुत्र त्वंतत्रैव राज्यं कारय। अहम् अत्र राज्यं करिष्यामि इति लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः। ततोऽङ्गदेशे बिम्बिसारो राजा राज्यं कारयति **ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च। मगधेषु महापद्मो राजा राज्यं कारयति ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्ण-बहुजनमनुष्यं च।** अपरेण समयेन राजगृहे **महापद्मो राजा कालगतः। अमात्यैर्बिम्बिसारस्य राज्ञः संदिष्टम्। देव पिता ते कालगतः। आगच्छ राज्यं प्रतीच्छेति। स आगतः। ततोऽङ्गमगधीयकैरमात्यैरङ्गमगधयोः** राजकुमारो महाभिषेकेण अभिषिक्तः। ततो राजा बिम्बिसारः अङ्गमगधयोः राज्यं करोति। **तं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च।**

मध्यदेशादन्यतमो माणवो मन्त्रार्थी मन्त्रगवेषी दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। दक्षिणापथेऽन्यतमो ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः। स तस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्याभिवादनं कृत्वा तस्य पुरत आगत्य **कथयति। इच्छाम्यहमुपाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। वेदाध्ययनं करिष्ये। स कथयति। एवं कुरुष्वेति। स तस्यान्तिके वेदाध्ययनं कर्तुमारब्धः। आचरितं तेषां** माणवकानाम्। यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थोपस्पर्शिका गच्छन्ति **कदाचिन्नगरावलोकिकाः कदाचित् समिधाहारकाः। यावदपरेण समयेन अपठाः संवृत्ताः। ततः सर्व एव समिधाहारकाः संप्रस्थिताः। समिधाहारकाणां संप्रस्थितानाम**यमेवंरूपोऽभूत् अन्तराकथासमुदाहारः। भोः कौत्सा वात्साः शाण्डिल्या भारद्वाजाः **पंचकाः उपपंचकाः। को वः कस्माद्देशादिति। तत्रैके कथयन्ति। वयं पूर्वदेशादिति अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति अपरे कथयन्ति वयं पाश्चात्या इति अपरे कथयन्ति** वयमुत्तरापथादिति। स माणवः कथयति। अहं मध्यदेशादिति। ते कथयन्ति। सर्व **एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्दृष्टा श्रुताश्च न तु मध्यदेशः।**

वृद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेण दाक्षिण्यं दक्षिणापथे।
पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे॥ इति

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न दृष्टः। कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेशः। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिगोमहिषीसंपन्नो **भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जितः आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यत्र नदी गंगा पुण्या मंगल्या शुचिशौचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना आवहति। अष्टादशवको** नाम

ऋषीणामग्रपदः। यत्र ऋषयस्तपश्चर्यया सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमानाः। ते कथयन्ति। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे पण्डितसंख्याता इति। स कथयति। नन्वहं भवन्तः पूर्वमेवावोचं मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिमालागोमहिषी-संपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्यवोचः त्वं माणव। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः। मध्यदेशे भवन्तस्तादृशाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमित। मृष्टाभिधायी स माणवः। तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्य वर्णो भाषितो यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। अथ ते माणवकाः समिधाकाष्ठानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन्। यत्खलूपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्य तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन वयं सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। पुत्रकाः किं यावच्छ्रूयते तावता गम्यते। अपि तु श्रुतिरमणीयो देशः श्रोतव्यो नो तु गन्तव्यः। उपाध्याय एष माणवः कथयति। मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नोति द्रष्टुमिति। पुत्रकाः तादृशः स एवैकः पृथिव्यां वादी नान्यः कश्चिदस्ति। बहुरत्नधरा वसुन्धरा पूर्णा महीसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम्। उपाध्याय गच्छामः। तदपि तावद्देशावलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च ते च वादिवृषभाः पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति। वादिनो निग्रहीष्यामः। देशं च पश्यामो लाभं च निष्पादयिष्याम इति। शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च। स तावन्माणवकानिदमवोचत्। पुत्रका यद्येवं गृह्णीथ अजिनानि वल्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि स्रुग्भाजनानि। गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति। तैर्गृहीतानि। स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं संप्रस्थितः। स कांश्चिद्वादिनो निगृह्य वादिरथे योजयति। केषांचिद् भस्मघटिकया शिरःसु भिनत्ति। केचिद्विष्वस्त्रशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति। केचिच्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति। केचित् शिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति। सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्रामनगर-निगमपल्लिकापत्तनेषु च चूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः। स ब्राह्मणः संलक्षयति। यावत् खलु पण्डितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राज्ञः सन्निधौ। तत्किमहं मूलमपहाय शाखा-पत्रपलाशं परामृशेयं मंस्ये। यत्त्वहं राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति। स राज्ञः सकाश-मुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशा-त्कतिपायन्यक्षराण्युद्गृहीतानि। तदिच्छाम्यहं देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथा-

विमर्शं कर्तुमिति। ततः स राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। अस्ति भवन्तः कश्चिदस्माकं विजिते वादी प्रतिवसति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवास्ति नालदग्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽग्निकल्प इव ज्वलनेन। तेन माठरं नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति। राजा कथयति। आह्वयतां स उपाध्याय इति। अमात्यैराहूतः। सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुधा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। ततो राज्ञाभिहितः 'शक्नोषि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति'। स कथयति। शक्तितोऽहं देवं भाविष्ये इति। ततो वादिमण्डलं प्रज्ञप्तम्। पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ। राजा कथयति। कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवायं सर्वं जानाति। तदस्यैव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः। तेन पंचशतिको दण्डः समुच्चारितः। माठरेण प्रत्युच्चार्य दोषो दत्तः। इदं ते अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम् इदं नोपपद्यते इति। स तूष्णीमवस्थितः। नैतत् प्रतिकृष्टं चैतन्निग्रहस्थानानां यदुतान्तरे निष्प्रतिभानता। राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। कतरोऽत्र भवन्तः शोभत इति। ते कथयन्ति। देव उपाध्यायो माठर इति। ततो राजा आत्तमनाः संवृत्तः। तस्य मे लाभा सुलब्धाः यस्य मे विजिते एवंविधो वादिनामग्रो निवसति। अभिलषनार्थं स उवाच 'आचार्य कस्मिन् ग्रामे भवान् निवसति'। देव नालदग्रामके। गच्छ स एव ते वादिभोगो भवतु। स तस्य वादिभोगो दत्तः। संपत्तिकामो लोको विपत्तिप्रतिकूलः। सोऽनेकैर्ब्राह्मणैः कन्यानिमित्तं प्रार्थ्यते। ततस्तेन सदृशात् कुलात् कलत्रमानीतम्। ततस्तेन सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतः पुत्रो जातः। दीर्घदीर्घाभ्यां कोष्ठाभ्यां तस्य विस्तरेण जातस्य जातिमहं कृत्वा कोष्ठिल इति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम्। कोष्ठिलो दारकः उन्नीयते वर्धते क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्चोत्तमोत्तमैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते ह्रदस्थमिव पंकजम्। स यदा महान् संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। स संख्यायां मुद्रायां गणनायां ब्राह्मणिकायामार्यायां चर्चायां शौचे समाचारे भस्मग्राहे मृत्तिकाग्राहे ओंकारे भोंकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः संवृत्तः। भूयस्तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतो दारिका जाता। तस्याः शारिकाया यादृशी अक्षिणी इति तस्या ज्ञातिभिः शारिकेति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम्। यावदपरेण कालेनापरेण समयेन सा वर्धिता महती संवृत्ता। सा लिप्यक्षराणि ग्राहिता। यावदपरेण समयेन भ्रात्रा सार्धं वादं करोति। स तया गृह्यते। ततः पित्राभिहितः। पुत्र कथं नाम त्वं पुरुषो भूत्वा स्त्रिया पराजितः। मयि कालगते वादिभोगो विनश्यति।

अथ स ब्राह्मणमाणवो मन्त्रार्थी मन्त्रगवेषी दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। दक्षिणापथे तिष्यो नाम ब्राह्मणो लोकायते कृतावी। स तस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्याभिवादनं कृत्वा कथयति। इच्छाम्युपाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। लोकायतिकमुद्ग्रहीष्यामि। एवं कुरुष्वेति। स तस्यान्तिके लोकायतमुद्ग्रहीतुमारब्धः। आचरितं तेषां माणवकानाम्। यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थोपरपर्शिका गच्छन्ति कदाचिन्नगरावलोककाः कदाचित्समिधाहारकाः। यावदपरेण समयेन अपठाः संवृत्ताः ततः सर्व एव समिधाहारकाः संप्रस्थिताः। तेषां समिधाहारकाणां संप्रस्थितानामयमेवंरूपोऽभूत् अन्तराकथासमुदाहारः। भोः कौत्सा वात्साः शाण्डिल्या भारद्वाजाः पंचका उपपंचकाः को वः कस्माद्देशादिति। तत्रैके कथयन्ति वयं पूर्वदेशादिति। अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति। अपरे कथयन्ति वयं पाश्चात्या इति। अपरे वयमुत्तरापथादिति। स माणवः कथयति। अहं मध्यदेशादिति। ते कथयन्ति। सर्व एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्दृशा दृष्टाः श्रुताश्च न तु मध्यदेशः।

वृद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेण दाक्षिण्यं दक्षिणापथे।
पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे॥ इति।

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न दृष्टः। कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेशः। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिगोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जितः आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यत्र गंगा नदी धन्या मंगल्या शुचिशौचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना वहति। अष्टावशवको नाम ऋषीणामग्रपदः। ऋषयस्तपश्चर्यया सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमानाः। ते कथयन्ति। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे पण्डितसंख्याता इति। स कथयति। भवन्तः नन्वहं पूर्वमेवावोचम्। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिमालागोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्यवोचः त्वं माणव। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः। मध्यदेशे भवन्तस्तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुम्। मृष्टाभिधायी स माणवः। तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्य वर्णो भाषितो यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। अथ ते माणवकाः समिधाकाष्ठानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन्। यत्खलूपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्य तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन वयं सर्व एव मध्यदेशगम-

नोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। पुत्रकाः किं यावच्छ्रूयते तावता गम्यते। अपि तु श्रुतिरमणीया देशाः श्रोतव्या नो तु गन्तव्याः। उपाध्याय एष माणवः कथयति। मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमिति। पुत्रकाः तादृशः स एवैकः पृथिव्यां वादी नान्यः कश्चिदस्तीति। बहुरत्नधरा वसुन्धरा पूर्णा महीसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम्। उपाध्याय गच्छामः। तदपि तावद् देशावलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च। ते च वादिवृषभाः पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति वादिनो निग्रहीष्यामः देशं च पश्यामः लाभं च निष्पादयिष्याम इति। शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च। स तान् माणवकानिदमवोचत्। पुत्रका यद्येवं गृह्णीथ अजिनानि वल्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि स्रग्भाजनानि। गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति तैर्गृहीतानि। स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं संप्रस्थितः। स कांश्चिद्वादिनो निगृह्य वादिरथे योजयति। केषांचिद्भस्मघटिकया शिरःसु भिनत्ति। केचिदिष्वस्त्रशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति। केचिच्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति। केचिच्छिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति। सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्रामनगरनिगमपल्लिकापत्तनेषु चंचूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः। स ब्राह्मणः संलक्षयति। यावत् खलु पण्डितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राज्ञः सन्निधौ। तत्किमहं मूलमपहाय शाखापत्रपलाशं परामृष्टव्यं मंस्ये। यत् त्वहं राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति। स राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशात् कतिपयान्यक्षराणि उद्गृहीतानि। तदिच्छाम्यहं देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति। ततः स राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। अस्ति भवन्तोऽस्माकं विजिते कश्चिद्वादी प्रतिवसतीति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवास्ति नालदग्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽग्निकल्प इव ज्ञानेन। तेन माठरं नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति। राजा कथयति। आहूयतां स उपाध्याय इति। अमात्यैराहूतः। सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। ततो राज्ञाभिहितः। शक्नोषि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति। स कथयति। शक्तोऽहं देव भाषिष्ये इति। ततो वादिमण्डलं प्रज्ञप्तम्। पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ। राजा कथयति। कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवायं माठरो ब्राह्मणो वृद्धोऽस्य एव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः। माठरब्राह्मणोऽचिन्तयत्। अयं नवग्रन्थः पटुकरणश्च न शक्यं मयानेन सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुम्। वादपिच्छिलिकायां योजयामीति। तेन पञ्चशतिको दण्डकः समुच्चारितः। तेनापि ब्राह्मणेन प्रत्युच्चार्य दोषो दत्तः। इदं ते

अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम्। इदं नोपपद्यते। स तूष्णीमवस्थितः। नैतत् **प्रतिकृष्टं चैतन्निग्रहस्थानानां यदुतान्तरे निष्प्रतिभानता। राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते।** भवन्तः कतरोऽत्र **शोभन इति। ते कथयन्ति। तिष्यो ब्राह्मण इति। राजा कथयति।** दीयतामस्य **वादिभोगः।** ते कथयन्ति। वयं चेदागन्तुकवादिनो **भोगान् दास्यामः न चिरादस्माक मङ्गमगधा जनपदा वादिभोगा भविष्यन्ति। अपि त्वेष एव नालद्ग्रामकोऽस्य वादिभोगो भवतु। माठरस्यान्तिकादस्मै ब्राह्मणाय तानस्यान्तिकाद्योऽन्यः शोभनः।** राजा आह तथास्तु। अथ **तैर्माठरस्यान्तिकादाच्छिद्य तिष्याय दत्तः। ततो माठरो ब्राह्मणः पत्नीमामन्त्रयते।** भद्रे गृहव्याकुलिकां संक्षिप। अन्यत्र **गमिष्यामः। कस्यार्थे। अस्य राज्ञः प्रभूतमस्माभिरुपकृतं न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः।** तस्माद्गच्छामो वयमन्यत्रेति। तस्य अन्तेवासिनः आचार्यस्य माठरस्य अन्यत्र गमनकथां श्रुत्वा तस्य सकाशं गताः। ते **कथयन्ति। उपाध्याय कस्यार्थं गृहव्याकुलिका संक्षिप्यत इति। स कथयति। प्रभूतमस्माभिर्भवन्तोऽस्य राज्ञः उपकृतम्। न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः। तस्माद्गच्छामो वयमन्यत्रेति।** ते कथयन्ति। मान्यत्र गच्छत। अन्तेवासिनः अमुखचित्ता भविष्यन्ति। **स गाथां भाषते।**

वरं नरस्य परदेशवासो न तु स्वदेशे परिभूतवासः।
यस्मिन्नराणां न पराभवोऽस्ति स वै स्वदेशः स्वजनोऽपि तत्र॥ इति।

तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन श्रुतम्। सः अन्यत्र गच्छति वयं दूरात् आगन्तुका वयं गमिष्यामः। इहैव तिष्ठ। **तवैव वादिभोगा भविष्यन्तीति। स न तिष्ठति। ततस्तिष्येणोक्तः। उपाध्याय इहैव तिष्ठ अस्य कर्वटकस्योपार्धं तव भवतु। उपार्धं ममेति। स कथयति। एवमस्त्विति। स पत्नीमामन्त्रयते।** भद्रे अस्य राज्ञः प्रभूतमस्माभिरुपकृतं न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः। **अपि तु तिष्येणैव ब्राह्मणेनास्माकं प्रभूतमुपकृतम् वादिभोगानामुपार्धं ददता। तदस्य शारिकां भार्यार्थमनुप्रयच्छाम इति।** सा कथयति। **अस्य** माणवस्य **ख्यातिर्दूरंगता। तौ** पुत्रमामन्त्र्य तदर्थमारोचयामासतुः। स कथयति। **कस्मादस्य दीयते।** पितरौ **कथं** सुहृद्भावेन **शत्रुं ज्ञास्यामि। सर्वेण सर्वथैतं जीविताद्व्यपरोपयेत। वयमनेन भोगेभ्यः च्यावितः।**[1] **सर्वथा न दातव्येति। तौ कथयतः। मूर्खस्त्वं किं ज्ञास्यसीति। ताभ्यां तस्य वचनमवचनं कृत्वा दत्ता। तेन महता श्रीसमुदयेन परिणीता।** ब्राह्मणमाणवः कोष्ठिलोऽचिन्तयत्। एतैरहमवज्ञातः। अथ तत् सर्वं श्रुत्वा यत् कृत्यं **तदल्पं कृतमिति। कृत्वा अपि तु**

1 Tib. is more diffuse here.

किमयं तिष्यो माणवो जानीते। लोकायतम्। कुत्र भवन्तो लोकायतं ज्ञायते। दक्षिणापथे। सोऽनुपूर्वेण दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। स तत्र गत्वा पृच्छति। को अत्र भवन्तः लोकायतमधिगतः। सन्ति kun-tu-rgyu। स तेषां सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयति। इच्छाम्यहं युष्माकं पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। लोकायतमुद्ग्रहीष्यामि। ते कथयन्ति। न वयप्रागारिकस्य लोकायतमुपदिशामः। स कथयति। यद्येवं प्रव्रजिष्यामि। तैः स प्रव्राजितः। प्रव्रज्य नखान् न तावच्छेत्स्यामीति यावन्मया लोकायतमुद्गृहीतं भवतीति। दीर्घदीर्घाणि नखानि दीर्घनखः परिव्राजको दीर्घनखः परिव्राजक इति संज्ञा उदपादि।

शारिकापि तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं वादम् आरोपयति। तिष्येण सा निगृहीता। तिष्यब्राह्मणः शारिकया सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। अन्यतरश्च सत्त्वश्चरमभविकश्च चरितैषी गृहीतमोक्षगर्भोऽन्तर्मुखनिर्वाणो बहिर्मुखः संसारादनर्थिकः सर्वभवगतिच्युत्युपपत्तिष्वन्तिमदेहधारी अन्यतमस्मात्प्रणीताद्देवनिकायात् च्यवित्वा शारिकायां गर्भमवक्रान्तः। शारिकया स्वप्नो दृष्टः। उल्काहस्तः पुरुषः कुक्षिं भित्त्वा प्रविष्टो महाशैलं पर्वतमधिरोहामि। उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि। महाजनकायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति। तया तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेदितम्। ईदृशं चेदृशं च मया स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति। स्वप्नाध्यायमजानता तेनान्येषामपि स्वप्नाध्यायपाठकानां ब्राह्मणानां निवेदितम्। मम ब्राह्मण्या इदृशश्च स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति। ते कथयन्ति। उपाध्याय शोभनः स्वप्नो यत्कथयति। उल्काहस्तो मे पुरुषः कुक्षिं भित्त्वा प्रविष्टः। सा पुत्रं प्रसूते। स वर्षाष्टद्वयेन ऐन्द्रव्याकरणमधीत्य सर्ववादिनो निग्रहीष्यति। यत्कथयति। महाशैलं पर्वतमधिरोहामि। उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि। महाजनकायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति। प्रव्रजिष्यति च संयमसिद्धिं च आत्मदृष्टिं लप्स्यते।

यावदपरेण समयेन तिष्यो ब्राह्मण्या सार्धं वादं करोतीति। तयाऽसौ निगृह्यते। स संलक्षयति। को योगः पूर्वमहमेतां निगृह्णामि। साम्प्रतमहमनया निगृह्ये। इतोऽस्या प्रभावो नाभूत्। यतः सत्त्वः अस्या कुक्षिमवक्रान्तः तस्यैषोऽनुभाव इति। सा अष्टानां नवानां वा मासानामत्ययात्प्रसूता। दारको जातः अभिरूपो दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको गौरः कनकवर्णः छत्राकारशिराः दीर्घबाहुः विस्तीर्णललाटः युग्मभ्रूः उत्तुङ्गनासः।[1] ज्ञातयः संगम्य समागम्य विस्तरेण जातौ जातिमहं कृत्वा नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयितुमारब्धः। किं भवतु माणवस्य नामेति। तिष्यो

[1] Tib. differs here.

माणवकमुपानामयद् मातामहमकाशम्। सः अचिन्तयत्। माणवस्य किं भवितव्यं **नाम इति। स संलक्षयति। अयं माणवस्तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रः। भवतु माणवस्य उपतिष्य इति नामेति। तिष्यो ब्राह्मणः कथयति। कीदृशं माणवस्य आर्यकेण नाम व्यवस्थापितमुपतिष्य** इति। स संलक्षयति। मातामहेन माणवस्य नाम पितुः नामतः कृतः। **अहमस्य मातृकं नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयामि। अयं माणवः शारिकायाः पुत्रो भवतु माणवस्य शारिपुत्र इति नाम इति। ततः केचिच्छारिपुत्रो माणव इति संजानते। केचिदुपतिष्यो माणव** इति। स अष्टाभ्यः धात्रीभ्यः प्रदत्तः। स दारकः क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च **उत्तप्तोत्तप्तैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते हृद्यमिव पंकजम्। स यदा महान्संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। स लिप्यां पारंगतः। संख्यायां गणनायां चर्यायां शौचे** समाचारे भस्मगृहे **मृत्तिकागृहे ओंकारे ओंकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः संवृत्तः। स पित्रा सर्वविद्यास्थानानि** समाप्य वर्षाष्टद्वयेन शब्दव्याकरणं पठित्वा सर्ववादिनो निगृह्णानि। **अपरेण समयेन पित्रा सार्धमध्ययनं कुर्वन्नेवमाह। तात कोऽस्य भाषितस्यार्थः। पुत्र अहमपि न जाने कोऽस्यभाषितस्यार्थ। इति अपि त्वेवमेतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि** गीतानि समायुक्तानि। **यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणाऽप्यनुगायन्तेऽप्यनुभाषन्ते। स कथयति। न खलु तात निरर्थकान्येतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि गीतानि समायुक्तानि यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणा अनुगायन्तेऽप्यनुभाषन्तेऽपि।** तेषामर्थो नैष इति संलक्ष्य कः खलु सोऽर्थः। स कथयति अर्थोऽस्य अयमेव। **तिष्यब्राह्मण आत्तमनाः संवृत्तः। स संलक्षयति। एतावत्पुत्रेण करणीयम्। यदुत पैतृकी वा धुरा उद्वामयितव्या उत्तरो वा विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः। तदनेन माणवेन उत्तरो विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः।** स पञ्चशतानि ब्राह्मणमाणवकान्मंत्रान्वाचयति। **तेनात्तमनसा तस्यैव तानि दत्तान्युपतिष्योऽपि माणवः पंचमात्राणि माणवशतानि ब्राह्मणकान्मंत्रान्वाचयितुमारब्धः। तेन ये दीर्घा वेदास्तेह्रस्वा ग्रन्थतो व्यञ्जनतश्च स्थापयित्वा अर्थतो निरुक्तितश्च स्थापिताः।**[1]

काष्ठवाटग्रामके मुद्गलो नाम पुरोहितः प्रतिवसति। आढ्यो महाधनो महाभोगो विस्तीर्णविशालपरिग्रहो वैश्रवणधनसमृद्धः। तेन सदृशात् कुलात् कलत्रमानीतं। स तेन

1 According to the Tib., the first chapter ends here.

सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतो न पुत्रो न दुहिता। सोऽपुत्रः पुत्राभिनन्दी च वरुणकुवेरशक्रब्रह्मादीनन्यांश्च देवता-विशेषानायाचते। तद्यथा आरामदेवताः वनदेवताश्चस्वरदेवताः शृंगाटकदेवता बलिप्रति-ग्राहिकाः देवताः सहजाः सहधार्मिकाः नित्यानुबद्धा अपि देवता आयाचते। अस्ति चैव लोके प्रवादः यदायाचनहेतोः पुत्रा जायन्ते दुहितरश्चेति। तद् नैवं। यद्येव-मभविष्यत् एकैकस्य पुत्रसहस्रमभविष्यत्। तद्यथा राज्ञश्चक्रवर्तिनः। अपि तु त्रयाणां स्थानानां संमुखीभावात्पुत्राः जायन्ते दुहितरश्च। कतमेषां त्रयाणाम्। मातापितरौ रक्तौ भवतः संनिपतितौ। माता च कल्या भवति ऋतुमती। गन्धर्वश्च प्रत्युपस्थितो भवति। येषां त्रयाणां[1]

NALINAKSHA DUTT

1 Here ends one complete leaf perhaps the 6th and the following leaf has not yet been traced.

Printed and Published by J. C. Sarkhel, Esqr.,
at the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

A Pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujarat



I.H.Q., September, 1938

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIV **September, 1938** **No. 3**

A pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujarat

A fairly large number of illustrated manuscripts has been found in Gujarāt. Most of these manuscripts are Jaina. Kumārapāla the famous Jaina ruler of Gujarāt is said to have employed hundreds of writers to copy out in golden ink some important Jaina works for free distribution. Vastupāla the multi-millionaire of Gujarāt spent, according to the *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī,* seven crores of rupees on this pious work of copying books for the use of scholars. Other rich Gujarātis who followed these noble examples are also known. Manuscripts were written on palm-leaf, cloth or paper, generally. Pictures or illustrations were drawn on wooden tablets, palm-leaves, cloth, leather and paper, as we learn from the several specimens which have been brought to light. Pre-Mughal specimens of painting on cloth are rare and one is ever anxious to see another work of the type of the *Vasantavilāsa,* written in Ahmedabad in the year 1508 of the Vikrama era (=1451 A.D.), on account of the various secular pictures it contains. One religious *citrapaṭa* of the pre-Mughal times has been seen in Pāṭan, the old capital of Gujarāt, and my learned friend Muni Puṇyavijayaji of the Sāgar kā Upāsarā there has kindly lent it to me for publication. A note on it in Gujarati was contributed to the *Atmaram Commemorative Volume* conjointly by me and my pupil Mr. Sarabhai. Owing to the importance of its pictures, however, I think it would be advantageous

to publish a note on it in English for the benefit of the scholars not conversant with Gujarati. Accordingly I have drawn the following account of it in honour of the late Professor Winternitz as a mark of respect for and admiration of his scholarship and of the splendid work he did as a great Indologist.

A good deal of admixture is seen in the *tāntric* systems of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, the three great religions of India, and there can be no denying the fact that this is the result of borrowing from one another. When a certain system proves successful the followers of the rival faiths would adopt and incorporate it into their own cults so that there may be no reason or justification for the wavering minds to go over to the other sect on that account. In the *tāntric* side Hinduism and Buddhism are greatly indebted to each other. It is not yet established how much Jainism gave in return for what it took from Hinduism as far as the *tāntric* phase is concerned. As it not infrequently happens, when a sect loses its original vigour and becomes decadent, it imitates the ideas of other religions. The Jainas, in imitation of Hindu and Buddhist ideas, created mystic diagrams or *yantras*. Of such diagrams the two, namely the *Suddhayantra* and the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* have been very popular with them. Many varieties of both these *yantras* are known to us. The *citrapaṭa* I am noticing here, illustrates the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalayantrāmnāya* as is stated in the words '*iti śrī-Ṛṣimaṇḍalayantrāmnāyaḥ*' of the scribe written on the picture itself. The *paṭa* further informs us of the name of the Jaina *muni* who got it prepared under his instructions. The text given in the *paṭa* is as under:—

"संवत् १५७१ वर्षे वि(वै)शाख मासे शुक्लपक्षे ति(तृ)तीयायां तिथौ सोमवारे रोह(हि)णी नक्षत्रे वर्द्धमाननाम्नि योगे उपएसगच्छे सिद्धाचार्यसंताने पूज्यश्री जयरत्न-सूरि-श(शि)ष्य पं० हर्षरत्नगणीनां परिवारस्य का(की)र्त्ति लक्ष्मीँ धृतिं मतिं कुरु २ स्वाहा।

Here we are told that the *yantra-paṭa* was prepared in Sam. 1571, on the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha for the prosperity of the followers of Paṇṇyāsa Harṣaratnagaṇi, a disciple of

Jayaratnasūri who belonged to the direct line of disciples of Siddhācārya.

In the centre of the *paṭa* is drawn the letter *hrīṁ* in five colours. The painter has drawn the word *Oṁ* in the Jaina style on the right of the top of *hrīṁ*, and *namaḥ* on its left. Thus the artist has painted the words *Oṁ hrīṁ namaḥ* which form the *bījākṣara* or the initial portion of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalayantra*.

In all the three main systems named above, *hrīṁ* is the *māyā-bīja* or the sacred symbol which controls this illusory world. The Jaina teachers have based on it a separate treatise called *Hrīṁkāra-kalpa*. This syllable *hrīṁ* is painted in five colours and thus represents the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* in the traditional manner laid down by ancient Jaina *Ācāryas*. It is divided into five parts, viz., *hr*, *ī*, the crescent or *siddhaśilā* above *ī* and the *bindu* over the crescent which is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. *Hṛ* is drawn in yellow and is meant to represent the sixteen *Tīrthaṅkaras* who are said to be of that colour. These *Tīrthaṅkaras* are:—(1) Ṛṣabhadeva, (2) Ajitanātha, (3) Sambhavanatha (4) Abhinandanasvāmī, (5) Sumatinātha, (7) Supārśvanātha (10) Śitalanātha, (11) Śreyāṁsanātha, (13) Vimalanātha (14) Anantanātha, (15) Dharmanātha (16) Śāntinātha, (17) Kunthunātha (18) Aranātha, (21) Neminātha and (24) Mahāvīrasvāmī. It is painted blue which is the colour of the 19th *Tīrthaṅkara* Mallinātha and the 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha. Its connection with Mallinātha is significant for it represents Śakti and Mallinātha is believed to have been a woman. The crescent-shaped Siddhaśilā drawn over *hrī* is red which is the colour of the sixth *Tīrthaṅkara* Padmaprabhu and the twelfth Vāsupūjya. The *bindu* over the crescent is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. The upper portion of the *bindu* is white which represents the 8th *Tīrthaṅkara*, Candraprabhu, and the 9th Suvidhinātha. The lower portion of the *bindu* is painted black and stands for the 20th *Tīrthaṅkara*

Munisuvrata and the 22nd, Neminātha who also shares the same colour. Thus the painter has represented all the *Tīrthaṅkaras* in the syllable *hrīṁ* and has thus supplied us with a specimen of pre-Mughal portraiture of the religious type.

Round *hrīṁ* the artist has drawn four concentric circles. In the innermost circle the painter has drawn a lotus of forty-eight petals. In twenty three of these petals he has written the *mantrākṣaras* or syllables used in spells or charms. They are the twenty-three consonants beginning with *k, m, l, r, vyūṁ* and ending with *h, m, l, r, vyuṁ*. After every four consonants and two petals *v* has been inserted. In the first petal *v* is written thrice while in the second it is written four times. The painter has written *p, m, l, r, vyūṁ* twice and *v* seven times. Thus the circle has been completed. I am unable to explain why the *mantrākṣaras* have been arranged by the painter in this way.

In the next circle the painter has drawn blue lines which stand for water.

In the third circle are depicted eight lotus-petals to show the eight cardinal points. (1) *Oṁ hrīṁ arhadbhyḥ īśebhyo namaḥ/ Ravi hrīṁ Śrī dhṛti pūrvva-di* is written in the petal in the east. The *Arihanta* is white in colour, so the painter has drawn a white figure of *Arihanta* as also of the superintending deity (*Adhiṣṭhāyaka*) of the post of Arihanta.

(2) In the south-east petal is written *Oṁ hrīṁ siddhebhyo namaḥ*/Agni, Soma, Lakṣmī, Umā, Gaurī, etc. The Siddha is red. So a red figure of the Siddha and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post is drawn after the petal. (3) In the southern petal *Oṁ hrīṁ sarvasuribhyo namah Yama Maṅgala Sarasvatī Jayā Ambā,* has been written. *Ācārya* is of yellow colour, so a yellow *Ācārya* and the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his *pada* is painted after him. (4) In the south-western petal we have *Oṁ hrīṁ upādhyāyebhyo namah. Budha Naira(ri)to, Vijayā, Nityā, Klinnā.* The *Upādhyāya* is of blue

colour but the painter has drawn him as well as the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of this post as yellow. (5) In the western petal we find *Oṁ hrīṁ sarvasādhubhyo namaḥ Varuṇa Guru, Ajitā, Madadravā, Kāmāṅgā*, The *Sādhu* is of dark colour. Hence a dark figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post are drawn after the petal. (6) In the north-western petal we notice *Oṁ hrīṁ jñānibhyo namaḥ/Vāyu, Sukra, Kamabāṇā Sānandānandamālinī (bhyo) namaḥ. Jñāna* is of a bright or white colour. Still through oversight the painter has drawn a figure of a yellow *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post. (7) In the northern petal we have *Oṁ hrauṁ tattvadṛṣṭibhyo namaḥ. Dhanada Śani Māyā Māyāvinī Raudrī Gurubhyo namaḥ. Tattvadṛṣṭi* or *Darśanapada* is white or bright. Still as in the previous case, the painter has drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post.

(8) In the north-eastern petal we read *Oṁ hrīṁ cāritrebhyo namaḥ. Īśāna, Rāhu, Ketu, Kalā, Kālī, Kalpṛ(ri)ya*, etc. Though *cāritrapada* is of white colour, the painter has, as before, drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post. Thus the third circle is completed.

In the fourth or the outermost circle we read the inscription beginning with Saṁvat 1571 which I have given above in full. After this inscription are written all the vowels from *a* to *aḥ*, the consonants from *ka* to *kṣa* and at the end the words *iti Ṛṣimaṇḍalamantrāmnāyāḥ*. Thus the yantra is completed.

The whole of this mystic diagram is drawn inside a *pūrṇakalaśa*, i.e., an entire pitcher. Thus the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* are included in the syllable *hrīṁ* which is in the middle of the *kalaśa*. This syllable *hrīṁ* is encircled by four concentric circles which are described above. At the mouth of the *kalaśa* we have again the syllable *hrīṁ*. The yantra is surmounted by the *aṅkuśabīja kroṁ*.

The *kalaśa* has an eye painted at each of its two sides. *Kalaśa*, also called *maṅgala-kalaśa* or *ghaṭa*, is a symbol which is sacred to all the three main religions of India. The speciality of Jainism, however, lies in associating it with two *divyacakṣus* or divine eyes. In the four corners of this *citrapaṭa* the figures of Dharaṇendra, Padmāvati, Gurumūrti and Vairāṭyādevi are to be seen. Dharaṇendra is painted yellow. There are six hoods over his head. He holds a noose in his right hand and a goad in the left. His lower hands are shown empty. He is seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture. Beneath his left thigh is shown an elephant, his cognizance. (2) Padmāvatī has the colour of burnished gold. She has three hoods over her head. She holds a goad in the upper right hand and a noose in the upper left hand. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* (boon-giving) pose and the lower left hand in the *abhaya* pose. A cock is shown as her cognizance. (3) *Gurumūrti* is seated on a square wooden seat in the *padmāsana* posture. His hands are in the *pravacana-mudrā* or teaching attitude. His complexion is yellow and he wears white garments. He has placed his sacred broom on his right thigh. (4) Vairāṭyā's complexion is dark. She has three hoods of a snake over her head. Her upper hands hold snakes. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* pose, and the lower left hand is empty. She is seated in the *bhadrāsana* pose without her emblem.

Besides these portraits in the corners, the artist has drawn pictures of the *Nava-grahas*, the *Nava-nidhis* and their guardian deities. These are detailed as below:—

At the top of the *paṭa* Sūrya is drawn on the right and Candra on the left. On the left side of it we have Maṅgala and Budha. Guru and Śukra are accommodated at the bottom of the *paṭa*, and its right side makes room for Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. Near the bottom of the *Maṅgala-kalaśa*, the *Nava-nidhis* are represented in the form of nine small pitchers. Nearby is the five-hooded *Śeṣa* who guards them. The figure of Gaṇeśa and the representation of leaves

of a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* above the mouth of the *kalaśa* complete the picture.

In conclusion it may be observed that the artist who prepared the *citrapaṭa* under notice had to work in accordance with the canonical injunctions regarding the representations of the divinities of the Jaina religion. He is not accurate in one or two cases as I have shown above. But that might have been due to his ignorance, or perhaps, he followed some new school of orthodox Jaina painting. In any case the *citrapaṭa* under notice possesses considerable value for the comparative study of the three main *tāntric* systems of India. Moreover, it is one of the rare specimens of pre-Mughal ecclesiastic pictures requiring attention of scholars interested in Indian pictorial art.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

The Title Daśavaikālika Sūtra

Even from the earliest times, it appears, there was no agreement among the traditional writers about the form and the interpretation of the name of the work usually known as the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*. Like many other works of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon there is no occasion to give the title name either in the introductory or concluding portions of the text. References in other works and the comments upon it are also not unanimous.

In the *Nandī Sūtra*,[1] where a list of the works forming the canon is given, we find the name of the work in the form Dasaveyāliya, and stands at the beginning of the Ukkāliya section of the Suyanāṇa. Bhadrabāhu, the oldest commentator of this text, used in his Nijjutti[2] the form Dasakāliya six times (vv. 1, 7; twice 12, 14, 25) and the form Dasaveyāliya twice (vv. 6, 397). Of these two forms of the title, he decidedly favours the first as the name of the work and he used the second only incidentally. This will be clear from the fact that in all the three places (vv. 7, 12, 15) where an attempt is made to explain the name the form is invariably Dasakāliya and not Dasaveyāliya. Jinadāsamahattara in his *Cūrṇi*[3] on the text, however, and following him Haribhadra in his Sanskrit Ṭikā, usually use the form Dasaveyāliya, even though the other form is found in their works incidentally (*Cūrṇi*, p. 4, Hari. p. 1). They have not seen any discrepancy between the two names and explain the title always in the form of Dasaveyāliya.

No material help can be derived from the names of the other books of the canon. Even though the first word of the name, Dasa

1 Ed. Āgamodaya Samiti p. 201b.

2 Ed. Prof. Abhyaṅkara at the end of his edition of the text. The numbers of the Nijjutti gāthās refer to his edition.

3 Ed. of Jāmnagar 1933.

occurs in many names of the canonical works, and according to W. Schubring[4] all these works form a group by themselves, the meaning of the word is clear and it always refers to the number of the chapters found in the particular book. It is only in case of the Vaṇhidasāo that we find a disagreement between the title and the number of the chapters. In the present case also, there is no objection to take the word to mean ten chapters, because the additional two sections are expressly called Cūlikās and are clearly intended to be later additions. The second element of the name Veyāliya occurs in only one other text of the canon, viz., the *Taṇḍulaveyāliya* a book included among the Paiṇṇas but also in the Ukkāliya section along with the Dasaveyāliya. But there the name means a calculation (veyāliya = vicāra)[5] of the number of rice grains, and cannot have anything to do with the second element of the name of Dasaveyāliya.

A correct interpretation of the name is equally hard to find out. In this connection it is difficult to decide what meaning of the title was intended by the author of the Nijjutti, in spite of the three different attempts made by him to explain the name. In the introductory portion of the Nijjutti we find the analysis of the title as *dasa* and *kāla* both the words receiving further elucidation. To explain the import of the word *Dasa* the author was led to explain the word *ekka*. On this verse the *Cūrṇi* has preserved an interesting passage which runs:

एत्थ कतरेण इक्कगेण अहिगारो। भद्दियायरिओवदेसेण जम्हा दस एए पज्जाय-अज्झयणा संगहेक्कएण सङ्गहिया तम्हा सङ्गहेक्कएण एत्थ अहिगारो। दत्तिलायरिओवएसेणम् जम्हा सुयनाणं खओवसमिए भावे वट्टइ (? वट्टइ) तम्हा भावेक्कएणम्। दोन्नि वि एए आदेसा अविरुद्धा। भावेक्क एणं अधिगारो॥ (p. 4).

In spite of the assurance of the author and his own inclination towards the second view, it is undoubtedly the first which is historically correct and offers one more proof to say that the present work is

4 *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 58.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

a collection. After the explanation of the number 'one' the Nijjutti goes to explain the number 'ten', and after that it states:

दव्वे अद्ध अहाउय उवक्कमे देस-काल-काले य ।
तह य पमाणे वण्णे भावे पगयं तु भावेणम् ॥

Here it clearly states nine different senses of the word kāla and points out that in the present context the bhāva sense is applicable. What is meant by the bhāvakāla we are left to guess. The explanation of Haribhadra that it refers to kṣāyika and other bhāvas of the soul is of no great use and like the above one of the *Cūrṇi* on *ekka* is a convenient way for the commentators to pass over the difficulty. In fact Haribhadra has noticed the discrepancy between the words of the *Nijjutti* and his own explanation, and so he remarks

यदुक्तं । पगयं तु भावेणं ति । तत् कथं न विरुद्ध्यते इति । उच्यते, क्षायोपशमिकभावकाले शय्यम्भवेन निर्व्यूढं प्रमाणकाले च उक्तलक्षणे इति अविरोधः । अथवा प्रमाणकालोऽपि भावकाल एव ।

The remarks are sufficient to point out his inability to explain the intention of the author. The *Cūrṇi* offers no more light on the point.

That Bhadrabhāhu really meant to explain by the present remark the title of the work and was not merely speculating about the bhāva meaning of the word can be proved from many other places in the *Nijjutti*. While explaining the word *mahugāra* he remarks; *ihayam puṇa ahigāro vihāyagamaṇehi bhamarehiṃ*/117. While explaining the title of the third chapter he says *paikhuḍḍaeṇa pagayaṃ*/185. So also we find him remarking: *etthaṃ puṇa ahigāro nikāyakāeṇa hoi suttammi*/289 *etthaṃ dāvvesaṇāe ahigāro*/304 *niddesapasaṁsāe ahigāro ettha ajjhayaṇe*/316 and in all these cases he is perfectly right.

There are two more verses in the *Nijjutti* which offer another interpretation of the name. Verse 12 runs:

सामादियअणुक्कमओ वण्णेउं, विगयपोरिसीए उ ।
निज्जूढं किर सेज्जम्भवेण दसकालियं तेण ॥

This suggests that the work was called Dasakāliya because it was composed or culled out by Sejjaṃbhava when the period of time called Paurusi was over. Verse 15 of the same text runs:

मणगं पडुच्च सेज्जम्भवेण निज्जूहिया दसज्झयणा ।
वेयालियाए ठविया तम्हा दसकालियं नाम ॥

Here also a nearly identical explanation is offered. Because the ten chapters which he culled out were placed at the time of Vikāla the work was called Dasakāliya. Besides the apparent disagreement between the two words of explanation *vigayaporisī* and *veyāliyā* with the title *dasakāliya*, there are two interpretations of the word *vikāla* possible. It may mean the time of the evening, as the commentators take it or it may mean an improper time, as is suggested by some modern scholars.[6] The choice between the two for Bhadrabāhu's own interpretation cannot be decided on the mere authority of the commentators.

The *Cūrṇi* throws very little additional light on the question of interpreting the title. It remarks:

विगतः कालो विकालः । अथवा विकालः कालः अमकलः खगडश्चेत्यनर्थान्तरम् विकालवेलायां परिसमाप्तं वैकालिकम् । अथवा विकाले पठ्यत इति वैकालिकम् । अथवा दशैतानि अध्ययनानि व्यवगते दिने कृतानीति दशवैकालिकम् । (p. 5)

Here he accepts the usual interpretation but makes a new suggestion in the form that because it is studied at an improper (or evening time) it is called Vaikālika. Haribhadra only accepts the usually accepted explanation that it was written in the evening and tries to explain the text of the Nijjutti accordingly. After him both the form of the title and its interpretation were settled once for all and all later writers follow him closely.[7]

Now all these explanations except the first obscure one of the Nijjutti are based upon the traditional story about the composition

6 Cp. for a discussion of the title M. V. Patwardhan *The Daśavaikālikā: A Study*. pp. 9-10. He himself accepts the traditional explanation.

7 Cp. Hema. Pari. V. 86. *Samayasundara*, p. 1.

of the work. But even taking the story as it is, it is difficult to see how such a small detail, that the work was written in the evening, should give the title to it. This is much more striking in face of the fact that there was nothing abnormal about the time itself. It is true that the Uttarāddhyayana prescribes the first and the last watch of the day and night for study (XXVI. 12, 18) and the *Cūrṇi* remarks that the work was composed in the third Porisī, a little earlier. But Sejjaṃbhava could have well waited a little more, and it would have made little difference, as Maṇaga was to live six months more. The suggestion of the *Cūrṇi* is more to the point. The story tells us that Maṇaga was to live only six months and it was not possible for him to complete the study of the scriptures in the usual method which extended over a very long period. We know that the Pūrvas can be studied by a monk in the 19th year of his Paryāya[8] and it was impossible for Maṇaga to study them. This naturally led Sejjaṃbhava to have selections from these works for the benefit of his short-lived son and he taught them to him irrespective of the time which are prescribed for the study of these works. As such the work would well receive the name Vaikālika. In this very sense we can understand the words of the Nijjutti '*veyāliyāe ṭhaviyā*' (15). In fact, all these extractions from the Pūrva books were intended to bring the important contents of the works within the province of study of monks who cannot wait for the regualr period of time prescribed for their study. In this connection one remark in the Prakrit story as preserved in the *Cūrṇi* is instructive. For pointing out the motive of Sejjaṃbhava to cull out these texts from the Pūrvas he remarks:

तं चोद्दसपुव्वी कहिं पि कारणे समुप्पन्ने निज्जूहइ। दसपुव्वी पुण अपच्छिमो अवस्समेव निज्जूहइ॥

So, this rule has same value when we consider that the earlier monks were not allowed to violate the rules of study unless some specific

8 *Ind. Stud.*, XVI.-223.

cause was available. But when the knowledge of the Pūrvas began to grow scarce it was allowed for the few who knew them to make extractions from them with the intention of preserving whatever little they can. It can be easily seen that these statements confirms the view of Charpentier[9] that the Pūrvas were lost on account of their study being placed late in the regular plan of mastering the scriptures. I cannot see any strong reason to suppose that the work got the name Vaikālika because it was culled out against the rules of doing so.

All these explanations, however, accept the name to be Daśavaikālika and see no contradiction between it and the other form Daśakālika. But as seen above, the older name appears to be Daśakālika and not Daśavaikālika. The story itself, probably gave greater currency to the second form of the title.

To explain the title Daśakāliya we must try to know the meaning of the word kāliya. Two meanings of this word are of importance to us. There is a method of dividing the canon into four Anuyogas and it is common to both the sects of the Jaina community and as such must be very old. The very first of these Anuyogas is called the *caraṇakaraṇānuyoga* and the Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi remarks: *tattha caraṇakaraṇāṇuogo ṇāma kāliyasuyaṃ* p. 2. From this it appears that the canonical works dealing with caraṇa or rules of good conduct and karaṇa or rules of begging food were called by the name Kālika Śruta. This description passes very well with the contents of the Daśavaikālika. We have further the authority of the Nijjutti to group the present work in this Anuyoga, because it remarks:

अपुहत्तपुहत्ताइं निद्दिसिउं, एत्थ होइ अहिगारो ।
चरणकरणाणुयोगेण तस्स दारा इमे होन्ति ॥

There is, however, another meaning of the word kālika in connection with the texts of the canon. In the *Nandi* we get the older

9 *Uttarādhyayana*, Intro. pp. 23. ff.

classification of the canon into those into Aṅgas and Aṅgabāhiras, the second of which is divided into Āvassaya and Āvassayavairitta. The last is divided into Kāliya and Ukkāliya. The explanations of the two terms is given by Malayagiri,[10] which runs:

तत्र यद्दिवसनिशाप्रथमपश्चिमपौरुषीद्वय एव पठ्यते तत्कालिकम् ।
यत् पुनः कालवेलावर्जम पठ्यते तत् उत्कालिकम् ॥

and quotes a passage from the *Cūrṇi* to the same effect. This second meaning also harmonises with the one suggested above. But this meaning of the word kālika cannot be seen in the title because the text is included in the Utkālika section and stands first in that list and not in the Kālika one, which we should naturally expect if the word has this meaning in the title.

From the facts stated above we can conclude something about the real state of facts at different times in the history of the text, even though it must be admitted that it is something of a convenient supposition to explain the conflicting facts. To my mind, originally the work was called Daśakālika and not Daśavaikālika, as is amply proved from the words of the Nijjutti. Thus it really meant '*ten chapters dealing with the rules of conduct and of begging food*', the word Kālika being used in the sense of a part of the canon called caraṇakaraṇānuyoga or kālikaśruta. Later on when the book was canonised, as is suggested by the story, it was included in the Utkālika group of the texts because it could be studied at any time of the day, though taken from the Pūrvas and at any year of the monk's paryāya. Here, there must have arisen some confusion about the name Kālika which, in close connection with the name of the group Utkālika, was taken in the sense of a book to be studied at the prescribed time, as there was the other group of texts in contrast with it, even though the word was used in the title in quite a different sense, namely to mean a kind of part of the canon dealing

10 P. 203b.

with rules of conduct. Naturally to overcome the supposed discrepancy the title was changed to Daśavaikālika, a term identical in meaning with Utkālika and a trace of which meaning is preserved in the remark of the *Cūrṇi*. Later on the title was explained in the light of the story to mean the book composed at the time of the evening, another meaning of the term vikāla. This was tried to be supported by the facts of the story as best as they could, and thus both the name and its interpretation were settled in a form quite different from their original nature

A. M. GHATAGE

Origin and Early History of Caityas

Sanctuaries of different kinds are frequently met with in the Buddhist literature. "The most general name for a sanctuary as Kern says is *Caitya* (Pāli, *Cetiya*), a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions. Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *caityas*, but *not all caityas are edificee*."[1] As I have said elsewhere, the custom of worshipping foot-prints was in vogue before the time of the Buddha,[2] and so also it will be seen that the worship of caityas was in existence long before the epoch of the Buddha. Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic ritual of *cayana*.[3] The term caitya does not occur in the Saṃhitās. The earliest work in which the term occurs is the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, assigned generally to the sixth century B.C., but probably belongs to a much earlier date. Before we proceed to examine the use of this term caitya in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.* or other works of equal authority, let us examine it etymologically. The expression admits of several etymological transformations and one is *cityasya idam = caityam*.

Now 'What is citya?' The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains citya[4] as that which could be used for *cayana*, or more appropriately, that which is fit for *cayana*.[5] Though the term caitya as such does not occur in the *Aitareya* or *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, still it is significant

1 *Mannual of Indian Buddhism*, (1896), p. 91.

2 *Proceedings of All-India Fifth Oriental Conference*, (1930)—'The History of Early Buddhism in India' p. 930).

3 See in this connection the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, pp. 20-22

4 For an explanation of Agni-citya see Martin Haug—Transl. of *Ait. Br.*, V. *Note* 28

5 सोऽस्यैव चित्य आसीत्। चेतव्यो ह्यस्यासीत्तस्माच्चित्यश्चित्य उ एवायं यजमानस्य भवति। चेतव्यो ह्यस्य भवति तस्मात् एव चित्यः॥ VI. 1. 2. 16 (Bib. Indica).

to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression caitya has been undoubtedly derived. In the older Saṃhitās we find the use of the term *citya*. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, in the fifth kāṇḍa, we have the following lines:

Rūpāṇi | sarvāṇi | rūpāṇi |
agnau | citye | kriyante | tas-
māt | etāḥ | agneḥ | cityasya[6] |

Thus we hear of an Agni-citya to which offerings are made. The term *cityam* again occurs in the *Atharva Veda*[7] but it is doubtful whether here an Agni-citya is meant. Whatever this may be, there is clear evidence of an Agni-citya and its use in the Vedic sacrifices. And this may be regarded as the origin and commencement of Caitya cult which reached very large dimensions in the post-Vedic period. But there are other derivations of the word caitya. First is *cityāyā idam*. Secondly, the commentator on the Amara derives it thus:

cīyate pāṣāṇādinā caityaṃ.

This is supported by Mitākṣara where, in commenting on the term caitya in *Yājñavalkya*, II. 151, it is rendered *pāṣāṇādi bandhyaḥ*. This means that which is built of stone. Thirdly, *caitya* may be from *citi* or *cita*, where the terminations *ti* and *ta* are added to *ci*. These can be interpreted as funeral pile or Agni. In this case *cita* + *ya* makes it *cit* + *ya* which leads to the form citya. Sometimes the use of the term *cita* is extended to *śmaśanaṃ*. In commenting on the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa—citya mālyānulepa*,[8] the commentator Govindarāja observes thus:

citā śmaśānaṃ tatra bhavaṃ cityaṃ tādṛśaṃ mālyaṃ

The expression *caityasthāna* in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. V. 2) refers to the burial ground. In all these derivations it must be remembered

6 5. 1.8.4.
7 X. 8.
8 I. 58.12 (Kumbhakonam edition).

that every expression is ultimately derived from the root *ciñ cayane* meaning to collect, to pile up or to build. This furnishes the certain clue that the original term was *citya* as we saw it used in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas and by the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, the ancients have developed what is known as *caitya yajña*. Thus we see both the terms citya and caitya are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period. Thus the *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes an ancient text of Bharata to indicate that caitya is Yajñasthāna or Yajñāyatana. This is a sacred place set apart for the performance of Yajñas. It may possess citya or it may not possess one. Still it went by the name of caitya."

In the Vedic literature we find two uses of cayana. One form is that it was a sacrifice in itself. There are several kinds of cayana sacrifice, and one of them too familiar to students of *Yajur-Veda* is the Garuḍacayana-yāga. In this yāga, special Iṣṭakas or bricks are made with given dimensions, and these are spread in the form of a Garuḍa as if lying down on the earth. On it different *homas* or oblations are performed.[10] The other was that it formed part of a great sacrifice like the Aśvamedha. Here it was not an independent yajña. The cayana ritual consisted in collecting the sacred ashes and the sacrificial utensils, towards the very end of the sacrifice, and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or even mud. The idea underlying was that things used in a Vedic yajña ought not get defiled by the villager or stranger or by any animal or beast. It is pointed out in the text quoted above

9 यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तु मुखरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतनं सचित्यमचित्यमपीत्याहुः ।

10 Readers of this paper will learn with interest that this yajña was performed on Vedic lines within last thirty years by two eminent pandits of Tanjore District. The late Pandit Bālakrishna Sastriar of Tiruvāḍi did it at Tiruvāḍi, and after the yajña he got the whole place fenced with brick wall, so that the place may not get contaminated with any impurity. The other was my eldest brother Rāmaswami Dikshitar of Vishnampet who performed it on the banks of the Viraśoḷa river at Tiruvaḍamarudūr, a village very near Kumbakonam.

that such yajñāyatana was devoid of mukha (*mukha-rahitam*). In other words there was no opening that led into it. It was a kind of enclosure all round. It resembled in shape and size a *devakula,* by which Hindu temples were meant in ancient India.

In this connection we must not fail to take note of the fact that not only in later Vedic literature but in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa,* we find a combination so to say of caitya and yūpa. Yūpa, it is too well known, is the sacrificial post to which the animal to be sacrificed was generally tied. And no one can dispute that wherever yūpa is mentioned, there emerges the fact of Vedic yajña being performed. It is the unquestionable emblem of denoting that some yāga had been performed there. We shall examine this further.

Taking up the *Mahābhārata* we find the interesting statement *caitya-yūpaśatāṅkita*[11] in the Ādiparva, meaning the region made sacred by the caitya and yūpa. It needs no stretch of imagination to infer that caitya and yūpa under reference were found in one and the same place. Conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that caitya was intimately associated with the place where Vedic yajña had been performed. In another place the epic refers in glowing terms that the country is full of caityas and yūpas[12] implying again that caityas were places of sacred yajñas. If we turn next to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* we meet with the same description. When Rāma went through the Kośala *en route* to the Daṇḍaka forests, he found the whole country decked with caityas and yūpas.[13] Vālmiki mentions in another

11 भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥ I. 118. 13.

12 आहताः क्रमतो मुख्याः शतं भरतसत्तमम् ।
यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्याश्चापि हिरण्मयाः ॥ II. 23.13

13 ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान् ।
अकुतश्चिद्भयान्रम्यांश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान् ॥ II. 50. 8

place[14] that the whole region was spotted with hundreds of caityas. In these places the reference is undoubtedly to yajñasthāna, and the particular combination of caitya with yūpa deserves to be particularly noted. Add to this the evidence of the *Mṛccha-kaṭika*.[15] In the tenth Act Cārudatta recalls to his mind how he and his ancestors have performed hundreds of yajñas when the Vedic chanting of Brāhmaṇas in the caityas of the yajñamaṇḍapa rent the air. The association of caitya with *brahmaghoṣa* is noteworthy.

Proceeding to examine the evidence of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, we find for the first time the mention of a caitya sacrifice. Whether the reference to the caitya by Āśvalāyana is a reference to the Vedic caitya, or yajñasthāna, or to something else, is the question. H. Oldenberg who has translated this and other Gṛhyasūtras,[16] agrees with Professor Stenzler who renders it "Denkmal" or any religious shrine. The caitya sacrifice is thus described.[17] Before the Sviṣṭakṛt offering, one should offer a *bali* to the caitya. If the caitya

14 कश्चिच्चित्याशतैर्जुष्टः मुनिविष्टजनाकुलः ।
देवस्थानैः प्रपाभिश्च तटाकैश्चोपशोभितः ॥ *Ib.* 100. 44.

The term citya (also caitya) is commented upon as follows:

अश्वमेधान्तमहायज्ञचयनप्रदेशसमूहैः ।

15 मखशतपरिपूतं गोत्रमुद्भासितं मे
सदसि निबिडचैत्यब्रह्मघोषैः पुरस्तात् ।
मम मरणदशायां वर्तमानस्य पापै-
स्तदसदृशमनुष्यैर्घुष्यते घोषणायाम् ॥ Act X. 12.

16 *S.B.E.*, vols. 29 and 30

17 चैत्ययज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतश्चैत्याय बलिं हरेत । Bk. I. 12. 1. यद्वै विदेशस्थं पलाशदूतेन यत्र वेत्थ वनस्पत इत्येतयर्चा द्वौ पिण्डौ कृत्वा वीवधे अश्याधाय दूताय प्रयच्छेदिमं तस्मै बलिं हरेति चैनं ब्रूयादयं तुभ्यमिति यो दूताय । 2. प्रतिभयं चेदन्तरा शस्त्रमपि किंचित् । 3. नाव्या चेन्नद्यन्तरा प्लवरूपमपि किंचिदनेन तरितव्यमिति । (Ānandāśrama ed.)

This text forms the tenth Khaṇḍa of the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Haradattācārya, edited by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri. There it is divided into 8 parts, unlike four in the Ānandāśrama edition.

is situated at a distant place, he should send the *bali* through a leaf messenger. This messenger takes it on a carrying pole. If the caitya were situated at a place which could be reached by fording a river or crossing a dangerous path, suitable means were arranged to get at the caitya. There are two views on this sacrifice. One is the view of the commentator Nārāyaṇa according to whom caitya is derived as *citte bhava.*[18] He explains that a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish be granted he would offer a sacrifice, and this sacrifice, according to Nārāyaṇa, is the caitya sacrifice. The other view is that of Oldenberg who thinks whether or not the whole rite was not purely symbolical. One thing is certain that this sacrifice was not done at residential quarters. It was done in the place where the caitya was situated. The text is very clear about this. Another thing we note here is that the caitya was no more yajña-sthāna. For do we not hear of caitya yajña in the text of the Āśvalāyana? This yajña is an orthodox sacrifice performed by the followers of Vedic cult. From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term caitya extended. There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult. We read in the epics and especially in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of caitya gṛhas,[19] caitya prāsādas,[20] and caitya vṛkṣas.[21] It is difficult to arrive at a correct explanation of these terms. Caitya gṛha is explained by some *caityasya samīpe gṛhaṃ,*

18 Cp. *Bhāg. Purāṇ.* III. 26. 70.

19 भूमीगृहांश्चैत्यगृहान्गृहातिगृहकानपि । V. 12. 14
चैत्यप्रासादमाप्लुत्य मेरुशृङ्गमिवोन्नतम् । V. 43. 3

20 It is worth while to read the whole chapter. It is said that Hanumān set fire among others to caityaprāsāda, when the guards of caitya attacked him in vain.

21 वृक्षाः पतन्ति चैत्याश्च ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।
नीललोहितपीतश्च भवत्यग्निर्हुतो द्विजैः ॥ *Mbh.* VI. 3. 40
See also Rāma. II. 6. 11

See again in this connection Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, pp 205-9.

and by others *catuṣpatha maṇḍapa.*[22] We have the use of *catuścitya* also. It seems to be a primitive practice to have some apology for a shrine at the termini of four streets or four roads and offer worship at that shrine. Such temples are mentioned in the Śangam literature of the ancient Tamils also. Perhaps in this sense Vālmīkī uses it when Daśaratha is said to have distributed food to the poor from caityas[23] on the eve of Rāma's coronation as Yuvarāja. Vālmīkī describes caityaprāsāda as situated in Laṅkā, supported by a thousand columns and majestic in appearance. It is quite reasonable to assume that a temple is under reference. It was perhaps the biggest temple in the whole of Laṅkā and richly furnished by Rāvaṇa. It must be noted that the term *prāsāda* means ordinarily a shrine. Next caitya-vṛkṣas are alluded to in the epic. For example when Vālmīkī describes that Rāvaṇa was as fearful looking as *śmaśāna-caitya,* it only means the caitya or tree growing in the burial ground.[24] Some lexicons appropriately give among other meanings to the caitya, *devataru, uddeśavṛkṣa.* In the *Śabdakalpadruma* we read under caitya-vṛkṣa: *Caityastadākhyayā prasiddho vṛkṣaḥ.* It further enlightens by saying that it was Aśvattha tree. The worship of trees was an age-long practice in India, and latterly some trees became demarcated caityas, and worship was offered to them. In certain cases, as we see in the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, they were trees generally in the burial ground which marked the boundary limits of the village. According to Manu, underneath

22 See for instance *Śabdārthacintāmaṇi.* We have Vedic authority to show that sacrifice was performed at catuṣpatha.

23 देवायतनचैत्येषु साम्रभक्ष्याः सदक्षिणाः ।
उपस्थापयितव्याः स्युर्माल्ययोग्याः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ II. 3. 18

For a combination of devāyatana caitya see later ch. 71. 41.

24 The *Arthaśāstra* refers to such trees—Bk. V. 2 and Bk. XIII. 2.

their shade Caṇḍāla and similar castes were to find their residence.[25] Yājñavalkya definitely places the caityas as serving the boundary limits of a grāma or janapada.[26] In some cases they were boundaries of gardens and fields.[27] In these cases it may be a tree or even a building. But the trees of the caitya or caitya trees are certainly alluded to in another place where the same law-giver forbids cutting of the branches of those trees under heavy penalty.[28]

Perhaps in this sense the great poet Kālidāsa uses the expression in his immortal Meghasandeśa.[29] The fact then that Daśaratha's queen and Rāma's mother, Kauśalyā, sent forth her prayer, on the eve of Rāma's departure to Daṇḍaka forests, to the caityas[30] and invoked their choice blessings to protect him from all dangers natural to a forest zone, shows that they were also regarded as fit places for worship. In more than one place Kauṭalya refers to caityas as houses of gods.[31] Kauṭalya refers to caitya-pūjā in peculiar circumstances.

25 चैत्यद्रुमश्मशानेषु शैलेषूपवनेषु च ।
वसेयुरेते विज्ञानावर्तयन्तः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ X. 50

26 नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमैः ।
सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नाश्चिचैत्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम् ॥ II. 151

27 See *Kaut. Artha.*, II. 4 and 35.

28 चैत्यश्मशानसीमासु पुण्यस्थाने सुरालये ।
जातद्रुमाणां द्विगुणो दमो वृत्ते च विद्रुते ॥ *Yājña.*, II. 228

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* associates trees with caityas, (III. 12. 13). It prescribes in the preceeding chapter that a householder should avoid caityas [*Ib.*, 11. 122]. This prescription demonstrates that caityas are no more Vedic places of worship,—yet another stage in the history of caityas.

29 पाण्डुच्छायोपवनवृतयः केतकैः सूचिभिन्नो
नीडारम्भैर्गृहबलिभुजामाकुलग्रामचैत्याः
त्वय्यासन्ने परिणतफलश्यामजम्बूवनान्ताः
संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः ॥ 23.

30 येभ्यः प्रणमसे पुत्र चैत्येष्वायतनेषु च ।
ते च त्वामभिरक्षन्तु वने सह महर्षिभिः ॥ II. 25. 4

31 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. 20; Bk. XII. 5.

In those days when people were much more superstitious, they believed in demons and the harm done to them by them. In order to avert the evil attacks of demons, the people offered *pūja* to the caityas.[32] The method and time of offering are prescribed. On full and new moon days the caitya was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh. Kauṭalya speaks of *caitya-devata*[33] and *daivata caityaṃ*.[34] Thus we see the prominence given to caitya worship in the *Arthaśāstra*. Hence these were known also as devakula or devāyatana, and devavāsa.[35] From that of the shrine the application of caitya was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine. We hear of this more in the Buddhist and Jain[36] books.

The foregoing survey establishes beyond doubt that caityas are a pre-Buddhist institution. The Buddhists and Jains found that the masses of the land looked upon these as sacred altars and venerated them highly. They therefore thought, to venture a conjecture, better to give the old name to their sanctuaries instead of inventing a new one. Hence the caitya was adopted as the name of their sacred shrines, whether they contained the images of the Buddha or Jina or their relics. This is the last phase in the history of the word caitya. It is said that in Buddhist books the term is also applied to a tree as well as to a stūpa. The term in Pāli is as already seen *cetiya* and in Tamil also it is *cetiyaṃ*. The worship of the Buddhists became so much identified with the caitya that we have an interesting precept

Caityaṃ vandeta, meaning that one is expected to offer his worship to the caitya or in the caitya. In the course of a learned disquisition on *svargakāmo yajeta,* the *Bhāmati* of Vācaspati on Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* refers to this precept, as a side issue, as construing the relation of the imperative suffix to the unseen

32 Bk. IV. ch. 3. 33 Bk. I. ch. 20. 34 Bk. V. ch. 2.
35 See, for instance, the *Vācaspatyam.*
36 Pampa, *Ādi Purāṇam,* X. st. 241 vacana (Mysore Oriental Library).

potentiality, while in fact the Buddhist precept does not have the least implication of desire for heaven.[37] In a note to the above statement the editors remark as follows: "It would appear from the *Ṛjuprakāśika* that the statement is 'Caityaṃ vandeta,' not 'Caitye vandeta,' so that the obeisance is to the caitya, not in the caitya. Conformably to this, caitya would mean not a shrine, but the consecrated fig-tree which Buddhists offer worship."[38] But one has to point out that the statement 'caityaṃ vandeta' would itself admit of both interpretations, namely, obeisance to the caitya or in the caitya. It may also be pointed that the caitya need not necessarily be the consecrated fig-tree but any shrine sheltering a relic of the Buddha or even his image. Before we proceed further, attention may be drawn to the fact that the consecrated fig tree which the Buddhists worship is the sacred Aśvattha of Sanskrit literature. How the Aśvattha has been an object of veneration and adoration by the Hindus can be seen from a single soul-stirring stanza of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.[39] It means 'They say the inexhaustible Aśvattha has its roots above, its branches below: the chandas are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches which are enlarged by the qualities and the sprouts which are sensuous objects.' Thus it is seen that even in the choice of their sacred tree, the Buddhists took to the tree traditionally venerated by their Hindu ancestors.

37 See p. 153 of the *Bhāmati* ed. by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (T.P.H., Adyar) 1933. See in this connection *Sammohavinodani*, pp. 292, 348.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

39 ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ XV. 1.

Even to-day circumambulating this tree daily or on certain fixed days is considered to be a meritorious deed by the Hindus. Not only it cannot be used for fuel but it is the only tree from which the fire for a Vedic Yajña can be got by churning, and its twigs used as oblations to the sacred fire.

Remark has already been made that the caityas had either the images of the Buddha or Jina installed in them or contained the relics *dhātu*—in the Buddhist parlance. The *dhātus* or relics are of three kinds. First there were corporeal relics or *śarīra-dhātus*. It is said that the neckbone of the Buddha was enshrined in a caitya in Ceylon.[40] Secondly, there were *paribhogika-dhātu*, or relics which were actually used by the person (*paribhoga*). These may be clothes, ornaments, alms-bowl etc. used by the Buddha.[41] Thirdly, there were the *uddeśika-dhātu*, which has been rendered indicative relics.[42] Under this category may come images etc. of the person worshipped. Thus the caityas of the Buddhists were mostly relic-shrines, though ordinary shrines also went by that name. The Budhidst legends attribute to king Aśoka the building of as many as 84000 caityas.[43] Though this may not be literally true, still it is reasonable to suppose that he, a tolerant monarch, would have encouraged building of some caityas in his time, whether Buddhist or Hindu. The story of the Buddha's great decease, the cremation of the corpse, the distribution of his corporeal relics and their enshrinement in caityas and stūpas are all elaborately narrated in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, an ancient Pāli work of perhaps the fourth century B.C.[44] Thus there is ample evidence which elucidates that Buddhist stūpas and caityas were shrines which sheltered the three kinds of relics referred to above. This does not mean that there were no caityas or stūpas before the Buddha. We have seen a number of references in the Vedic and epic literature of the existence of such institutions in ancient India, which evoked religious awe from the masses. It is not, therefore, surprising

40 *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 343-44.

41 Cp. the reliefs on the rails of the Bārhut Stūpa.
See the preamble to the *Kaliṅga-bodhi Jātaka*.

42 *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 883.

43 See ch. 26 of the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work.

44 See for details Dr. Fleet's article in the *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 657.

to read in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* that the Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited caityas[15] like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, etc., while the *Dīgha Nikāya* bears testimony to the fact that the Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara.[16] As these and other references to the Caitya in the Buddhist literature have been elaborately examined by Dr. B. C. Law,[17] I do not propose to traverse the same ground. Suffice it to say that this is an additional proof to demonstrate that the caityas were pre-Buddhistic institutions and the Buddhists as well as Jains[18] gave the same name to their sanctuaries.

V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR

45 Chap. III, secs. 36-47 and especially 47.
'Idān' eva kho tāhaṃ Ānanda ajja Capale cetiye amantesiṃ.
"Ramaṇiyā Ānanda Ve āli, ramaṇiyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyam Sārandadam cetiyṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Cāpālam cetiyaṃ.
See also Dr. B. C. Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, p. 100.

46 II. p. 123.

47 See his *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.

48 See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 280.

Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras

In a work called the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa,*[1] devoted mainly to the description of holy places or *tīrthas* associated with the river Sarasvati[2] in Gujarat falling into the gulf of Kutch, there is a good deal of description of a lake called सिद्धराजसरः .[3] This lake, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* tells us, was formed from the river Sarasvatī itself:— *Folio 110a* (of Ms. No. 429 of Viś. I)—

"एवं सरस्वती ब्रह्मन् प्राचीभूत्वा सरिद्वरा ।
महता च जलौघेन मत्स्यकच्छपवाहिना ॥२३॥
हसमानेन फेनोघैरावर्त्तैर्नृत्यतीव सा ।
ताभ्यां सरिद्भ्यां सहिता पूरयामास तत्सरः ॥२४॥

1 MSS. of the *Sarasvatipurāṇa* mentioned by Aufrecht are:—

Part I, p. 699—"Kh. 64. B. 2, 34; BL. 2; Gu. 3; Bhk. 14; Poona 429" (a Śāradāpurāṇa is frequently quoted by Hemādri). Out of these MSS. the MS. available to me is "Poona 429" which is the same as No. 429 of Viś I in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

2 See N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* (London, 1927) pp. 180-181 where various identifications of the river *Sarasvati* are recorded. We are concerned here with the river Sarasvati which is an affluent of the river *Kuvarkā* falling into the gulf of Kutch.

3 Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja refers to this lake as follows in verse 114 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya.*

"अतीत्य मैथिलं युद्धं राघवो नु कृतकतुः ।
प्रापातेतरतिथ्यां स पूर्तं चक्रे महासरः ॥११४॥"

Abhayatilakagaṇi who wrote his Commentary on the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* in Sam. 1312 =A.D. 1256 comments on the above verse as follows:—

"स राजा सहस्रलिङ्गाख्यं महासरः पूर्तं चक्रे कारयत्"

(Vide analysis of this *Kāvya* in *IA.*, IV, p. 269) cf. also verse 117 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*:—

"शंभोः सहस्रमष्टौ च आयतनानि सरस्तटे ॥"

तुष्ट्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य तीर्थं पूतेन वारिणा ।
संपूर्णं तत्सरश्चक्रे समंतादक्षयेण सा ॥२९॥
सा तत्सरसमासाद्य पुण्यं पुण्या महानदी ।
सरस्वती स्थिता देवी लोकानां पापनाशनी ॥२६॥"

This lake, thereafter, became the abode of all heavenly beings as Siddharāja established one thousand *liṅgas* of god Śiva all round it: —

"तथा नागा सुपर्णाश्च सिद्धाश्चक्रधराश्च ये ।
सरितः सागराः सर्वे यक्षविद्याधरास्तथा ॥३१॥
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां सिद्धेशेन प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
निवासं रोचयामासुः तस्मिन्नमृतसागरे ॥३२॥"

The place in course of time attained great celebrity as a centre of religious purification: —

"एकस्मिन् शिवकुण्डेऽपि...मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ।
किं पुनर्यत्सहस्रस्य लिङ्गानां पुरतः स्थितम् ॥३८॥
...
त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्यातं सिद्धराजसरोवरः ॥४०॥"

It became pre-eminent among the holy places owing to the presence of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas*: —

"सर्वेषामेव तीर्थानामिदमेवाधिकं सरः ।
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां स्थितं देवगणैः सह ॥४६॥"

Even god Keśava made this place his abode to please king Siddharāja: —

"प्रीत्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य पुरायेत्वमृतसागरे ।
जलशायी जगद्योनिः तस्मिन्स्वपिति केशवः ॥३८॥"
यत्र शेते स भगवान्[4] योगनिद्रां समाश्रितः ।
तत्स्थानं मुक्तिदं ब्रह्मन् श्वेतद्वीपाद्विशिष्यते ॥४९॥
स्नात्वा तीर्थवरे यत्र पश्यंतिं जलशायिनम् ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्ता वैकुण्ठं प्राप्नुवन्ति ते ॥५०॥

4 About the temple in the centre of the Sahasraliṅg Talav Burgess observes: — "In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist." It appears from verses 48, 49, 50 of the Sarasvatipurāṇa quoted above that the central temple was of Keśava or Viṣṇu

In front of god Keśava is situated the दशावतारक तीर्थ in the Siddharāja lake:—

"तस्य देवस्य पुरतः तस्मिन् सरसि संस्थितम् ।
दशावतारकं नाम.....पप्रणाशनम् ॥५८॥"

The *ten* images of the *ten* incarnations of god were established at the दशावतार तीर्थ by Siddharāja himself. These ten images are of the ten *avatāras* viz:—

(१) मत्स्य (२) कूर्म (३) वराह (४) नरसिंह (५) वामन (६) भार्गवो रामः (७) दाशरथिराम (८) कृष्ण (९) बुद्ध and (१०) कल्कि (verses 61 and 62).

Another *tirtha* called the दशाश्वमेधिक तीर्थ is situated in front of the image of वामनावतारः—

"वामनस्याग्रतस्तत्र कुरुक्षेत्रं सदास्थितम् ।
.....त्याः सहाया तं कथितं ते महानघ ॥७६॥
दशाश्वमेधिकं तीर्थं तस्यैव पुरतः स्थितम् ।
.....नामश्वमेधानां यत्र ख्यातः फलं लभेत् ॥८०॥"

Sumati now asks Mārkaṇḍeya to explain to him the genesis of the 1000 Śiva liṅgas which is then explained in a mythical style as follows:

"बाणेन यानि लिङ्गानि विमुक्तानि नदीजले ।
तेषां सहस्रमुद्धृत्य सिद्धराजः समानयत् ॥८३॥
स्थापितं सिद्धराजेन तस्मिन् पुण्यसरोवरे ।
सहस्रं बाणलिङ्गानां युगपद्भक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥८४॥

The purificatory powers of a single *Śiva liṅga* have been mentioned by god Śiva himself, in the शिवशास्त्र. What can be the power of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas*?:—

"एतत्तु शिवशास्त्रेषु शिवेन कथितं स्वयम् ।
सहस्रं दृश्यते यत्र किं वर्ण्यते मया । ८६॥"

Siddharāja practised penance on a mountain called the अमरकंटक and then took his bath in the waters of the river

and not of Rudreśvara and this fact is consistent with the दशावतारक तीर्थ in front of the god Keśava in the same lake containing the images of the 10 incarnations of god Viṣṇu as described in detail by the *Sarasvatipurāṇa* (verses 61-62 of chap. xvi).

Narmadā (v. 90). God *Oṁkār* was pleased at this and granted Siddharāja a boon, promising that he would thenceforward reside permanently on the embankment of the Sahasraliṅga Lake:—

"त्वया सहस्रलिङ्गानां स्थापितं तत्सरस्तटे ।
तत्र वत्स्याम्यहं नित्यं भक्त्या ते प्रीतिमानसः ॥९२॥"

Then follows a long फलश्रुति dealing with the effects of religious rites performed at the Sahasraliṅga tīrtha, followed by the following praśasti of king Siddharāja and his Lake:—

"न सिद्धेशसमो राजा न सरस्तादृशं क्वचित् ।
समं सहस्रलिङ्गेन तीर्थमन्यत (न) दृश्यते ॥१२०॥
तत्रागाराणि तेनैव स्थापितानि सरस्तटे ।
ब्राह्मणानां यतीनां च तृप्त्यर्थं च तपस्विनां ॥१२१॥
सर्वकाममयूद्दानि शोभन्ते तानि सुव्रतः ।
ब्रह्मविष्ण्वीश देवानां लोके स्त्रिय इव स्थितः ॥१२२॥
उन्मता चैव निम्ना च कीर्तिस्तेन प्रकाशिता ।
सिद्धराजेन तत्रैव स्थिता सा व्याप्य रोदसी ॥१२३॥
सिद्धराजसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ।
सहस्रं येन लिङ्गानां युगपत्स्थापितं स्वयं ॥१३४॥"

Chapter XVI from which the above information has been extracted is designated सिद्धराजमाहात्म्यवर्णन and it ends with the following verses:—

Folio 121b "इदं तु यः सिद्धनृपस्य जन्म
शृणोति भक्त्या पुरुषोत्तमस्य ।
प्राप्नोति कामान्सकलानिहैव
प्रयाति विष्णोः परमं पदं सः ॥२६८॥
ये सिद्धराजस्य चरित्रमेतत्
पठन्ति शृण्वन्ति च सुस्तवन्ति ।
ते सिद्धकामाः सुखिनो मनुष्याः
प्रभुकृपायाश्च सदा भवन्ति ॥२६९॥"

I shall now record the description[5] of the *Sahasraliṅga Talāv* the construction of which has been ascribed to king Jayasiṁha Siddha-

5 Burgess and Cousens: 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat' (*Arch. Survey of Western India*, vol. IX), London, 1903, pp. 38-39.

rāja[6] of Gujarat (A.D. 1093-1143). Various artificial lakes or reservoirs in Gujarat are ascribed to Siddharāja. "One of the largest of these was the Sahasraliṅga talāv, or tank of the thousand Śaiva shrines at *Pattan* the remains of which are still pointed out to the north-west of the town. It must have been a reservoir of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous little temples containing *liṅgas,* placed on the steps around it. In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist." "The basin of the lake is now converted into little fields. The great embankment surrounding it appears to be composed throughout of solid brick-work and this was once faced with solid masonry forming flights of steps to the water's edge. On and above these steps stood the thousand shrines of which fragmentary remains are still found buried in the debris of the embankment." "This tank is said to have been begun by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja shortly before he set out against Yaśovarman, the sovereign of Mālava and is the theme of legend and song."

A historical incident associated with this tank is the stabbing of Bairām Khān, the famous minister of Humayun, when alighting from a boat after a sail on the tank on *Friday the 31st January 1561.* Bairām Khān rebelled against Akbar and was sent to Makka. He came to Patan and was hospitably received by Musā Khān Fûladi the

6 Vide pp. 973-977 of *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, vol. II (1936)—Jayasiṁha was a great builder. Besides the Sahasraliṅga Talāv the temple of Rudramahākala at Siddhapur is also ascribed to him. (The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* contains a description of this temple and some genealogy of Siddharaja but I shall deal with this material in a separate paper). Jayasiṁha appears to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. The era known as the Siṁha era was already in use in Jayasiṁha's reign (Vide *Atru* Stone Inscription dated in the year 14 of this era as also Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32 year of this era). One sorrow viz. the want of a son gnawed at his heart. Dr. Ray (p. 975) gives a table showing the relationship of Kumārapāla with his predecessor Jayasiṁha.

Governor, but was stabbed by Mubarik as described above. Burgess further remarks that during the 14th century all the rich shrines of the Hindus (Brahmanical or Jain) were desecrated, plundered and demolished at the will or caprice of the Moguls. If this statement is applicable to the Sahasraliṅga Talāv we may presume that the shrines on the embankment of this talāv may have been destroyed in the 14th century. I am of opinion that the Sarasvaṭipurāṇa was composed at a time when the tīrthas associated with the river Sarasvatī had attained so sacrosanct a character as to necessitate the creation of a special purāṇa like the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*.[7] It would also be reasonable to suppose that when this purāṇa was composed all the tīrthas on the banks of the river Sarasvati were quite in a flourishing condition, free from the ravaging hands of the Moguls.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*[8] records the following information about the Sahasraliṅga Talāv: —

"The Sehesling or Sahasraling Talāv, the tank with the thousand shrines, was dedicated to Shiv by Sidh Raj just before he set out on his expedition against Yaśovarman, king of Málava. A merchant left nine lakhs of Balotras with a certain banker and died. The heirs of the latter knew nothing of the sum and refused to take it. Jai Sing Sidh Raj decided that the money should be spent in building a reservoir, and it was done, "the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, and it remains to this day (A.D. 1200-1230)."

I believe the foregoing description of the *Sahasraliṅga* tank if compared with that given in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* leaves no doubt that the *Siddharāja Saras* described in the latter work is exactly identical

7 Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha informs us (in chapter xv, verse 118 of the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*) that *Siddharāja* Jayasiṁha caused to be made the Sahasraliṅga tank and established also schools for learning *Jyotiṣa-śāstras*, *Nyāya-śāstras*, and the *Purāṇas*. Perhaps the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* may have been the outcome of the study of Purāṇas instituted by Jayasiṁha.

8 *Bombay Gaz.* vol. VII (Baroda) p. 600.

with that now known to history and archaeology. It appears, however, that though the tank was called a *Sahasraliṅga-saras* the actual number of Śaiva shrines on the bank of this lake was *one thousand and eight* as stated by Hemacandra शंभोःसहस्रमष्टोचायतनानि सरस्तटे ।[9]

The testimony of Hemcandra being contemporary must be taken as conclusive on the question of the exact number of the Śaiva shrines on the bank of the Siddharāja lake.[10]

P. K. Gode

9 Vide *B.S.S.*, LXIX (*Dvyasraya Kāvya*), canto XV, v. 117.

10 I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Ambalal B. Jani (Assistant Secretary, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay) at whose request I began my study of the historical material in the *Sarasvatipurāṇa* in April 1937. Mr. Jani was also kind enough to keep the contents of this paper in May 1937 at the disposal of the scholar entrusted with the work of editing the *Sarasvatipurāṇa*. I am not aware to what extent these contents have been useful to the above editor in the preparation of his proposed edition of the work. I await with eagerness this edition of the *Sarasvatipurāṇa* for which I have supplied to the Forbes Gujarati Sabha a copy of the B.O.R. Institute MS. No. 429 of Viś. I (from the Vishrambag Collection of the Peshwas in the Govt. MSS. Library).

Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela

(Revised Edition)

[The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, as is well-known, is the main old Brāhmī inscription in an open cave on the Udayagiri hill which is situated three miles due west of the Bhubaneswar temple. The record which was first noticed by Sterling is engraved "on the overhanging brow of a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art." It is, as observed by Indraji, "in seventeen lines occupying a space about eighty-four feet square." "The face of the rock does not appear to have been well smooth for the work, but the letters are large and deeply carved. Time and weather have wrought ravages. The first six lines are well preserved. The last four, partly so. The greater part of the intervening space has been much spoilt, portions of it being entirely weather-beaten, while in other portions single letter or groups of letters can still be made out. The left corner of the inscription, in especial, has been greatly injured, and the initial letters of eight lines in that direction are entirely lost."

K. P. Jayaswal, who together with R. D. Banerji made the decipherment and interpretation of this historical record his life-work and greatly succeeded in achieving it, remarked to the same end, as early as 1917: "The rock was roughly dressed on the right-hand side. The chisel marks of the dressing are misleading; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters.....even hornets like to take the liberty with the record of the emperor Khāravela with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it.

.....The inscription is weather-beaten. The first four lines have about 13 syllables obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (l. 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (l. 7) have disappeared. From the 8th up to the 15th lines, every line has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and 17th lines are comparatively well preserved except for the loss of about 12 initial syllables. There are visible signs of a progressive decay."

Its chief value as an historical record lies in the fact that up till now there is no other record which can vie with it in antiquity as an epigraph in the ancient kingdom of Kaliṅga set up by its own independent king. Even in respect of antiquity, it stands next to none but the two sets of rock inscriptions left by Aśoka who conquered Kaliṅga in the third century B.C. and annexed it to his empire as an eastern province ruled by a viceroy. The forms of its letters suggest a stage of development of the Brāhmī alphabet, which is almost on a par with that represented by the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā, widow of the Andhra king Śātakarṇi I (R. D. Banerji's *Mem. ASB.*, vol. XI, No. 3, on "The palaeography of the Hāthigumphā and the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions"). But in the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, from the palaeographic point of view, the Hāthigumphā inscription deserves to be placed not only after the Besnagar Garuḍa inscription of the year XII after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, and the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā, but after the Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti; it deserves at the same time to be placed before the Sañcī gateway inscriptions. Even the Bodhgayā railing inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Nāgadevī appear to have been somewhat earlier as regards their alphabet than the Hāthigumphā inscription. So far as its language goes, the Hāthigumphā inscription is the only Indian inscription, the diction of which is not only Pāli but the sonorous and rhythmical Pāli of the Milindapañha, an extra-canonical Buddhist work which cannot be dated earlier than the 1st century

A.D. The importance of the epigraph lies also in the fact that as a rāja-praśasti in Prakrit, it is, perhaps, posterior to no other inscription than the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā. As for the bibliography, the reader may be referred to my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves,* published by the Calcutta University, 1929, pp. 4-5. Here I am to refer only to two subsequent publications, viz., R. D. Banerji's Monograph—'The Palaeography of the Hāthigumphā and the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions,' *Mem., ASB.,* vol. XII, No. 3, and a finally revised edition of the Hāthigumphā inscription by K. P. Jayaswal, *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. XX.]

TEXT

[*The asterisk prefixed to a footnote indicates that the correctness of the reading suggested may be tested here by the facsimiles reproduced in the accompanying plates.*]

||| Namo araha(ṃ)tānaṃ [.] Namo savasidhānaṁ |||[1]



1. Airena mahārājena Māhāmeghavāhanena[2] Ceti-rājava [ṃ] sa[3] -vadhanena[4] pasatha -subhalakha-ṇena[5] caturaṃta-luṭhana[6] -guṇa-upetena[7] Kaliṃ-

1 Cf. Jaina formula of *ṇamokkāra* or *ṇokāra:*

Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ, ṇamo sidhāṇaṃ|
Ṇamo āyariyāṇaṃ, ṇamo uvajhāyāṇaṃ|
Ṇamo lo-e savva sāhūṇaṃ||

Buddhist formula of *vandanā* in the Peṭakopadesa:

Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ paramatthadassinaṃ
sīlâdiguṇa-pâramippattānaṃ||

*2 Cf. Inscription of Kūdepa. *IHQ.,* vol. XIV, p. 160.

*3 The choice lies between *Ceti°* and *Ceta°*.

4 Cf. Pāli *Sakyānaṃ nandi-vaḍḍhano* as a word of praise for the Buddha, *Nandi-vaḍḍhano* being the same in meaning as *harṣa-varddhanaḥ.*

5 *pasaṭha*=Pāli *pasattha,* cf. *aṭṭha-satā pasatthā* Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta; Jayaswal, *°lakhanena.*

*6 Jayaswal, *luṭhita.* But the *i*-stroke over the letter *ṭh* is absent, and the third letter, as made out by Prinsep, Cunningham, and also by Jayaswal before is *na.*

*7 Jayaswal, *guṇopahitena.* I must accept Chanda's *guṇa-upetena* for the reason



gâdhi-patinā siri-Khāravelena[8] |l.1| paṃdarasa[9] -vasāni siri-kaḍāra[10] -sarīravatā kīḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā [.] Tato lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra[11] -vidhi-visāradena savavijâvadātena nava-vasāni yovaraja(ṃ) va sāsitaṃ[12] [.] Sa(ṃ)puṇa-catuvīsati-vaso tadāni[13] vadha(māna)-(sesa)yovanâbhivijayo[14] tatiye |l.2| Kaliṃga-rājavaṃse purisa-yuge[15] mahārājâbhisecanaṃ[16] pāpunāti [.][17]

that the second letter is distinctly *na*, and not *ṇo*. For the whole phrase, cf. Pali *Caturanta-vijitāvi*.

8 The name of Khāravela was correctly made out for the first time by Indraji.

9 The typical Oṛiyā word for fifteen is *pandara*.

10 Pāli *kaḷāra*, cf. *Kaḷāra-Janaka*, *Kaḷāra-maṭṭuka*; Skt. *Kaḍāra-Jaminī*. Cf. also Prakrit *Siri-kaṭāra*.

11 Pāli-*vohāra*.

*12 Jayaswal, *pasāsitaṃ*, which, too, may stand as a correct reading.

13 I now accept Jayaswal's *tadāni* in preference to my *so dāni*.

*14 Jayaswal, *vadhamānasesayo Venâbhijayo*. According to this reading, *vadhamāna-sesayo=varddhamānaḥ āśaiśavaḥ*, and *Venâbhivijayo* means a conqueror like Veṇa, a Vedic personality. In accepting this reading, my first objection is due to the uncertainty of the *ā*-stroke over the fourth letter *n*. Secondly, nowhere in the language of the *Hāthigumphā* inscription *y* is substituted for *v*; and thirdly, the letter after *yo* may not only be read as *ve* but also as *vo*. The reading *vadhamāna-sesayovanâbhiyayo* must be preferred as referring to Khāravela's career after his 24th year; while, according to Jayaswal's reading, Khāravela proved to be a conqueror like the Vedic mythical hero Veṇa from his very boyhood, which he did not.

15 For *purisa-yuga*, cf. *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 75, *Samanta-pāsādikā*, vol. I, p. 190; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, I, p. 1.

16 Jayaswal, māhā°.

17 For the whole statement, cf. *Makhādeva-Jātaka*, (Fausböll, No. 9): *Atīte Videha-raṭṭhe Mithilāyaṃ Makhādevo nāma rājā ahosi dhammiko dhammarājā. So caturasīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīḷaṃ tathā oparajjaṃ tathā mahārajjaṃ katvā.* Cf. also *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 76.

Also verses quoted by Hoernle from the Jaina Vikramaprabandha, *IA.*, vol. XXI, p. 67:

Sattari cadusata-jutto tiṇa-kāle Vikkamo havai jammo|
aṭha-varasa vāla-līlā soḍasa-vase hi bhammie dese||
Rasapaṇa-vasa rajjaṃ kuṇanti micchāvādena saṃjutto|

2. Abhisitamato ca padhame vase vāta-vihata-gopurapākāra-nivesanaṃ paṭisaṃkhārayati Kaliṃganagari -Khi(b)īra(ṃ)[19] [,] sitala[19]-taḍāga-pāḍiyo ca baṃdhāpayati [,] savûyāna-paṭisaṃṭhapanaṃ ca [l.3] kārayati panatīsāhi sata-sahasehi[20] [,] pakatiyo ca raṃjayati [.]



3. Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakaṇiṃ[21] pachimadisaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ pathāpayati[22] [,] Kanhabeṃnaṃgatāya[23] ca senāya vitāsiti[24] Asika-nagaraṃ[25] [.]

4. Tatiye puna vase [l.4] Gaṃdhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṃdasanāhi[26] usava-samājakārāpanāhi kiḍāpayati nagari(ṃ) [.]

*18 I regret my previous reading *gabhira*, for the first letter is definitely *khi*, the *u*-stroke in *pu* of *saṃpuṇa* in l. 2 and the *i*-stroke in *khi* of *khibira* in l.3 being joined together by rain-water trickling down. The second letter may also be read as *bhi*. Jayaswal reads *Khibhīra*, taking it to be the name of a *ṛṣi* after whom the tank was called *Khibira-isitāla-taḍāga*. I cannot but think that *Khibīra* represents the name of the then capital of Kaliṅga. The scribe allows a space between *Khibīra* and *sitala*, as he has systematically done in l. 3 for separating two distinct words or expressions. One may be tempted also to read *Khipira*.

*19 Jayaswal, *isitāla*, which must be discarded for a twofold reason: (1) that the letter *i* at the beginning of the word is highly doubtful, and (2) that the fancied *ā*-stroke over the letter *ta* is uncertain.

20 I have fully stated my reasons for connecting this expression with the preceding statement, and not with *pakatiyo ca raṇjayati*. See my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 41, f.n. 6.

21 Jayaswal, °*kaṃṇiṃ*.

22 This has determined the usual Oṛiyā phrase, *daṃḍa paṭhāyochi*, "I have caused the army to march."

*23 Jayaswal, *Kañhabeṃnāgatāya*.

24 Jayaswal, *vitāsitaṃ*.

*25 Jayaswal, *Musika*. It will be seen that the right vertical stroke and the intervening space between the two arms fulfil all the requirements of the letter *a*. But *Asika* may be just a variant of the name *Musika*. Cf. Pāli *Aḷaka* as a variant of *Muḷaka*, *Suttanipāta*, Bk. V, *Aḷakassa sainasame*.

26 Jayaswal, *saṃḍaṃsanāhi*.

5. Tathā cavuthe vase Vijādharâdhivāsaṃ ahata-puvaṃ[27] Kaliṃga-puvarājan(ivesitaṃ)[28] vitadha-makuṭe[29] ????? te[30] nikhita-chata -|l.5| bhiṃgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake pāde vaṃdāpayati [.]
6. Paṃcame cêdāni[31] vase Naṃdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā panāḍi|ṃ| nagaraṃ pavesa(yati) so.....[32] [.]
7. Abhisito[33] ?.....[34] rājaseyaṃ[35] saṃdaṃsayaṃto[36] sava-kara-vaṇa-[37] |l.6| anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati pora-jānapadaṃ[38] [.]
8. Satame ca vase (a)sasata[39] -vajiraghara[40] -khatiya-[41]

*27 I have to abandon the reading *āhata-puvaṃ*.

28 Indraji, *-namaṃsitaṃ;* Jayaswal, *-nivesitaṃ*.

*29 Jayaswal, *vitadha-makuṭa*, correcting his previous reading *vitadha-makuṭe*.

*30 Jayaswal. (*sa*) *bilaṃḍhite*, which is highly problematic. The first letter looks indeed like a *sa*. One may be tempted to read the second letter as *bi*, but none may be certain about it. The third letter, as made out by Indraji, is *pu;* or, it may even be *pra*, but certainly not *la*. The last three letters should better be read as either *vajite* or *vaḍhite*, but not as *ṃḍhite*. Is the intended word *sabıpravajite*, which is=Skt. *sadvıpravarjitān*.

31 Jayaswal, *ca dāni*.

*32 Jayaswal would take the record of the 6th year to begin with so.....; I think, here is an expression denoting the amount which had to be spent on the work mentioned in the record of the 5th year.

33 Jayaswal makes out the beginning of the 6th year record to be: *So..... bhisito*.

34 The gap may, perhaps, be supplied by the expression *ca chaṭhe vase*.

*35 I accept Indraji's reading, rejecting Jayaswal's *rajasuyaṃ*, the former being precisely what is intended by the scribe.

36 Indraji, *saṃḍaṃsanato*, Cunningham, *saṃdasaṃto*.

37 Jayaswal, *°uaṇaṃ*.

38 Jayaswal *poraṃ jānapadaṃ*.

*39 Prinsep and others, *pasāsato*, which is neither unlikely nor inappropriate. Jayaswal, *satamaṃ ca vasaṃ pasāsato*.

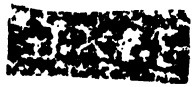
*40 I accept Jayaswal's reading in the absence of anything better I myself can suggest.

*41 See foot-note 42.

Pl. I.



l. 1; f.n.2



l. 1; f.n. 3



l. 1; f.n. 6, 7



l. 2; f.n. 12



l. 2; f.n. 14



l. 3; f.n. 18



l. 3; f.n. 19

From IBORS., 1927 and *Mem. ASB.*, Vol. XII, No. 3.

IHQ., September, 1938.

Pl. II.



l. 4; f.n. 23



l. 4; f.n. 25



l. 5; f.n. 27



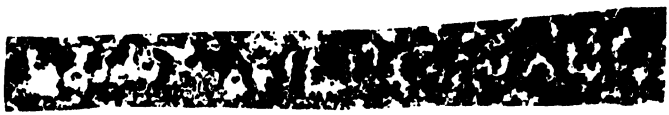
l. 5; f.n. 29, 30



l. 6; f.n. 32



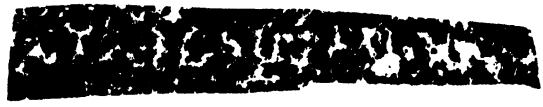
l. 6; f.n. 35



l. 7; f.n. 39-42

From JBORS, 1927

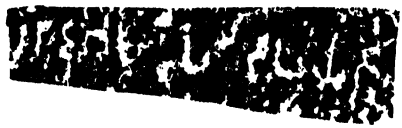
Pl. III.



l. 7; f.n. 43-45



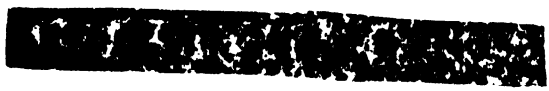
l. 7; f.n. 47



l. 8; f.n. 48



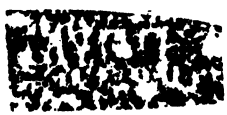
l. 8; f.n. 50-52



l. 8; f.n. 55



l. 8; f.n. 57



l. 8, 8a; f.n. 58, 59

Pl. IV.



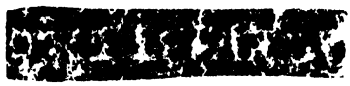
l. 9; f.n. 62



l. 9; f.n. 62



l. 9; f.n. 63



l. 9; f.n. 65



l. 9; f.n. 66



l. 9; f.n. 67

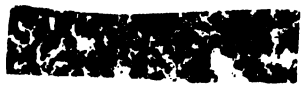


l. 10; f.n. 68-70



l. 10; f.n. 71

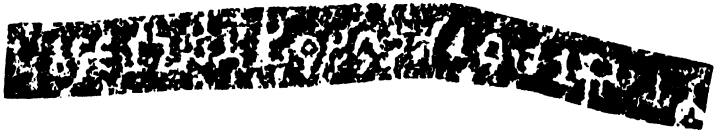
From IBORS., 1927



l. 10; f.n. 72



l. 10; f.n. 73



l. 11, f.n. 81 82



l. 11; f.n. 84



l. 11; f.n. 85



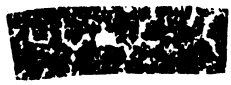
l. 11; f.n. 86-88



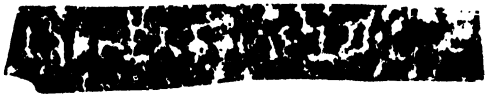
l. 12; f.n. 90

From JBORS., 1927

Pl. VI.



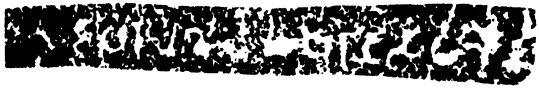
l. 12; f.n. 90a



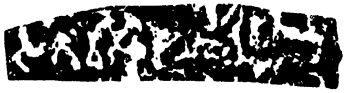
l. 12; f.n. 91 92



l. 12; f.n. 93, 94



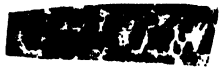
l. 13; f.n. 96-98



l. 12; f.n. 99



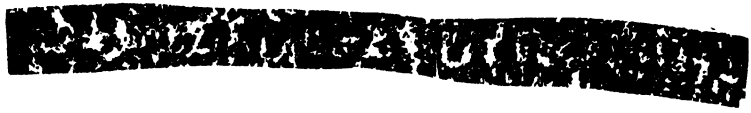
l. 12; f.n. 100



l. 13; f.n. 101

From JBORS., 1927

Pl. VII.



l. 13; f.n. 102, 103



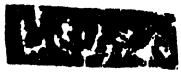
l. 14; f.n. 108, 109



l. 14; f.n. 110



l. 14; f.n. 111-113



l. 14; f.n. 114



l. 14; f.n. 115-117



l. 15; f.n. 122-125

Pl. VIII.



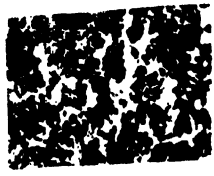
l. 15; f.n. 127-128



l. 15; f.n. 129, 130



l. 16; f.n. 132



l. 16; f.n. 136



l. 16; f.n. 136-141



l. 17; f.n. 149

From JBORS., 1927 and *Mem. ASB.*, Vol. XII, No. 3.

IHQ., September, 1938.

-sata-ghaṭani[42] Samataka[43] -padaṣaṃna[44] saṃti-pada[45] ??.....[.][46]

9. Aṭhame ca vase mahatā senāya (apati)hata- (bh)-iti[47] -Goradhagiriṃ [l.7] ghātāpayitā Rāja-gaha(ṃ) upapīḍapayati[48] [,] etinaṃ[49] ca kaṃma-padāna-panādena[50] pabaṃta[51] -senavāhane[52] vipa-mucituṃ[53] Madhuraṃ apayāto[54] Yavana-rājā ?mi??sa?[55] (ā)mo, dati[56] ???.....Sava(ra-rā) jāna[57] ca.....ga(ch..)ti[58] [l.8] palavabhāra-[59]

*42 Jayaswal, *-vati-gsusita-gharini,* which is far from correct. I think, my reading *sata-ghaṭani* is free from doubt.

*43 Jayaswal, *samatuka.*

*44 Jayaswal, *padapuṃṇa.* *dasaṃna, obviously scribe's mistake for *dasaṃna.*

*45 Jayaswal, ...(*ku*)*ma.* Prinsep and Cunningham, *savata-kahadapana narapa.* One might be tempted even to read: *savitaka-padajhāna-sammtipada* (?)

46 Both the reading and purpose of the record of the 7th year are problematical. The above text may just make some sense out of a nonsense.

*47 Jayaswal, *mahata-bhiti.* The first letter rather looks like *a.*

*48 Prinsep, *Rājagabhaṃ upapiḍapayati;* Cunningham, *Rājagaṃbhu upapiḍa-payati;* Indraji, *Rājagaha-napaṃ piḍāpayati;* Sten Konow has no objection to the the reading *napa.*

49 Jayaswal, *etinā,* which, too, is a likely reading.

*50 Jayaswal, *saṃnādena.*

*51 Jayaswal *saṃbita.* Prinsep reads *paṃbāta.*

*52 Jayaswal *senavāhano,* which will deprive the transitive verb *vipamucitum* of its object. He finally reads *vāhane.*

53 Jayaswal, *vipamuṃcitu.*

54 Cf. Nasik Cave inscription, No. 10 (*El.*, vol. VIII):

Bhaṭāraka aṃñatiyā ca gatosmiṃ varṣa-ratuṃ
Mālayehi rudhaṃ Utamabhādraṃ
mocayituṃ ca Mālayā pranāden'eva apayātā.

*55 Tentatively read *Ḍimita* by Dr. Sten Konow. To read *Ḍimita* or *Dimita* with Jayaswal will be to go too far. But the reading *Yavana-rājā* is certain.

56 The reading is pretty certain.

*57 The reading suggested is doubtful.

*58 Jayaswal, *yacati.*

*59 Jayaswal, *palava*.....

[l.8a] Kaparukha[60] -haya-gaja-radha-saha yaṃt [i][61] [,] sava-gharaṛâvāsa-pa ????ya[62] savagaha-naṃ ca kārayituṃ[63] bramhaṇānaṃ[64] ja(y)a-[65] parihāra[ṃ] dadāti , Arahata-.....[66] [.]

10. vasuvijaya-[67] [l.9] te ubhaya[68]-Praci-taṭe[69] (rāja-) nivāsaṃ[70] Mahāvijaya[71]-pāsādaṃ kārayati aṭhatisāya sata-sahasehi [.]

11. Dasame ca vase daḍa-ni?dhīta (bhisa)mayo[72] Bharadhavasa-pa?naṃ[73] ? hi--?yanaṃ[74][75] kārāpayati[76] [.]

60 Jayaswal, *kaparukhe,*

61 Jayaswal, *sahayaṃte;* Indraji, *saha-yata.*

*62 Prinsep, *gharavasapa;* Cunningham *gharavasaya-anatikagavaya;* Indraji, *gharavasadham;* Jayaswal, *gaharâvāsa-parivesane aginaṭhiyā.* Nothing can be definitely made out.

*63 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*64 Correctly read by Indraji. Jayaswal, *baṃhaṇānaṃ.* The first letter is not only *ba* but *bra.*

*65 Prinsep, *jata;* Jayaswal, *jātiṃ parihāraṃ.* The first letter is indeed a *ja;* the second letter is uncertain. *Jāta-parihāraṃ* or *jāti-parihāraṃ* conveys a definite sense, cf. Pāli *gabbha-parihāraṃ.* But I would like to read *jaya-parihāraṃ.* Cf. *Papañca-sūdanī,* pt. III, *so 'pi ya pubba-rājūhi brāhmaṇānaṃ dinna-parihāro taṃ ahāpetvā pakati-niyāmen'eva akāsi, tathā gahapatikānaṃ.*

*66 Jayaswal, *Arahata (va?).....*

*67 The beginning of the record of the 9th year cannot be traced. The last four letters of l. 9 may be read as *suvijaya.* Jayaswal reads *(gi)ya(to).*

*68 The first letter appears to be *te;* the second letter, *u;* the third, *bha;* and the fourth *ya, ha,* or *gha.* May they not be read as *te ubhaya?* Jayaswal finally reads *'.i. mānāti.*

*69 The choice lies between *Praci-taṭe* and *Puti-taṭe,* or between *Puti-taṭe* and *Puri-taṭe.*

*70 Jayaswal, *-saṃnivāsaṃ.*

*71 Jayaswal, *Mahāvijayaṃ.*

*72 Cunningham, *datibhisara.....;* Jayaswal, *daṃḍa-saṃdhisāmamayo,* correcting his previous readings *daṃḍasa-nadasa, mahadhita'bhisamayo.*

*73 Cunningham, *pa.....na;* Indraji, *paṭhānaṃ;* Jayaswal, *paṭhānaṃ.*

74 Cunningham, *mahayana;* Jayaswal, *mahī-jayanaṃ.*

75 Nothing can be definitely made out.

76 The concluding words of the record of the 10th year cannot be traced.

12.[77] ?????? tānaṃ[78] mani-ratanāni-saha yāti[79] [l. 10] —??[80] puvarāja[81]-nivesitaṃ Pithuḍagadabha Nagale nekāsayati[82] [,] janapada-bhāvanaṃ[83] ca terasa-vasa-sata-kataṃ bhidati[84] tamiradaha[85] -saṃghātaṃ [.]

13. Bārasame ca vase ?S(i)?kā(naṃ)[86] sa(ha)-sehi[87] vitāsayaṃto[88] Utarāpadha-rājāno [l. 11] ——Māgadhānaṃ[89] ca vipula(ṃ) bhayaṃ janeto hathasaṃ Gaṃgāya[90] pāyayati [,] Mā(gadhaṃ) ca rājānaṃ Baha(sa)timita(ṃ)[90a] pāde va(ṃ)dāpa(ya)-

77 The beginning of the record of the 11th year cannot be traced.

78 Jayaswal, *niritiya-uyātānaṃ*, the propriety of which is not intelligible to me. He finally reads.....*p(ā)yātānaṃ*.

79 Jayaswal, °*upalabhate*. 80 Jayaswal, *maṃdaṃ ca*.

*81 Jayaswal, *Avarāja*, which must be discarded for the reason that the first letter is by no means *a*. it is *pu*.

*82 Jayaswal, *Pithuṃḍaṃ gadabha-naṃgalena kāsayati*. But it will be seen that the letter is not *na* but *ne*, and that the scribe connects it with *kāsayati*. The propriety of Jayaswal's reading depends upon the correctness of his reading *Avarāja*. If one fails, the other fails. There is no reason why *Khāravela* should plough *Pithuḍa* with an ass-plough, if it was founded by a former king of Kaliṅga.

83 Jayaswal, *janasa dabhāvanaṃ*, but he suggests that the intended reading is *janapada-bhāvanaṃ*.

*84 Sten Konow, *terasa-vasasata-kata bh(i)dati;* Jayaswal, *terasa-vasasatikaṃ ābhiṃdati*, which is rather fantastic.

*85 Indraji, *tamara-dehasaṃghātaṃ*, Jayaswal, *Tramira-deśa-saṃghātaṃ*. The choice really lies between *-daha-* and *-deha-*.

*86 Jayaswal, *-hasa-ke*. The intended word appears to be *Sivakānaṃ*.

*87 Jayaswal, *sahasehi* *88 Or, *vitāsayato*. 89 Jayaswal, *Magadhānaṃ*.

*90 Jayaswal, *hathi Sugaṃgiya(ṃ)*, abandoning his previous reading *hathisu Gaṃgāya, hathisu Gaṃgiya*. The Maurya palace is called *Sugāṅga* in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, a Sanskrit drama of the 4th or of 6th century A.D. Jayaswal has evidently tended to suggest a reading which will bear out the name of the palace as given by Viśākhadatta. Had the name of the palace been intended, the word would have been either *Sugange* or *Sugaṅgapāsāde*, and not *Gaṃgāya[ṃ]*, the locative sing. form of the feminine stem, *Gaṃgā*. Moreover, the *i*-stroke is absent, the word is *hathasaṃ*, a Sandhi of *hathi* and *asa*. It is important to note that Prinsep read *hathasaṃ gaṃgasa*, and Cunningham, *hathasaṃ Gaṃgāya*

*90a Correctly read by Jayaswal.

ti [,] Nadarāja-jita[91] -Kaliṃga-jana-saṃ(n)i(ve)-saṃ[92].....?(sasa)ti [,] kitava-naya-nipu(n)chi[93] Aga-Magadha-vasuṃ nayati[94][l.12] ———tu[ṃ][95] ja(ṭha)ra-lakhila-[96] [go]purāni[97] siharāni[98] nivesayati [,] sata-visikāna[ṃ][99] parihārena[100] abhutamachariya(ṃ) ca hathi-nāva-(taṃ)[101] pariharati [,] tinha[102] haya-hathi-ratana-māniko[103] Paṃḍa-rājā (ābharaṇāni)[104] mutā-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sata-sa..... ...[105] [l.13] ———sino vasī karoti [.]

14. Terasame ca vase supavata-vijaya-cake[106] Kumārī-pavate arahate[107] pakhiṇa-saṃsitehi[108] kayya-[109] -nisīdiyāya yāpujavakehi[110] rāja-bhitini[111] cina-vatāni[112] vasâsitāni[113] pūjāya-rata[114] -uvāsa(ga)-

*91 Jayaswal, *Naṃdarājanitaṃ.*

*92 Jayaswal, *-jinaṃ saṃnivesa.* The *i*-stroke over *ja* is apparitional, it having no organic connection with it.

*93 Jayaswal, *gaha-ratanānaṃ parihārehi; Indraji, gaha-ratana-parihārehi.*

*94 Jayaswal, *neyāti.* 95 Jayaswal, *kātuṃ.* *96 Jayaswal, *-likhila.*

*97 Jayaswal, (*jaṭhara-likhila*) *-barāni,* which is meaningless.

*98 Jayaswal, *siharāni.* *99 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*100 Jayaswal, *parihārehi.*

*101 Prinsep, *hathi-navuna;* Cunningham, *hathi-navena;* Jayaswal, *hathi-nivāsa,* correcting his previous reading *hathi-nāvana.*

*102 Jayaswal, *denha.* * 103 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

104 *Jayaswal, cedāni anekāni.*

105 The intended word seems to be *sahasāni.* 106 Jayaswal, °*caka-.*

107 Read *arahatehi.*

*108 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*109 Or *kaya.* Generally read *kāya. kayya* or *kaya* is = *kalya,* or Pāli *kalla.*

*110 The choice lies here between *yāpujavakehi* and *yāpuravakehi.*

Prinsep, *yāpuhavakehi;* Cunningham, *yāpujakehi;* Jayaswal, *yāpa-ñāvakehi,* correcting his previous reading *yāpujavakehi.*

*111 Obviously a mistake for *rāja-bhitinam.*

*112 Obviously a mistake for *cita-vatānaṃ,* Pāli, *ciṇṇa-vatānaṃ.*

*113 Obviously a mistake for *vasâsitānaṃ.* Jayaswal reads *vāsā-sitam.*

*114 Jayaswal, *pujânurata-*

(Khāra)vela-sirinā jīvadeha[115] -??kā[116] tā[117] [.][118] [l.14]

15. ———[119]? sakata[120] -samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ ca sata[121] -disānaṃ ñā?naṃ[122] (sama)pasi(naṃ)[123] (bhi)??[121] -saṃgh(i)yana(ṃ)[124] arahata-nisīdiya samīpe pabhāre[126] varâkara-samuthāpitāhī an(e)-ka-yojanâhitāhi pakva-sisehi[127] sata-(sahasā)hi[128] silāhi sipaja[129] -thabha-(ni)vadha-sayanâ(sa)-nāni[130] va———[131] paṭālake[132] catare[133] ca veḍu-riya-gabhe thabhe[134] patiṭhāpayati panatariya-[135] -(sata-sahasehi) |,| (ma) khiya[136]-kala[137]-vochine[138]

*115 Prinsep, *ji...deta*; Cunningham *jivimaka*.

*116 Jayaswal, *-sirikā*. I am for *sayikā*.

*117 Prinsep and Cunningham *rikhita;* Jayaswal, *parikhita*, abandoning his previous reading *rakhita*. Is it *panikhātā?*

118 The record of the 13th appears to have been closed here.

119 The beginning piece of l.16 is missing.

120 Jayaswal reads *sukatā*. 121 Definitely *sata*, and not *sava*.

*122 The choice lies between *ñāninaṃ* and *ñātānaṃ*, both of which are suggested by Jayaswal.

*123 Cunningham rightly noticed four letters after *ñā?naṃ*, which he reads as *simpusa*, while I propose to read *samapasi*. At first sight, they seem to yield the reading *tapasa*. Jayaswal makes out *tapasi-isinaṃ*.

*124 Left hitherto unnoticed. *125 Jayaswal, *saṃghayanaṃ*.

126 Jayaswal, *pābhāre*. *127 Or, *panatasisehi*.

*128 The reading seems to be certain.

*129 Prinsep, *sapapa;* Cunningham, *bhagapa;* Jayaswal, *simhapa*°.

*130 Prinsep, (*sapapatha*) *-dhara si dhasaya;* Jayaswal, (*Simhapatha*) *-rañi Simdhulāya*, which is quite fantastic.

131 The beginning piece of l.16 is lost.

*132 Prinsep, *paṭalake;* Cunningham and Indraji, *paṭālake;* Jayaswal, *paṭalako*.

133 Jayaswal, *caturo*. 134 Jayaswal, *thaṃbhe*. 135 Jayaswal, *pānatariya*.

*136 Prinsep *...riya;* Cunningham, *.....ya;* Indraji and Sten Konow, *Muriya*. It is after a prolonged examination of the first two letters in stone and in the facsimile that I came to detect that they are *ma* and *khi*, and not *mu* and *ri*.

*137 The word must be read as *kala*, and not as *kāla*. To read *kale* with Indraji and Fleet is to go far away from *kala*, correctly read by Cunningham.

*138 Jayaswal, *vochinaṃ*.

ca coyaṭha-aṃge[139] satikaṃ[140] turiyaṃ[141] upāda-(yati) [.]

16. Khema-rājā sa [,] vadha[142] -rājā sa [,] bhikhu-rājā sa [,] dhama-rājā pasaṃto sunaṃto anu-bhavaṃto kalāṇāni |1.16|—[143] guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsaṃḍa-pūjako[144] sava-devâyatana-sa(ṃ)kāra[145] -kārako apatihata-caka -vāhana[146]--balo caka-dharo[147] guta-cako pavata-cako rājisi-vaṃsa-kula[148] -vini(śr)ito[149] mahāvijayo rājā Khāravela-siri [.]



2. TRANSLATION

Obeisance to Arhats, the Exalted Ones, obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints.

By His Graceful Majesty Khāravela,[150] the great Aira[151] king, the Sovereign lord of Kaliṅga,[152] the scion of the Mahāmegha

*139 Prinsep, *ca coyatha agi;* Cunningham, *ca ceyaṭha age;* Indraji, *ca coyatha age;* Jayaswal, *ca coyaṭhi Aṃga-*. The stone does not show any *i*-stroke over *ṭha*.

*140 Prinsep and Cunningham, *satika;* Indraji, *satiku;* Sten Konow, *satikaṃ*.

*141 I cannot but accept Jayaswal's *turiyaṃ* as correct reading.

142 Jayaswal, *vaḍha*.

143 The beginning piece of l.17 is lost.

144 Cunningham, *pujako*.

145 Jayaswal, *saṃkhāra*.

146 Jayaswal, *caki-vāhini-*.

147 Jayaswal, *caka-dhara-*,

148 Jayaswal, *rājasi- Vasū-kula-*.

*149 Cunningham, *viṅigato*. R. D. Banerji confirms the correctness of Jayaswal's reading.

150 Cf. Pāli *Kālavela* as the name of a Yakkha in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, IX. 23; as the name of a place in Fausböll's *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 30. Cf. also Sanskrit *Karbela* as a personal name, Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dict., sub voce Karbela*.

151 Jayaswal treats it as a patronymic derived from *Ila*. But the usual patronymic from *Ila* is not *Aila;* it is *Aileya*. I am still inclined to think that it is the same word as the Pāli *ayira*, which is explained in the sense of *sāmi*. Cf. Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 300: *ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro. ayiro'ti sāmiko*. Jayaswal's first note on *aira* (*JBORS*., vol. III, pt. IV, p. 434) seems more to the point: "This word occurs in a Sātavāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Senart by 'noble' ".

152 In the inscription of his chief queen, Khāravela has been represented as *Kaliṅga-cakavatti*, "the overlord of Kaliṅga.".

family,[152] the increaser of the Ceti Royal House,[154] who is possessed

153 *Mahāmeghavāhana* is a patronymic derived from *Mahāmeghavāhana*, a dynastic name similar to *Sātavāhana*. The Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Kaliṅga including Khāravela were the contemporaries and powerful rivals of the Śātakarṇis of Andhra. The inscription itself refers to a Śātakarṇi who had his kingdom to the west of Kaliṅga. According to the *Purāṇas*, amongst the local dynasties which arose during the Andhra period, there was the dynasty of Kośala (*i.e.*, South Kośala) who were commonly known as the Meghas (obviously a shortening from Meghavāhana), who were very powerful and intelligent, and who were nine in number:

Kośalāyāṃ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ,
Meghā' iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu.

—Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

154 Whether one reads *Cetirāja* or *Cetarāja*, the meaning is the same. *Ceti=Cedi*, and *Ceta=Cetiya*, Skt. *Caidya*. In the Pāli *Vessantara-Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 547), Cetiyaraṭṭha denotes the same kingdom as Ceta-raṭṭha. Ṛṣi Brahmātithi of the family of Kāṇva sings the praises of king Kaśu, the Caidya, in a Vedic hymn addressed to the Aśvins (*RV.* VIII. 5). Here the Cedi-king Kaśu is represented as a powerful monarch who was capable of making a gift of *rājās* as slaves. His soldiers were dressed in cuirasses of leather. In the *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, the Kuru prince Vasu Uparicara is said to have conquered the beautiful and excellent kingdom of the Cedis on the advice of the god Indra whose staunch worshipper he was. His son Matsya by an *apsarā*, named Adrikā, founded the kingdom of Matsya. His other sons, Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, and the rest also founded kingdoms. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* repeats the tradition of the conquest of the Cedi kingdom by Vasu, the Paurava. According to another account, the Kuru prince Vasu conquered Cedi, originally a Yādava kingdom, and established himself there, whence he came to be known as Caidya—Uparicara. His capital was Śuktimatī (Sotthivatī, according to the Pāli *Cetiya-Jātaka*, Fausböll, vol. III, pp. 454-61) on the river Śuktimatī. His five sons were established in the five kingdoms of Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Karūṣa, and Matsya. According to the *Cetiya-Jātaka*, however, among his five sons, one who went to the east, founded Hatthipura (i.e., Hastināpura or Indraprastha); one who went to the south, founded Assapura (i.e., Aśvaka or Aśmaka on the Godāvarī); one who went to the west, founded Sihapura; one who went to the north, founded Uttara-Pañcāla; and one who went to the north-west, founded Daddarapura. The *Mahābhārata* introduces us also to the most powerful but wreckless Cedi king Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, who made an alliance with the great Jarāsandha of Magadha and made a common cause against the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas. After killing Śiśupāla, Kṛṣṇa installed his (Śiśupāla's) son Dhṛṣṭaketu in the sovereignty of the Cedis. Dhṛṣṭaketu fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. According to the *Agni-Purāṇa* (IV. 14), Śiśupāla was the son of Damaghoṣa by Śrutaśravā, sister of Vasudeva,—a Sātvata or Yādava princess. In the *Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparva (ch. 74), Sahaja of the Cedi dynasty is mentioned among the 18 kings who by their great strength, ruined their friends and relations. In the Aśvamedhaparva of the same epic (chs. 83-84), we have mention of Sarabha

of the noble and auspicious marks,[155] who is gifted with[156] the attri-

as a son of Śiśupāla, who was defeated and subdued by Arjuna. The same epic groups the Cedis, in one context, with the Pañcālas and the Kaikeyas; in another, with the Kāśis and the Karūṣas; in a third, with the Matsyas and the Karūṣas; in a fourth, with the Karūṣas and the Kośalas; and in a fifth, with the Pañcālas, the Karūṣas and the Matsyas. The Bhismaparva (ch. 6) describes the Śuktimati as one of the rivers in Bhāratavarṣa.

In the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, Ceti, the land where the Cetis founded their kingdom and settled, is mentioned as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas*. In the Pāli list, the Cetis as a people are grouped with the Vaṃsas or Vatsas. The Ceti kingdom with Sahajāti (modern Bhita) as its principal town is located to the east of Vatsa, the land of the Vatsas. According to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Ceta or Cetiya raṭṭha corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand. In the opinion of Rapson, Cedi occupied in the post-Vedic period the northern portion of the Central Provinces. With Pargiter Cedi lay along the south of Jumna. Rhys Davids inclines to think (*Buddhist India*, p. 26) that the Cetis, had two distinct settlements, one, properly the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal; the other probably a later colony, was near Kauśāmbi to the east.

The inscriptions of the Kalacuri or Haihaya dynasty of Cedi go to prove that the rulers of this dynasty assumed the title of "Lords of Kālañjarapura and of Tri-Kaliṅga, Kālañjara being the well-known hill-fort in Bundelkhand. For these and other details regarding the Cedis, their kingdom and kings, see B. C. Law's *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, ch. V; H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India;* Rhys Davids in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 84.

In the Hāthigumphā inscription itself, Khāravela is connected with the Ceti royal house, which may indicate that the Ceti kings had, in course of time, established their suzerainty also in Kaliṅga. In it, he is represented as a scion of a line and family of royal sages (*rājasi-vaṃsakula-viniśrita*) in spite of the fact that the Cedi kings do not figure as *rājarṣis* in their tradition preserved elsewhere. In the Pāli *Vessantara-Jātaka* Kaliṅga, Śivi and Cedi are described as three contiguous kingdoms, the Śivis being matrimonially allied with the Cedis. It goes to show that the way to the Himalayas, both from Kaliṅga and the Śivi kingdom lay through the kingdom of the Cedis. The distance between the Śivi kingdom and the Cedi is said to be 30 *yojanas* (about 240 miles). Mt. Suvaṇṇagiritāla, the river Kontimārā, Mt. Añjanagiri, and the Brahmin village called Dunnavitthanālidaṇḍa are interposed between Jettuttara, the capital city of the Śivis and the kingdom of the Cedis. The *Cetiya-Jātaka*, on the other hand, describes the journey of a person from Benares to the Cedi kingdom along a route through the hills, which was risky owing to the mischievous activity of the *pesanaka-coras*.

155 *I.e., mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* according to the *lakṣaṇa-pāṭhakas* or readers of signs or marks. Cf. *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 134.

156 Whether one reads *guṇa-upetena* or *guṇôpahitena*, the meaning is the same.

butes (of one capable) of subduing the earth extending as far as the four seas,[157] were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age of the prince with a handsome body of 'fair brown complexion.'[158] Thereafter, for nine years, just the office of a Crown Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who was well-versed in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, procedure, and approved principle of action, whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning.'[159] Having then completed twenty-four years, he who, as he waxed great, passed the rest of his manhood in making notable conquests,[160] gained the high state implied by the coronation of a great king in the third royal dynasty of Kaliṅga,[161] in regular linear succession.[162]

157 The adoption of Jayaswal's reading *luṭhita* makes no difference to the sense.

158 Sten Konow is led to think that "*Siri-kaḍāra* is the lover of Śri, *i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa", and that "Khāravela's boyish games are compared with Kṛṣṇa's pranks and sports in Vṛndāvana". This would seem too far-fetched to be acceptable. Here *siri-kaḍāra* is used as an adjective qualifying Khāravela's *sarira*, and not his sports.

159 See for notes on *lekha*, *rūpa*, etc., Barua, *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*, pp. 240 f.; Jayaswal, *EI.*, vol. XX, pp. 81-82.

160 The word *abhivijaya* is used in this very sense in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

Adopting Jayaswal's reading *vadhamāna-sesayo Venâbhivijayo*, one must translate the text: "(he who had been prosperous since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Veṇa."

161 Jayaswal aptly observes: "In the third line the details about Khāravela's ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of Ceti and was the overlord of Kaliṅga, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga".

162 Jayaswal would have us understand by the word *purisa-yuge* 'at the proper age of the man'. He says in so many words: "Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 24th year and after that politics". I differ, for the inscription clearly tells us that he acted as *yuvarāja* for nine years, from which it is difficult to surmise that the throne had remained vacant. As for *purisa-yuga*, it is precisely in the sense of regular or unbroken linear succession that the word has been used in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 75: *Yasmiṃ purisa-yuge vattamāne evarūpassa kalyāṇassa raṭṭhassa samucchedo hoti, so tesaṃ antima-puriso hoti*. In this context, Buddhaghoṣa ex-

2. And as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the Kalinga-city Khibīra[163] in which the gates, walls and residential houses were damaged by stormy wind, to be repaired, and caused the embankments of the cool tanks to be made, and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and (thereby) pleased the subjects.[164]

plains the word *purisa-yuge* as signifying—*vaṃsa-sambhave purise*, "in the time of the person (who comes to reign) by linear succession.

The statement in the inscription admits of another rendering, namely "during the third period of reign of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga", which, too, may be supported by usages and explanations in Buddhist literature. First, the *Lalita-vistara* mentions the following characteristics of an ideal royal family:

Puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Purvapuruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Abhijāta-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Abhilakṣita-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Maheśākhya-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.

"Such a family is remarkable for having a continuous succession of generations of men. It has the contemporaneity of two previous generations. It has the contemporaneity of two living generations. It has the contemporaneity of two coming generations. It has a continuous succession of mighty persons."

Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1.

Here the implication is that two generations living at the same time constitute a period. In this very sense, Buddhaghoṣa explains the word *purisa-yuga* in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (I, p. 190). According to the Pāli scholiast, the life-time of a Buddha which also covers the career of his immediate disciples constitutes one *purisa-yuga* or period, and the career of his immediate disciples and later followers since his demise constitutes the second *purisa-yuga* or period. Similarly, the expression *satta-pitāmaha-yugā* means the seven grandfathers, each grandfather standing for a distinct period, the grandfather's life-time including that of the father.

163 R. C. Panda takes the word to mean 'springs' (*The Mayurbhanj Gazette*, 1938, p. 16). Reading the text as *Kaliṅga-nagari-Khibira-isitāla-taḍāga-pāḍiyo bamdhāpayati*, Jayaswal translates it: "in the city of Kaliṅga (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibira Ṛṣi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns". Note that according to grammatical construction, the adjectival compound *vāta-vihata-gopu.a-pākāra-nivesanaṃ* requires a noun, such as *Kaliṃga-nagari-Khibiraṃ*, after it. Cf. *haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ* qualifying *damḍaṃ*.

164 Jayaswal translates "and (he) gratifies the People".

3. And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Śātakarṇi[165] into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous army (consisting of) horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to march in a western direction, and with the aid of the army that reached (the bank of) the Kṛṣṇaveṇā (river),[166] struck terror into the city of Asika (Musika?).

4. Again, in the third year, (His Majesty), who was a master of the science of music—the Gandharva lore, caused the capital to be entertained by the display of combats,[167] dancing, singing, and instrumental music, and (no less) by the arrangement made for festivities and convivial gatherings.

5. Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty caused to be done his duty to) the home of the Vidyādharas,[168] founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, which was not invaded before, compelled

165 According to Jayaswal, Śātakarṇi referred to in this inscription is "evidently Śri Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nayanikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions in the Junnār Tāluk of the Poona district." For the palæographic similarity between the inscription of Khāravela, and those of Nayanikā, queen of Śri Śātakarṇi, see R. D. Banerjee's monograph—Palæography of the Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions, *Memoir, ASB.*, vol. X. All that the inscription itself clearly proves is that one king Śātakarṇi was "the only powerful rival on the western border of Kaliṅga," and that his kingdom included the city of Asika (Skt. Ṛṣika or Āṛṣika) on the river Kṛṣnaveṇa. The Nāsik cave inscription of queen Gautamī expressly mentions Asika as one of the places included in the dominions of the Śātakarṇis. See *E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 60. Asika heads the list of places.

166 According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LXVII, 26-27, the Kṛṣṇaveṇā, like the Godāvari, the Bhimaratha, and a few other rivers, took its rise from the Vindhya range:

Godāvari-Bhimaratha-Kṛṣṇaveṇyā tathāparā
Vindhyapādā vinişkrāntā ityetā sariduttamā.

It is identified with the modern Wain-gaṅgā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan, the two streams uniting in the district of Bhaṇḍārā.

167 *dapa* is either the *darpa-kriḍā* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, III. 3. 58, or the *davakamma* or 'comics' mentioned in the Pāli *Mahāniddesa*, p. 370.

168 The home of the Vidyādharas appears to have been situated somewhere in the Central Provinces. The inscription seems to indicate that it was invaded or encroached upon at the time by the two neighbouring ruling tribes, viz., the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, and accordingly their chiefs were punished by Khāravela.

all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas[169] who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and vases had been cast away, who were abandoned by good brahmins (?), and whose crowns were rendered meaningless, to bow down at (his) feet.

6. And then, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda[170] three hundred (or 103) years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road.[171].....

169 Jayaswal's note on the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas is worth quoting here: "*Raṭhika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhojas of Sātavāhana inscriptions of the same period at Kanheri and Beḍsa. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *Ristikas* in the Girnar, *Raṭhikas* in the Shahbazgarhi and *Raṭhakas* in the Mansehra version of the edict of Aśoka. In the 13th edict we find the Bhojakas mentioned with the *Pitinikas*" For the use of the word *Raṭhika* in the general sense of local chiefs or subordinate potentates, see the Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, III, pp. 76, 78, 300, and Barua's *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*, p. 211.

170 Jayaswal points out: "King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l.6 and again in l.12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by king Nanda. His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty." There is no evidence as yet to prove that any king of the Maurya or of the Nanda dynasty who may be called a predecessor of Aśoka's had either conquered or held sway over any part of Kaliṅga. The clear evidence of the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka belies that theory or surmise. Kaliṅga had remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign. We need not attach any importance to the name Nanda because it finds mention in this inscription which is but a royal panegyric composed to flatter Khāravela. Mr. R. C. Panda seems to have misconstrued the account of Megasthenes about the connection of *Sandrakottos* (Candragupta Maurya), or, *a priori*, that of his Nanda predecessor, with *Prasii* and *Gangaridæ*. In the *Indika*, Candragupta Maurya is described as the king of *Prasii* or *Prācya*, which excluded *Gangaridæ* (McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Frag. I, art. 37). It is evident from Aśoka's edicts that the Province of Kaliṅga in his time had two main political divisions, the southern with its head-quarters at Samāpā in Ganjam district, and the north-eastern with its head-quarters at Tosali, the seat of the Maurya Viceroy.

171 This statement in the Hāthigumphā inscription is not without its significance. The location of the capital of Khāravela's Kaliṅga kingdom is to be determined not only with reference to the river Prācī on which he had built the Great-victory Palace in his 9th regnal year but with reference as well to the Tanasuliya Road from which

7. And in the sixth year, (His Majesty) while displaying his royal prosperity,[172] bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of towns and districts[173] by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin).

8. And in the seventh year, (His Majesty caused) compact groups of hundreds of horses,[174] (portable) 'diamond chambers' and warriors (to proceed to) the tranquil spot adjoining the foot of the Samataka (hill).[175] (?)[176]

9. And in the eighth year, having stormed with a mighty army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri[177] of invulnerable wall, (His Majesty) brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagṛha, and the Yavana king ?mi????[178] retreated to Mathurā[179] in order to release the

the canal opened out by king Nanda was extended up to the capital of Kaliṅga. I still think that the Tanasuliya Road was no other than a road connecting the Tosali of Aśoka with the Kaliṅganagara of Khāravela.

172 The word which definitely occurs in the inscription is *rājaseyaṃ* (Skt. *rāja śriyām*), and not *rājasūyam* to justify Jayaswal's interpretation.

173 None should so stretch with Jayaswal the sense of the two words, *Pora* and *Janapada*, as to obtain from it the idea of a 'City-corporation' and a 'Realm-corporation'.

174 According to Jayaswal's reading—*Satamaṃ ca vasaṃ pasasato*, the translation shall be: "And while he was reigning for the seventh year", or simply, "In the seventh year", or simply, "In the seventh year of his reign."

175 I am just imagining here that, perhaps, in his seventh regnal year, Khāravela organized a pompous religious procession for visiting the holy spot on Mt. Samataka or Sameta (modern Pareshnāth hill), which may not at all be correct.

176 Both the text and translation offered are hypothetical. Nothing can or should be construed definitely from either. Jayaswal would make out a text yielding such a fact as that in the seventh year of Khāravela's reign, his famous wife of Vajiraghara 'obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood', which, on the face of it, is too fantastic to deserve credence.

177 The same as what is called *Khalatika-pavata* in the Barābar Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka, and *Pravaragiri* in some of the mediaeval Sanskrit inscriptions. Modern, Barābar hills.

178 The name of the Yavana king cannot be definitely made out. Even it is uncertain whether it consists of three or six syllables.

179 Mathurā was till then under the sway of the Greek kings.

troops and vehicles restlessly moving [180] on account of the uproar[181] of reprisal on His (Majesty's) part[182].....returned (to Kaliṅga), marched back with Kalpavṛkṣa, the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and (the troops) of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all (he) offered the gift of victory to the Brahmins, (offered something to) the Ārhata (recluses).....

10. And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused the royal residence Mahāvijaya-prāsāda, the "Great-Victory-Palace", to be built on both the banks of the Prāci[183] at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin).

11. And in the tenth year, well-read and experienced in the principles of polity, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of countries in Bhāratavarṣa[184].....(?)[185]

12. And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty)..... went in procession with jewels and gems.....caused the grassy overgrowth of Pṛthudaka,[186] founded by a former

180 Adopting the reading *saṃbita*, Jayaswal translates it—'demoralised'.

181 Whether one reads *panādena* or *saṃnādena*, the meaning is the same.

182 Whether the reading is *etinaṃ* or *etinā*, the sense remains the same.

183 It is still an open question whether the Great-victory-Palace was built in the then capital of Kaliṅga or elsewhere. The record of the 9th year shows that it was built on both the banks of the Prāci, an ancient river, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 12 to 13 miles. This river, as pointed out by Mr. R. C Panda, traverses a course of 30 miles before it empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. Both the banks of the Prāci abound in old ruins of temples, wells and tanks, and in mounds that await excavation. I am not, however, quite sure of the reading of the name of Prāci. The intended name may as well be Puti or Purī.

184 Here as Jayaswal aptly points out, the name Bhāratavarṣa is not used to denote the whole of India but a certain portion of it. It excludes, for instance, the region called Uttarāpatha.

185 Nothing can be definitely made out from this record of the 10th year.

186 According to Jayaswal's reading, the name of the place is Pithuṃḍa which is no other than what is called Pihuṇḍa in the *Uttarâdhyayana-sūtra*. Pithuṃḍa is probably the city 'mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra.' According to Ptolemy Pitundra was a city in the upper part of the Coromandel coast.'

king[187] to be let out into the Lāṅgala (river)[188] and destroyed the accumulation of dark swamps[189] that grew up in thirteen-and-hundred years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country.

13. And in the twelfth year,.....with the aid of thousands of the Śivis (?), (His Majesty) produced consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha,[190] while generating an immense fear among the people of Magadha, caused the elephants and horses to drink in the Ganges,[191] and compelled Bṛhaspatimitra,[192] the king of of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet, (did something in

187 Jayaswal forcibly reads *Avarāja* and explains it as meaning the king of the Avas or Andhras.

188 The sharp difference between the two readings offered by Jayaswal and myself lies in the fact that according to one, Khāravela caused Pithuṃḍa, founded by an Ava or Andhra king, to be ploughed with an ass-plough (*i.e.*, to be utterly destroyed), and according to the other, he caused Pṛthudaka, founded by a former king of Kaliṅga, to be reclaimed. According to my reading, for which credit must go rather to Sylvan Lévi, the Nagala, Naṃgala or Lāngala was the name of a river, the river Nāgāvali bearing also the name of Languliya. See for details, Barua's *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 196 ff.

189 According to Jayaswal's reading *Tramira-deśa-saṃghātaṃ*, the rendering is: "the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries."

190 According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 93, *Pṛthudakāt paratah Uttarāpathah*. "Uttarāpatha is (the north-western region) which lay beyond Pṛthudaka (near Thāneswar)". Dhammapāla in his commentary on the *Petavatthu*, locates Mathurā in Uttarāpatha (*Uttara-Madhura-Uttarāpathe*). According to the *Mahābhārata*, XII. 207. 43, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Kirātas, and Barbaras were all peoples of Uttarāpatha.

191 Neither the reading nor the grammatical form of the word *Gaṃgāya* justifies Jayaswal's or Dr. Sten Konow's suggestion that here is a reference to the palace of Candragupta Maurya which Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, knew to be *Sugānga*. The reference is obviously to Pāṭaliputra, the last capital of Magadha which was on the Ganges. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Frags. XXV-XXVI.

192 All the arguments hitherto put forward by Jayaswal for the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra, the contemporary king of Magadha, with Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty are plausible but unconvincing. He may certainly be identified with Bṛhaspatimitra, nephew of king Āṣāḍhasena of Ahicchatra, during whose reign the Pabhosā caves were excavated and donated.

connection with) the settlements of the Kaliṅga people subjugated by king Nanda,.....carried the wealth of Aṅga and Magadha with the aid of persons skilled in clever tactics,.....caused to be erected towering temples and gates with figures of the goddess of Luck in their niches, procured at the cost of a hundred *viśās*[193] (of gold) the rare and wonderful trappings[194] of elephants, the king of Pāṇḍya, rich in mettled horses, elephants and jewels and gems, supplied here hundreds and thousands of apparel (?), pearls, gems and jewels, ...subdued (some people).

14. And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī hill[195] in the well-founded realm of victory,[196] were excavated[197] the *jīvadehaśrayikas*[198] by His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, devoted to the worship of those who depended on royal patronage,[199] those who had fulfilled their (religious) vows.[200] (and) those sought shelter during the rains[201] for use as comfortable resting places[202] by the Ārhata (recluses), the cause of whose future gliding in the course of transmigration had

193 The *viśā* is a measure, of which two varieties, viz. Kaṭaki and Bālāsorce, are prevalent in Orissa up till now.

194 The word *nāvata* or *navata* means trappings of elephants. Jayaswal reads *nivāsa* and equates it with *nirvāsa*, which, as he points out, is used in the *Śukraniti* in the sense of an enclosure for entrapping elephants. The correctness of this interpretation depends upon his reading of the next word as *parisara*, which is evidently *pariharati*, a verb having also *haya, hathi*, and *ratana-māṇika* for its objects.

195 Modern, Udayagiri, the Khaṇḍagiri hill being referred to in the inscription of Udyotake'iri as *Kumāra-parvata*.

196 *supavata-vijaya-cake=supravartta-vijaya-cakre.*

197 I assume the word to be *panikhātā*.

198 *i.e.*, the caves serving as shelters for living selves.

199 *rājabhitini=rāja-bhṛtinām.*

200 *cina-vatani*=Pāli *cinnavatānaṃ*, Jayaswal interprets it in the sense of 'China clothes' (*Cina-vastra*), which is far from correct.

201 *vasâsitāni=varṣâśritānām.*

202 *kayya=kāya* or *kalya*, Pāli *kalla=tuṭṭha. kayyanisidi*—seems to be just another word for Aśoka's *tuṭhâyatanāni.*

been greatly extenuated[203] (and) who were (there) for fulfilling the yāpa (Rainy season vow).[204]

15. For the honoured recluses of well-established reputation[205] and the Jñātṛkas (?)[206] viewing all things alike (and) the monks (?) belonging to (different) orders (and) coming from a hundred directions, with hundreds and thousands of stones quarried out of excellent quarries (and) collected from (an area extending over) many *yojanas* by expert heads,[207] (His Majesty caused) indeed (to be made) sleeping-and-sitting-accomodations[208] fitted with artistic pillars (?) on a slope near the Ārhata resting place,[209] and caused the columns to be set up in a beryl-set hall with an ornamental courtyard[210] at the cost of seventy-five hunderd thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and in sixty-four panels,[211] intersected with sculptures,[212] caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music.[213]

203 *pakhiṇasaṃsitehi* = *prakṣiṇa-saṃsṛtaiḥ*. 204 *yāpujavakehi* = *yāpa-udyāpakaiḥ*. Jina Vijaya Suri inclines to think that the Jaina recluses referred to in the inscription belonged, in all likelihood, to the Yāpana-saṃgha.

205 Reading the word as *sukata-samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ*, Jayaswal translates it: "The monks of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions)." According to my reading, *sakata* = Pāli *sakkata*. For *suvihitānaṃ*, cf. Aśoka's RE. VII: *yesaṃ vā pi saṃvihitānaṃ*.

206 The reading is either *ñātānaṃ* or *ñāninaṃ*. Accordingly the rendering must be either the *jñātṛkas* or the wise.

207 Or, men with bent heads, (*panata-sisehi*). Jayaswal reads. *tāpasa isinaṃ saṃghayanaṃ*, and translates it: "a Council of the wise ascetics and sages" etc. I think the statement is not intended to say that Khāravela brought together the *śramaṇas* and wise ascetics in a Council convened for the purpose.

208 Pāli *senâsanāni*. See *Pāli-English Dict.*, for the technical meaning of the word. Jayaswal reads *nisayāni* ("*shelters*").

209 According to Jayaswal, "near the Relic Depository of the Arhat." I do not think the reference is to the Rāni Nūr on the Udayagiri hill but to some other edifice not far from it.

210 Jayaswal reads *paṭalako caturo* ("four columns"), in which case the reading would have been *paṭalakā caturo*.

211 According to Jayaswal, "of sixty-four (letters)."

212 The word *makhiya* is to be derived from *makha* or *mankha*, which signifies, according to the Jaina *Bhagavatī sūtra*, a picture in a frame

213 *turiya* = Skt. *tūrya*.

16. The king of security[214] was he, the king of prosperity,[215] the king of renunciation,[216] the righteous king,[217] (capable of) perceiving, hearing and experiencing things that are conducive to welfare[218] was His Graceful Majesty[219] Khāravela, the mighty conqueror, the upholder of the realm of royal command, the protector of the realm of royal command, the repairer of all abodes of the gods,[220] the worshipper of all sects,[221] accomplished by virtue of the possession of certain special qualities.[222]

3. OLD ORIYĀ MANUSCRIPT

The *ślokas* cited from an Oṛiyā Manuscript by Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 482, and reproduced by Dr. Sten Konow in *Acta Orientalia,* vol. I, and also by me in my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 183, have misled the world of scholars. No credence is to be placed on it on the authority of Jayaswal's statement that the MS. is lying unedited in the archives of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The MS. is no other than that of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.* It was the property of Pandit Chintamani Misra of Bhubaneswar who was both a Sanskrit composer and an expert caligraphist. The relevant

214 According to Jayaswal, "the king of peace."

215 *Vadharāja* or *vaḍharāja* may also be rendered: "the king of experience."

216 Literally, "the king of the *bhikṣus.*"

217 See the *Rājavagga, Aṅguttara-nikāya,* for the description of duties of a righteous king.

218 The five *mahākalyāṇas,* according to the Jainas, consist of the Descent, Birth, Initiation, Attainment and Final Deliverance in the life-history of a Jina. But the *kalyāṇas* in this inscription may be taken to represent such good principles of human action as those mentioned by Aśoka in his Pillar edicts.

219 Jayaswal translates simply by "the prosperous."

220 The epithet *sava-devâyatana-saṃkāra-kāraka* is important as indicating that various temples of popular Hindu deities had then existed in Kaliṅga. As a Jaina king, Khāravela had not taken the initiative in erecting but helped others only in repairing them.

221 Here he followed in the footsteps of Aśoka. See Rock Edict XII.

222 Jayaswal appropriately renders it: "accomplished in extraordinary virtues."

portions of the MS. were kindly read out to me by his son, the present owner of it. In it, Khāravela figures as the national hero of Kaliṅga. He is credited with the erection of the Bhubanewar temple, the excavation of Bindu Sarovar, and the conquest of Nepāl and many other places in India, northern and southern, eastern and western. All that I can or should say at present regarding this MS. is that before it is subjected to a careful scrutiny and passed by a body of experts as ancient and authentic, its evidence must not be brought in to bear upon the historical interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription or any part thereof.

4. RESULTS

The nett results of this revised reading and interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription are substantially the same as those obtained before. The changes in reading in several instances are not such as to yield or suggest a different sense. Khāravela's personal history, too, remains much the same as outlined in my *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*. Among the new points to be noted in this edition, the first is the name of the capital of Kaliṅga. The inscription may be taken to mention Khibira as the name of the capital, or more accurately, that of the city of Kaliṅga. Unfortunately, this name is not met with either in literature or in any of the inscriptions. The location of the capital will remain a matter of dispute up till the discovery of a definite evidence setting the question at rest. But one will look in vain for the site of the capital of Khāravela's kingdom in the south, whether in Kaliṅgapatam or near Chicacole. The inscription itself furnishes us with two data, only one of which is definite, while the other is tentative. It records the extension of the canal opened out by king Nanda into the city of Kaliṅga from the Tanasuliya Road. Here, too, our difficulty is that we do not know the specification of the road in question. Apparently *Tanasuli* is the same name as *Tosali*, though

both in the earlier inscriptions of Aśoka and in the later inscriptions of the Ikkhākus at Nāgārjuṇi-koṇḍa the spelling of the name is Tosali. Khāravela had built a new royal palace on both the banks of the river Prāci, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 10 to 12 miles. But there is nothing to show definitely that the palace was built in the city of Kaliṅga itself. The statement can at the most support a presumption in favour of the location of the capital of Kaliṅga in Khāravela's time somewhere on the banks of the Prāci, and not far from Bhubaneswar and the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves.

Bṛhaspatimitra was certainly the contemporary king of Magadha, presumably also of Aṅga. A Yavana king was powerful in the region of Mathurā, whose name was doubtfully suggested by Dr. Sten Konow to be Ḍimita and definitely read by Jayaswal as Dimita and equated with Demetrius. The name of the Greek king is still to be ascertained. It does not seem to be any of the earlier Greek kings of Mathurā.

The reading Muriya-kāla must be ruled out of order, as the letters clearly yield the reading *makhiya-kala* instead. It is only by a confusion between the Pāli *Saṅgāyana* and the inscriptional word *Saṅghiyana* or *Saṅghayana* that Jayaswal was led to believe that Khāravela convened a council of the Jainas. It is also by a misinterpretation of the meaning of the statement *coyaṭha-aṃge satikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati* that he came to suggest that Khāravela "compiled expeditiously the text of the sevenfold Aṃgas of the sixty-four (letters)." The statement intends mentioning certain scenes of music produced among the decorative sculptures in an edifice which was erected at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand coins.

The record of the twelfth year has been misread by Jayaswal so as to show that it actually mentions the name of the Maurya Palace which is described in the *Mudrārākṣasa* by the name of

Sugānga. Similarly, the misreading of *Kaliṅgajana-saṃnivesa* for *Kaliṅga-jina-saṃnivesa* led Jayaswal to think that king Nanda took away "the image of the Jina of Kaliṅga" which is far from the historical truth.

In l. 16 (may be, in the record of the 14th regnal year), Khāravela speaks of a certain edifice which he had built on a slope in the neighbourhood of the resting place of the Ārhatas with hundreds and thousands of stones collected from the best of quarries from an area extending over many *yojanas*. Jayaswal has taken it to be a reference to the Rāni Nūr excavated on a slope of the Udayagiri hill. But this would seem rather wide of the mark, inasmuch as the Rāni Nūr is just a highly ornamented cave excavated in a single piece of rock or boulder, and not an edifice with hundreds and thousands of separate pieces of stone. The reference must, therefore, have been to some other edifice in the vicinity of the Udayagiri hill. It is not unlikely that some such edifice was built by him at Bhubaneswar. It may even some day be proclaimed that Khāravela was the builder of the first great temple at Bhubaneswar. Anyhow, his statement concerning the edifice on a slope near the Udayagiri hill awaits a careful elucidation.

B. M. Barua

Chinese-Indian Contacts

[PRIOR TO THE LATTER HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY]

To the present time, so far as the writer is aware, the subject whose title appears above has not been dealt with, for its own sake alone. Most of the general works on Chinese and Indian history have been satisfied to refer to such a work as the *Milindapañha*, or to the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien* and thereby leave the impression that there was a considerable amount of intercourse between the two countries too detailed to be further outlined. A few of these works have resorted to linguistics to further illustrate their point. In addition to such general works, there have been numerous studies conducted on the relations of China with Rome on the one hand, and the relations of India with Greece and Rome on the other. Such studies make greater use of the Indian-Chinese implications than the general histories, yet one cannot but feel that such references are wholly secondary to the point involved in these works and so, in many cases are rather carelessly investigated. Only one important contribution of a comprehensive nature has been made to this subject to date, namely Konow's introduction to his volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.[1]

Roughly speaking, the first hand sources at our disposal can be divided into three chief groups, namely, Indian, Classical (Greek and Roman), and Chinese. Of these, the Indian sources possess little practical value because of the chronological uncertainty involved

1 The present writer does not propose to bring forward new material of recent discovery in this short paper, but to correlate the widely scattered material which has previously been brought to light, chiefly through purely linguistic research. There will, therefore, be no attempt to do more than compare linguistic evidence where conclusions have been disputed.

in all of them.[2] The Classical evidence,[3] may be divided into two categories as follows: (1) Accounts of historians, geographers, and traders; (2) Literary allusions. As is the case with the Indian sources, the entire value of these Classical texts hangs upon the correct interpretation of certain words. Chief among these are the words *Seres* and *Serica, This, Thinae Tzinitza,* and *Sinae* are others occurring less frequently.

The words *Seres* and *Serica* are used most often and, more important, they are used by sources dating earlier than the Christian era. The word *Serica* is commonly accepted as the Greek and Latin equivalent for China, while *Seres* refers to the inhabitants of *Serica,* or the Chinese. Therefore *Serica,* derived from *Ser* (silk), would mean originally silk-cloth country. No one has seriously attacked this etymology and it has been repeated in substantially the same formula as now quoted from Coedès.[4]

"Le Chinois *See*, le Coréen *Sir*, le Mongol *Sirkek*, et le Mandchou *Sirghè* ont les noms de la soie."[5]

But on the other hand, while the above etymology has not been attacked, there have been strong exceptions taken to certain specific passages in which the word *Seres* is employed,[6] questioning, for instance, the usage of *Seres* when applied by Pliny to "some *Seres* of unusual height, who had red hair, blue eyes, and harsh voices," and who lived, "beyond the Emodi mountains."

2 I am speaking of those sources which carry the words *cīna, cīnapaṭṭa, kauśeya* and its Pāli equivalent *kosseyam* etc. The chief literary works in question are the *Mahābhārata*, Kauṭilya's *Ārthaśāstra*, the *Milindapañha*, and the *Digha Nikāya*. Other works in which *cīna* etc. appear are unquestionably of later date than the 1st. century A.D.

3 Classical sources are chiefly contained in George Coedès, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1910.

4 *Ibid.*, Introduction, x, n. 1.

5 See also J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias Description of Greece*, IV, 110.

6 J. Kennedy, *Seres or Cheras (JRAS.*, Apl. 1904), 359-362.

Further illustration of the unsatisfactory character of the implications of the Classical references which depends solely upon the words *Seres* and *Serica* may be illustrated from the following statement of Alfred Herrmann.[7]

"Folgende Autoren identifizieren *Serica* vorwiegend mit dem *Tarimbecken* (Chines. Tartarei, Ost Turkestan): J. Hager, *Numismatique chinoise*, 137; Sylvain de Sacy, *Magasin encyclopédique*, III, Juin 1805, C. Ritter, *Erdkunde* VII, 559; A. Cunningham, *JASB.*, XVI, 1847, 989; Ch. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2. 1847, 540; F. V. Richtofen, *China*, I, 479; VhGesE, 1877, 118; J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins et F. Grenard, a.a.O. II, 1898, 27ff.

Für Nordchina, erklären sich ausser L. J. Deguignes (s.S. 20, Anm, 3); J. T. Reinaud, 'Relations politique et commerciales de l'empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale'; *JA.*, VI, serie I, 186, 335: H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, Tab, II (Maass tab 1: 40 Mill.), 1894.

Mehr an Westchina denkt; P. Vidal de la Blache, *Les voies de commerce dans la géographie de Ptolémée;* MemAcInscr. 1896, 480.

Andere Bearbeiter rechnen zu *Serica* nicht allein China, sondern auch grosse Teile der Mongolei bis nach Sibirien: K. Mannert, *Geogr. der Greichen und Römer*, IV, 500; Th. W. Kingsmill, 'The Sêrica of Ptolemy and its ancient Inhabitants'. N. China Branch *RAS.* XIX, 2. 44-60; ders. *Ancient Tibet and its Frontages*, ebda XXXVIII, 1906, 21-54. E. Gerini,, 'Early Geography of Indo-China,' *JRAS.*, 1897, 557 ff.; E. F. Berlioux, 'Les premiers voyages des Europeens dans l'Asie Centrale et au pays des Seres,' *Bull. de la Société de geographie de Lyon*, XV, 1898, 5-80."

This disagreement among nineteenth century scholars has in no wise been narrowed down in the twentieth. Herrmann himself, writing in 1910, refused to commit himself beyond saying that western knowledge of the East prior to Ptolemy was so imperfect as to make impossible any geographical location of *Serica*. Perhaps the only safe conclusion that one can make on this subject is that since the Græco-Roman world got foreign silk from the East and named the Eastern people from this commodity, the people they called *Seres* were either all or one of the people who used such a name (i.e. Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Koreans) for silk. The only exception taken to this view, if one omits Kennedy's *Cheras*, is that the

7 Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, 20, n. 4.

country of Kāśmir is meant, as was held by Gosslin in 1813 and by Vivien de St. Martin in 1860.[8]

The second group of Greek words, This, Thinae,[9] Tzinitza,[10] and Sinae,[11] have not led to as many differences of opinion as *Seres* and *Serica*, though even here there is some dispute. *Tzinitza* and *Sinae* are used by writers too late to have a bearing on our period and besides have been identified variously as Burma, North China, and Yunnan.[12]

The *Periplus Erythraei Mari*, in which the words *This* and *Thinae* occur, is usually dated in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and so may be regarded as a primary source relating directly to our period. Schoff identifies *This* with the north-west Chinese state of Ch'in, and *Thinae* with its capital Hsien-yang, later Ch'ang-an and Si-ngan-fu. This identification has not been seriously challenged and the contents of the original text bear it out.

The various authors and works mentioning the *Seres* and *Serica* have already been enumerated by Coedès.

The third division, the Chinese source material, again hinges upon linguistic interpretation of certain words and names. These names are *Chi-pin* (Ki-pin), T'ien-chu, and Shên-tu.[13] *Chi-pin*, which name occurs most frequently has been variously identified with Kāśmir,[14] Kābulistan,[15] and with a less defined region somewhere north-west of India.[16] Internal evidence of the Ch'ien Han

8 Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen Zwischen China und Syrien*, 20-21.

9 Found only in the *Periplus Erythraei Mari*.

10 Ptolemy's *Geography*. 11 *Cosmas Indikopleustes*.

12 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 273 ff.

13 I am indebted for my Romanizations of Chinese characters to the aid of my friend and colleague Dr. Knight Biggerstaff.

14 Edouard Chavannes, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou*, (*T'oung Pao*, Série II, viii, 1907, 175).

15 A. Wylie, *Notes of the Western Regions*, trans. from the *Tseen Han Shoo*, Book 96, pt. 1, (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, x, 1881, 33-35.)

16 Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt. 1, xxiii-xxiv.

Shu, which contains the earliest mention of Chi-pin, suggests the third region as the safest identification, because the Chinese of this period hardly seem to have been sufficiently intimate in their knowledge of trans-Pamir countries to have used a term like Chi-pin for any region of well marked political boundaries, particularly of such contracted boundaries as either Kāśmir or Kābulistan.

The names *T'ien-chu* and *Shên-tu* are by common consent identified with each other and both with India. No further proof of this assertion need be sought than an examination of the annals themselves which say,

"Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou (Shên-tu): il est à plusieurs milliers de *li* au Sud-Est des Hiong-nu."

The identification with India has been attested by Chavannes,[17] Burgess, etc. The most recent equivalent given is the Sanskrit *sindhu* which, as may be seen, is almost perfectly duplicated by the Chinese word. Shên-tu, ordinarily pronounced *Shên-du*, could scarcely be more accurately borrowed by Chinese, who, it would seem, only learnt of the word by hearsay.

The Chinese works in which this name appears in reference to our period are the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, covering the period from 206 B.C. to 25 A.D.; the *Hou Han Shu* from 25-220 A.D.; the *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and the great history of Ma Tuan-lin which was not written till after the first millenium A.D. Of these the most important for the present investigation is the *Shih Chi*, containing the first account of the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien*, who, perhaps, was the first Chinese, at least the first historical Chinese, to hear the name India. Other Chinese works of less repute have been cited by a number of Western scholars, who have attempted to build upon the exaggeration, found therein a framework of fact with which,

17 Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 192-3.

in some cases, there is an attempt to prove a number of rather fantastic sequences.[18]

Books 61, the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien,* and 96, *Notes of Western Regions,* are the only sections of importance to this subject in the *Ch'ien Han Shu.* The former duplicates Ssu-ma Ch'ien's account of what seems clearly to have been the first historical journey of a Chinese to the region of the Pamirs. The original Memoir is found in the last chapters of the *Shih Chi.* The above are the sources at our disposal in entering into a discussion of the actual knowledge possessed by India and China of one another prior to a date approximating 65 A.D. The Chinese historical tradition seems too firmly rooted to make their annals subject to much scepticism in essentials, though in some particulars they have been subjected to the usual historical criticism. The section on *Chang Ch'ien,* for instance, which enumerates an almost impossible number of plants, animals, and other commodities brought back by him from the West, seems to smack of the eponymous culture hero rather than of actual fact. These passages, like the Psalms of David, and compass of Huang Ti must be taken as later accretions by which the first man who went to the West must be given credit for all things Western regardless of when they were actually introduced.

By way of introduction to the first centuary B.C., brief reference ought to be made to the works of numerous scholars who have asserted that contact existed between China and India prior to the first century B.C. Detailed criticism of these assertions, however, seems out of place in the present discussion since it would really amount to little more than a rehearshing of outworn arguments dealing with points of very doubtful authenticity.[19]

18 Of the works so affected, that of Terrien de LaCouperie, entitled, *The Western Origin of Chinese Civilization from 2,300 B.C. to 200 A.D.* is perhaps the most fantastic.

19 A summary list here will indicate the titles of some of the works in which such references are to be found. Suffice it to say that the writer has satisfied himself

The actual beginning of a widening of the Chinese geographical horizon took place, it would seem, from the commencement of the reign of Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.) of the former Han dynasty. At the beginning of his reign this energetic monarch busied himself with the affairs of the Hsiung-nu, who, like others of their stock in later days, were constantly making raids on China's western frontier.

"At that time (140-134 B.C.) the Son of Heaven made inquiries among those Hiung-nu who had surrendered (as prisoners) and they all reported that the Hiung-nu had overcome the king of the Yüe-chi and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The Yüe-chi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, all the time scheming how to take revenge on the Hiung-nu, but had no ally to join them in striking a blow. The Chinese wishing to declare war on and wipe out the Tartars, upon hearing this report, desired to communicate with the Yüe-chi; but, the road having to pass through the territory of the Hiung-nu, the emperor sought out men whom he could send.[20]

That the above is a story told by actual Hsiung-nu prisoners seems difficult to doubt in view of the fact that they might naturally expect a tribe whose chief had been so badly treated to seek revenge. That such a consideration was far from Yüeh-chih intentions is seen from the story told by them at a later date to the envoy selected by Wu Ti.

Chang Ch'ien, the envoy, began his journey in 138 B.C., accompanied by a small detachment of troops. Almost immediately

that none of the assertions alluded to below present sufficient evidence to prove connection between the two countries prior to the first century A.D.

a. Terrien de LaCouperie. *The Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization..., passim.*
b. Rawlinson. *Intercourse between India and the Western World,* pp. 9, 43.
c. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India,* 90.
d. *The Cambridge History of India,* I, 213.
e. George Rawlinson. *Bactria, a Forgotten Empire,* 74, 77, 125.
f. Radhakumud Mookerji. *Indian Shipping,* 53-4, 163, 114.
g. J. Kennedy. *The Early Commerce of Babylon with India,* 700-300 *B.C.* (*JRAS.,* 1898, 241-288.
h. Srinivasa Iyengar. *Trade of India,* (*IHQ.,* I, II, 1925-26, II, 43-44, 291).

20 Hirth, Friedrich. *The Story of Chang Ch'ien,...* (*JAOS.,* XXXVII, pt. 2. 93). I have preserved the spellings and identifications of the authors quoted.

he suffered the misfortune of falling into the hands of the very Hsiung-nu against whom he was commissioned to find an ally. His almost marvellous steadfastness in duty over a period of ten years' detention among the Hsiung-nu, during which time he married a wife and reared a family, almost borders on the miraculous; but it is hard to doubt the historicity of his tale, appearing as it does among documents of the greatest reliability. At the end of the ten years Chang Ch'ien escaped to the Yüeh-chih, who were then living west of the Pamirs and north of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes river).

No success obtained in the attempt to persuade the Yüeh-chih to return, but Chang Ch'ien gained a geographical knowledge of considerable proportions which he communicated to Wu Ti after his return, which took place in a year's time, after a second captivity. Chang Ch'ien must have returned, therefore, about the year 126 B.C. to give his official report.

"The following countries were visited by Chang K'ien in person: Ta-yüan (Ferghana), Ta-yüe-chi (Indoscythia[21]), Ta-hia (Bactria), and K'ang-kü (Soghdiana); there were besides, five or six other large adjacent countries concerning which he gained information and on which he reported in the following terms.[22]

To the southwest of it (Bactria) is a country called *Shön-tu* (*India*). Chang Ch'ien says (in his report to the Emperor): "When I was in Ta-hia I saw there a stick of bamboo of Kiung (Kiung-chou in Ssï-ch'uan) and some cloth of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan). When I asked the inhabitants of Ta-hia how they had obtained possession of these, they replied: 'The inhabitants of our country buy them in Shön-tu (India).' Shön-tu may be several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia. The people there have fixed abodes, and their customs are very much like those of Ta-hia; but the country is low, damp, and hot. The people ride on elephants to fight in battle. The country is close to a great river. According to my calculations, Ta-hia (Bactria) must be 12,000 *li* distant from China and to the southwest of the latter. Now the country of Shön-tu being several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia, and the produce of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) being found there, that country cannot be far from Shu. Suppose we send ambassadors to Ta-hia through the country of the K'iang (Tangutans), there is the danger that the K'iang will object; if we send

21 The term Indoscythia, as well as other identifications, are Hirth's. It probably refers to the Kuṣāṇas, one of the five tribes of the Great Yüeh-chih.

22 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 95. No clearer statement of Chinese ignorance of these countries prior to Chang Ch'ien could possibly be given.

them but slightly farther north, they will be captured by the Hiung-nu; but by going by way of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) they may proceed direct and will be unmolested by robbers."[23]

This account, the first in Chinese annals, evidently refers to the India of the Panjab and possibly Sind. Some have taken it as the Ganges country, though it would seem to be a less certain identification. It is clear that Chang Ch'ien got his information of India wholly by hearsay and his conjectures show him, at least, to have been entirely ignorant of India prior to his arrival in Bactria in 128 B.C. Chinese annals[24] do not support any hypothesis for earlier knowledge of the West and particularly of India.

A number of hypotheses have been made about the *Sze-ch'uanese* goods which came through India, and from the description of the bamboo, experts have identified the sample found by Chang Ch'ien with the *Sze-ch'uanese* species.[25] This fact has been taken as proof of the trade route referred to throughout La Couperie's work, which ran through *Sze-ch'uan*, Yunnan, Upper Burma, Assam, and on to India. While such a route may well have existed by which a few Chinese goods were sent to India and even beyond into Bactria, the geography and population of the country, which not only turned back several expeditions of the Emperor Wu Ti, but also certain fully equipped British expeditions of more recent date, forbids any assumption of a 'through route' hypothesis.

Beyond the mere mention of the name India (Shên-tu) it may be assumed that Chinese were still unacquainted with India even after Chang Ch'ien reported in the year 126 B.C. It is also of interest that the above quotation is apparently the sole authority for all

23 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 98.

24 At least according to present translations.

25 I have been unable to find documentary evidence of this statement but have it on the oral testimony of the late Berthold Laufer as quoted by Dr. Walter E. Clark.

later Chinese descriptions of India till the time of the Later Han Annals. The Ch'ien Han Shu (206 B.C.—25 A.D.) repeats the above information with very slight modification.

That the India discovery (i.e. the hearsay of India) loomed important in Chinese official eyes may be seen in the sequel to Chang Ch'ien's report, but one will likewise observe that India becomes important wholly as a possible highway to Bactria and in no sense because it was itself known to be a region rich in all sorts of valuable produce. This makes even more evident the obvious conclusion that India and Indian goods alike were unknown to China prior to the first century B.C.

"The Son of heaven on hearing all this, reasoned thus: Ta-Yüan and the possessions of Ta-hia and An-si are large countries full of rare things, with a population living in fixed abodes and given to occupations somewhat identical with those of the Chinese people, but with weak armies; and placing great value on the rich produce of China; in the north the possessions of the Ta Yüe-chi and K'ang-kü, being of military strength, might be made subservient to the interests of the Court by bribes and thus gained over by mere force of persuasion. In this way a territory of 10,000 *li* in extent would be available for the spread among the four seas of Chinese superior civilization by communicating through many interpreters with the nations holding widely different customs." As a result the Son of Heaven was pleased to approve Chang K'ien's proposal. He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with Chang K'ien's suggestions, exploring expeditions be sent out from Kién-wei of the Shu kingdom (the present Sü-chóu-fu on the Upper Yang-tse) by four different routes at the same time: one to start by way of Mang; one by way of Jan (both names referring to barbarous hill tribes on the southwestern frontiers; (cf. *Shï-ki*, chap. 116, p. 2); one by way of *Ssï* (or Si); and one by way of Kiung (Kiung-chóu) in Ssï-ch'uan and P'o (the present Ya-chóu). These several missions had each travelled but one or two thousand *li* when those in the north were prevented from proceeding farther by the Ti and Tsö tribes, and those in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming tribes (placed by the commentators in the southwest of Sü-chóu-fu) who had no chiefs and, being given to robbery, would have killed or captured the Chinese envoys. The result was that the expedition could not proceed further. They heard, however, that about a thousand *li* or more to the west there was the "elephant riding country" called Tién-Yüé (possibly meaning the Tién, of Yunnan, part of Yüé or South China), whither the traders of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) were wont to proceed, exporting produce surreptitiously. Thus it was that by trying to find the road to Ta-hia (Bactria) the Chinese obtained their first knowledge of the Tién country. (Yünnan)."[20]

Clearly this passage indicates, not only Chinese ignorance of India to the south-west, but also of Yunnan itself. That Chinese produce in great quantity could have passed through the maze of jungled mountains separating Sze-ch'uan and India seems incredible. The four expeditions were completely stopped in both the northern and southern sectors. This illustrates likewise the futility of trying to prove a Tibetan route as early as the time of Chang Ch'ien as indicated vaguely in certain of the secondary works listed above.[27] Had such a route been known, it is hardly possible that it would not have been resorted to by the northern expeditions.

But Chang Ch'ien's interest in this project was not dampened by these failures. After a temporary degradation in office due to an error in the field of battle against the Hsiung-nu, he was again commanded to lead an expedition to the West, this time to persuade the Wu-sun to return to a region nearer China so that the combined peoples might offer a better resistance to the Hsiung-nu assaults. Being unable to persuade the Wu-sun, any more than he had previously persuaded the Yüeh-chih, Chang Ch'ien prepared to return again to China. Before undertaking this journey he sent ambassadors out to all known regions as indicated in the following excerpt.

"The population of Wu-sun was thus divided into three parts, and notwithstanding that the majority were under his (the old ruler's) authority, the K'un-mo (King of Wu-sun) did not dare take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with Chang K'ien. Chang K'ien therefore sent ambassadors in several directions to the countries of Ta-Yüan (Ferghana,), K'ang-kü (Soghdiana), Ta-Yüe-chï, Ta-hia (Bactria), An-si (Parthia), *Shön-tu* (*India*), Yü-tién (Khotan), Ham-mi and the adjacent countries. Wu-sun furnished guides and interpreters to accompany Chang K'ien on his return, and the latter, travelling with several dozen natives and as many horses sent by the people of Wu-sun in acknowledgement (of the Emperor's gifts), and thereby afforded them the opportunity to see China with their own eyes and thus to realize the extent of her greatness."[28]

Did the ambassadors reach India (Shên-tu) and if so, which part? These questions prevent any positive conclusions on the score of the

26 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 99-100. 27 *Supra*, 6, note. 28 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 102.

testimony just quoted. India provides no answer, and Chang Ch'ien makes no further remark about this particular ambassador's return to China. The Ta-hia (Bactrian) ambassadors returned after a year, accompanied by a native of the region, but nothing beyond the sending is recorded of the ambassador to India. The difficulties of the journey may have overcome any ambassador despatched to so distant a region, or perhaps, having arrived in some one of the small kingdoms south of Bactria, the envoy may have concluded that this was a sufficient representation of India. It is possible that Chi-pin[29] was reached, because in subsequent notices from the Ch'ien Han Shu, that region receives sufficient notice to be reckoned as more important than India itself, if one can judge by the space devoted to each. Of course it is possible that the Shên-tu envoy actually did penetrate into India, but such a thesis cannot be proved.

This expedition was Chang Ch'ien's last. He died soon after in the year 115 B.C. His importance as one of the world's earliest explorers can hardly be overestimated as it created the Chinese knowledge of the West, which, in turn, led to the acquisition of Chinese Turkestan in the Han regime and even of Bactria and Soghdiana in T'ang days.[30] The reduction of these regions to stable and peaceful conditions were primary factors in the great cultural and commercial intercourse which subsequently took place between India, Persia, and the Roman Empire on the one hand and China on the other.

Without dwelling on the phases of this Central Asian conquest with which both the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and *Hou Han Shu* are concerned in certain chapters, an examination may be made of both of these works and the epilogue of Chang Ch'ien's *Memoirs* for notices of India.

Shortly after Chang Ch'ien's death, a further group of ambassadors (*ca.* 112-106 B.C.) were sent to all Western countries including

29 *Supra*, 4.

30 Edouard Chavannes. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, 276 ff.

Shên-tu, but again no report of the journey or experiences of those despatched to India is forthcoming.[31] The fact that no further description of India, as if given by an eyewitness exists in any subsequent account in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* convinces one that none of the Chinese sent abroad reached India proper, but the careful geographical data provided in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* on *Chi-pin* may indicate that our 'Indian' embassies arrived in this extreme northwestern portion. Confirmation of this in India is not to be expected in view of the fact that even Alexander the Great was passed over in silence, but the detailed information given in the Chinese records on Chi-pin is practically conclusive evidence. As the description of this country is too long to quote in full[32] the following digest will supply the chief essence of the information. Chi-pin is described as being 12,000 *li* from Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital. It is reckoned as a first-rate kingdom of considerable extent and population and is not ruled by the Chinese 'Governor General.' It joins the Ta -Yüeh-chih on the north-east. This indicates a southward movement of the Yüeh-chih into Bactria, which, if Chi-pin is Kābul and its environs, would fit fairly accurately. "The country of Chi-pin is flat, and the climate is mild and agreeable." Perhaps Chavannes' location of *Chi-pin* in Kāśmir is better fitted to this description than Kābul. *Chi-pin* produces sandal-wood (known only along the Malabar coast in India), bamboo, the varnish tree, the five grains, grapes, and other fruits. On the low ground rice is cultivated and raw vegetables are eaten in the winter.

Of primary importance is the notice taken of the skill in "ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying building palaces and mansions, net weaving, ornamental perforation, and embroidery." These references suggest either the continued existence of Greeks in the region of *Chi-pin* or else the Greek art and coinage which were

31 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 104. 32 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 33-38.

taken over by Śakas and Parthians after Greek rule had disappeared. The fact that Gandhāra sculpture, so far unearthed, does not antedate the Kuṣāṇas is no proof that such art did not exist earlier. As a matter of fact the general opinion is that it was begun by the Bactrian-Greeks themselves. The above chance excerpt, dated certainly prior to 25 A.D. and probably several years earlier than the Christian era, can safely be interpreted as proof of pre-Kuṣāṇa art in *Chi-pin,* whether that place is Kāśmir, Kapiśa, or Kābul.

That the first information of Chi-pin came not long after Chang Ch'ien's death in 115 B.C. is seen in the following short passage. "From the time that Wu Ti opened up communications with *Chi-pin,* the rulers of that kingdom, in view of the extreme distance, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army."[33] This certainly cannot have been later than 87 B.C., the date of Wu Ti's death. No further description of *Chi-pin* as a country is vouchsafed to us in the lengthy section devoted to its affairs; but a detailed discussion of the perfidy of its ruler, which extended to the execution of several Chinese ambassadors, reveals the fact that China far from being able to reach India proper was wholly unable to trust her emissaries to the wholly irresponsible *chipinese,* and what was worse, no redress for such grievances was possible, even as late as the reign of Ching-te (32-7 B.C.) who made a speech to the ambassadors from *Chi-pin* on the subject of why China must withdraw recognition of *Chi-pin* because of past outrages.

References to *Shên-tu* (India) are scattered throughout the 96th book of the *Ch'ien Han Shu* as geographical location notices only. As a typical example, the location of 'Pi-shan' may be cited. "The country joins *Shên-tu* on the south, and is distant from Koo-mik on north 1,450 *li.* The road to *Chi-pin* and *Wu-yih-shan-li* lies to the south-west."[34] Such notices are of little value except to show that India, though not yet reached by Chinese, had not been forgotten.

33 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 36-38.

34 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 30-31.

The above observations exhaust the reliable sources which relate to evidence of Chinese-Indian contacts in first century B.C. Of the spread of Buddhism we have as yet learned nothing, though de LaCouperie's works and others who follow him, contain sufficient material drawn from various spurious sources to maintain a theory of the introduction of Buddhism into China prior to the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti. Certain it is that Chang Ch'ien or the Chinese annalists had taken no notice of such a religion even in the West.

Turning to the beginning of the first century A.D. our sources are the *Hou Han Shu, Ma Tuan-lin,* and various references contained in post-Christian Classical sources. Ma Tuan-lin's work, being really only a condensed version of the contents of the earlier material, contains nothing new. The value of Pliny's contribution concerning "fair-haired, blue-eyed *Seres* north of the Emodi" has been commented upon above, but a further reference made by him to *Seric* iron[35] is of some interest.

"But of all the different kinds of iron, the palm of excellence is awarded to that which is made by the *Seres,* who send it to us with their tissues and skins; next to which, in quality, is the Parthian iron."

No other reference to Chinese iron is found anywhere in western sources, nor are the Chinese themselves in the habit of mentioning its supreme excellence. What Pliny refers to, therefore, is wholly a matter for conjecture.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* provides the definite information that Chinese silk could be bought at the three ports of Barbaricum[36] near the mouth of the Indus, Barygaza (Broach) where "ancient drachmae are current," and Barkare which is within the Pāṇḍya kingdom in southern India. Obviously the silk which arrived at the two west coast ports came through the Kābul valley or over one of the Pamir passes and then down the Indus, but the origin of the silk in Barkare is less certain. The text explains. "Besides

35 Pliny, xxxiv, 41. 36 Schoff, *op. cit.*, 38. Periplus, 39.

this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, *silk cloth*, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the plains in the interior etc." The common interpretation has been that silk arrived at Barkare from the Ganges region, having reached that port either by way of the same north-west passes or else by the Yunnan-Burmese route. The latter, as has been shown, was extremely precarious as a means of transporting a commodity to a steady market, the former is more plausible. The important question relative to these silk ports is the time of their establishment as such. Is it not possible, if China got Indian goods in *Chi-pin*, that Chinese goods might have been exchanged for them and thus have reached Indian ports even a century prior to the Periplus' certification of it? While this is possible it can only remain a conjecture till fresh evidence is forthcoming.

Most important in the Periplus for our purposes is the kingdom of *This*[37] (China?) described as the last known land.

"After this region (the East coast of India to the Ganges delta) under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called *This*, there is a very great inland city called *Thinae* (Chang-an), from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through *Bactria* to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica by way of the river Ganges. But the land of *This* is not easy of access; few men come from there, and seldom. The country lies under the Lesser Bear, and is said to border on the farthest parts of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, next to which lies Lake Maeotis, all of which empty into the ocean."

This passage clarifies the previous reference to silk from the Ganges and also makes it evident that the only recognized route of silk, even in the first century A.D. was that from Chang-an (if that is Thinae) westward through Chinese Turkestan and (for India) south through the passes of the north-west and down the Indus or Ganges to the various ports from which silk could be shipped to the Roman market. It is probable that much was also consumed by an Indian market, though no evidence for such a conclusion exists except in references to *Cina* etc. referred to above as being present

37 Scoff, *op. cit.*, 48-49. Periplus, 64-65.

in sources of such doubtful date as the *Mahābhārata, Milindapañha,* and the rest.

This additional knowledge of China attained in the West by the end of the first century is sufficient to introduce the following passage from the *Hou Han Shu* which will serve both as an illustration of the tremendous advance in geographical knowledge gained by the Chinese during the first two hundred and twenty years of the Christian era and as a fitting termination of a paper rather barren in positive testimony.

"Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou; il est à plusieurs milliers de *li* au Sud-Est des Hiongnu. Ses meours sont semblables à celles des Hiong-nu,[38] mais le pays est bas, humide, et chaud. Ce royaume est sur les bords d'un grand fleuve. Ses habitants montent sur des éléphants pour combattre; ils sont plus faibles que les Yue-tche; ils pratiquent *le religion du Buddha;* aussi est devenu chez eux une habitude de ne pas tuer et de ne pas batailler.

Quand on part du royaume de Kao-fou (Kaboul) qui appartient aux Yue-tche et qu'on se dirige verse le Sud-Ouest on arrive à la mer occidentale; à l'Est, on parvient au royaume de P'an-k'i; tous ces pays sont partie de Chen-tou. Le Chen-tou a plusieurs centaines de villes autres (que la capitale); dans chaque ville on a mis un gouverneur; il a plusieurs dizaines de royaumes autres (que le royaume principal) dans chaque royaume il y a un roi. Quoiqu'on remarque dans chaque de ces royaumes quelques petites différences, tous cependant se nomment le Chen-tou. A cette époque,[39] ils dépendaient tous des Yue-tche; les Yue-tche avaient tué le roi et avaient installé un chef pour gouverner cette population.

Ce pays produit des éléphants, des rhinocéros, de l'écaille de tortue, de l'or, de l'argent, du cuivre, du fer, du plomb, de l'étain. Du côté de l'Ouest, il est en communication avec le Ta Ts'in; aussi y trouve-t'on les objects précieux de Ta Ts'in. On y trouve aussi des toiles fines, des tapis de laine de bonne qualité, des parfums de toutes sortes, du sucre candi, du poivre, du gengembre, du sel noire."

ELMER H. CUTTS

38 This statement would hardly indicate more than hearsay knowledge of India even by 200 A.D., were it not qualified below.

39 About 125 A.D. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, note, 192.

Glimpses into the Ancient History of Cochin

The history of the Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam,[1] the present royal family of Cochin, during the pre-Portuguese period is shrouded in darkness. On the basis of certain literary references, an attempt was made by the present writer to reconstruct the choronology of the Cochin kings for the period 1342-1500 A.D.[2] Some information is available from literary sources regarding two of her sovereigns of the middle of the 14th century who were responsible for shifting the family headquarters from Mahodayapuram to Cochin, and this is the theme of the present paper.

The transfer of the traditional headquarters of the royal family is an event of great significance in the history of any royal family and it was particularly so in this tradition-ridden corner of India. This step certainly demands more than ordinary grit and calibre in the kings who effected it; and this event has been commemorated by the founding of an era,[3] called the Cochin Era.[4] It is only after this event that the *Perumpaṭappu Mūppil* has come to be called the King of Cochin.[5] The kings who made this transfer are held to be two Rāma Varmās, the Maharaja and the heir-apparent, who are

1 This is the traditional name by which the royal family of Cochin was known in ancient days; and this name persists even to-day in orthodox communications.

2 Vide the writer's paper on 'Some Glimpses of Cochin History', published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. V, pp. 142-151.

3 Vide the writer's paper on the 'Three Kerala Eras', published in the journal mentioned above, vol. I, no. 2.

4 Another name for this era is the *Puthuvaippu* Era; and it is under this name that the era is mentioned in the Dutch treaty of 1663. This name is more popular and refers to another important effect of the great floods, namely the land accretion along the coast.

5 Some hold that this name was given by the Portuguese: this is wrong, for we find that the name is mentioned by Bālakavi of the latter half of the 15th century, almost fifty years before the advent of the Portuguese.

described in the following verse, occuring in the *Tenkailanāthodaya* of Nilakaṇṭha:[6]

मनुकुलमणिदीपौ तत्र पुर्यामभूतां महितगुणनिधानौ रामवर्माभिधानौ ।
प्रतिभटमदकुम्भिप्राढसंहारसिंहौ सलिलनिधिगभीरौ द्वौ महीपालवीरौ ॥१॥

This citation shows that the Rāma Varmās possessed those virtues to a remarkable extent—an aspect that will be made clearer in the citations following. One interesting feature that may be noticed here is the fact that the Rāma Varmās are mentioned together, and it may be taken as indication that they were together responsible for the transfer of the capital.

Two Rāma Varmās again figure prominently in the Sanskrit *Kāvya,* called the *Śivavilāsa,*[9] written by one Dāmodara Cākyar,[10] a protége of king Kèrala Varma of Kāyankulam. This chief had a daughter, named Uṇṇiyaṭi, born of his wife Guptā,—born late in life as a result of praying to god Śiva enshrined in the family temple of Kaṇḍiyūr. The girl was given an education worthy of her birth.[11]

6 Vide the paper mentioned in note 2 ante. The conclusions, set forth in that paper have been questioned by Mahākavi Ullur S. P. Iyer: vide his Introduction to the edition of the *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampu;* vide also the *Bulletin of the Sir Rama Varma Research Institute,* Trichur. These views are controverted in the paper 'The Date of Nilakaṇṭha's Chronology' contributed by the writer to the *Quarterly Journal of the Keralasāhityaparisad.*

7 Vide page 3 verse 6 in the Malayalam Improvement Committee's edition of the text of the *Tenkailanāthodaya.*

8 Here are given the particular features of the kings mentioned: they are both endowed with noble virtues, are bold and enterprising, have destroyed their enemies and are deep and dignified like the ocean.

9 Vide the *Journal of the Samastakerala-sāhityaparisad,* vol. III, no. I, pp. 23-39.

10 Compare, e.g.,

अलघुशिवविलासं नाम काव्यं बबन्धे सुरभि भरतगोत्रीयेन दामोदरेण ॥

11 Compare, e.g., the following verses:

पद्माब्दान्तात् सपदि पुरतः क्लिप्तचौलक्रियाथो ।
वर्णे पथे पदसमुदये प्राप वाक्येपि शिक्षाम् ॥
नासौ नानाभरणनिवहैर्मण्डिता कुण्डलेनाप्यासीद् ।
भूयोध्यगमदखिलाश्चापि गान्धर्वविद्याः ॥

Even when the girl was but twelve, she became fully grown up[12] and so her father, being anxious to get her married to one worthy of her, decided upon holding a *Svayaṃvara,* possibly the only instance of the kind in all-Kerala, which literature has so far preserved for us. Elaborate preparations were made for the function, and all the eligibles of the land were informed. Many were the aspiring candidates who attended the function, and among them was the twenty-five year old[13] heir-apparent Rāma Varmā of the *Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam,* who came accompanied by his uncle Rāma Varmā, the Perumpaṭappu Müppil. One after another the candidates were presented and they were rejected till the bride reached Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā. This prince was introduced and the bride chose him. We quote below the extract which describes the Rāma Varmās of Cochin:

स्तम्भस्य हैमस्थतडित्प्रभस्य मूले मृगेन्द्रासनसन्निविष्टम् ।
तं राजहंसं यदुराजपुत्र्यै धात्री ततः सादरमा चचक्षे ॥२॥

आकर्णयोच्चैः प्रवितृत्य कर्णौ भूपं भुवोमण्डनभूतमेनम् ।
आदित्यधाम्नोपधनस्य लीना विश्वे गुणा नैव दृशैव दृश्याः ॥३॥

अध्यासते केरलभूभृतो यां यस्या यथार्थैव महोदयाह्या ।
रामावनौ मुख्यतमा पुरी या तामावसत्येष दिवं वृषेव ॥४॥

मन्ये स रामोप्ययमेव रामवर्माह्वयः क्षत्रमहोनिधानम् ।
आज्ञाकृतामप्यमितत्विषोस्य भ्रुक्षेपवश्यैव पुरन्दरश्रीः ॥५॥

शब्दे शिक्षातिशयबलतश् शब्दमीमांसकानां ।
वाक्यार्थेति प्रसरगतिभिः पूर्वमीमांसकानाम् ॥
अतार्थेपटुमतितया तत्र चप्युत्तरेषां विस्मेरत्वं ।
व्यधित सततं सा विशेषेक्षकानाम् ॥

It is interesting to notice the attainments of the daughter of the king of Kayankulam, the heroine of the poem. Her education comprised the subjects of dancing and music, literature and literary criticism, grammar and philosophy, particularly *Vedānta* and *Mimāṃsā.*

12 Vide the following:

सुता मम द्वादश वत्सरा : परं तदाप्यमौ भाति समग्रयौवना ।

13 Vide citation १४ following.

निःसीममाहोदयसद्मनोस्य दक्षोत्तरोद्दे शविसारि तेजः ।
नान्योत्त हेतुस्तत एतदीयः ख्यातो बहुव्याप्तितयान्ववायः ॥६॥

शस्त्रास्त्रशास्त्रातिशयादशेषक्षत्रश्रियः क्षेत्रवदीक्षितस्य ।
यस्योचितैः सृष्टिमुखैस्त्रपेरन् व्यस्तक्रिया ब्रह्ममुखा जनेषु ॥७॥

उत्साहतश्च शश्वदुदस्तशस्त्रोत्स्यागाधिकत्वाच्च समस्तपावे ।
विश्वोत्तरं यं कथयन्ति वीरो दाराख्ययाराध्यमतिं कवीन्द्राः ॥८॥

न्यक्षेण संलक्षितलक्षणाधलक्ष्यः क्षमी रक्षितसंश्रितश्रीः ।
लक्ष्म्याः सुतः पश्य स रामवर्मा लक्ष्मीवतोमुष्य तु भागिनेयः ॥९॥

* * * * *

आधावतानेन धृतासिचर्मभीमोरुवाहायुगलार्गलेन ।
शूरा निकृत्ता भुवि शत्रुवीरनाशेष्यशेषा द्विगुणीभवन्ति ॥१०॥

* * * * *

शक्तिः क्षमा शौर्यवती निसर्गा ज्ञानञ्च वाग्मित्वदयानुविद्धम् ।
अश्राधितास्तिक्ययुतञ्च दानं त्वंगुण्यभेकैकगुणे ततोन्य ॥११॥

* * * * *

अज्ञानवृक्षाशनिसन्निपातः प्रख्यातिवल्लीमणिकल्पशाखां ।
कस्यैष पश्यादरभूर्न लोके शस्त्रोपजीवी व्रजचक्रवर्ती ॥१२॥

* * * * *

यादृक् स्त्रियो रूपमिदं तवास्य तादृक् च पश्यामि नृपस्य पुंसः ।
ज्योत्स्नी यदि त्वं विधुरेष नूनं भास्वानथो चेद्भवती दिनश्रीः ॥१३॥

नायम्महात्मा कृतवान् विवाहमालोहिताक्षः सुमुखः सुवक्षाः ।
त्वं कन्यका सर्वगुणप्रकाशा श्रीमानसौ पद्मकपद्मकायुः ॥१४॥

आयुष्यतोप्यस्य तवापि वत्से दूरस्थितिर्नाभिमतो ममेयम् ।
हैमस्य वा चारुविभूषणस्य माणिक्यमुख्यस्य च कः समोन्यः ॥१५॥

* * * * *

We get from the description certain interesting historical details. In the first place the Perumpṭappu Mūppil was then holding court at Mahodayapuram,[16] modern Cranganore, and he was

14 This expression is a literal Sanskrit rendering of the Malayalam expression Perumpaṭappu, which means *extending wide.*

15 Mr. U. S. P. Iyer understands that Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was the son of Lakṣmi Rāṇi. This is wrong.

16 Vide citation ४ given above.

then having some sort of all-Kerala supremacy,[17] though the extent of it is not clear. Secondly, the name of the then reigning monarch was Rāma Varmā,[18] the son of *Rāṇi Lakṣmī*[19] and that he had a nephew Rāma Varmā who was the *Yuvarāja*.[20] Further, we also know that these kings were contemporaries of Kerala Varmā of Kayankulam.

We shall now try to see if it be possible to fix up the dates of these Rāma Varmās with some degree of approximation at least. It is said that three ladies of Kaṇḍiyūr are mentioned in the *Uṇṇinīlisandeśa*,[21] one of the greatest *Sandeśakāvyas* of Malayalam literature and possibly the best of the type; and one among them is a Uṇṇiyaṭi. This work is said to have been written about 1374 A.D. when the king of Kayankulam was a Ravi Varmā who is described as an aged king.[22] There is nothing improbable in identifying the Uṇṇiyaṭi of the *Kāvya* with the *Uṇṇiyaṭi* of the *Sandeśa*. We also know from the *Kārāymakkaraṇa* of the *Ūrālars* of the Iriñjalakkuda temple[23] that the king of Kāyankulam in 1341-42 was a Ravi Varmā,

17 Mr. Iyer concedes this point in his article on the subject. He says that the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil holding court at Mahodayapuram was the Emperor of Kerala, thereby suggesting that he had some sort of all-Kerala overlordship: vide pp. 38 & 39; and further substantiates his position with reference to Viraraghavacakravarti. This view is perfectly in keeping with the view we have already elaborated in our paper 'Kings of Cochin versus Emperor of Kerala, published in the *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. IX, no. I, pp. 11-13.

18 Vide citations ५ & ६ given above.

19 Vide citation ६ given above.

20 Vide citation ६ above.

21 Vide the Journal quoted in note 9 *ante:* page 24.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Vide the *Bulletin of the Sir Rama Varma Research Institute*, Trichur: No. II: Temple Studies: Iriñjalakuda Temple. We give below a literal rendering of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa*:—

"The *Kārāyma* deed written in the month of Thulam 517 M.E. The agreement entered into between the people of the nine families who own Karayma rights in the Iriñjalakuda-Kṣetra and who took the Māṇikka gem on . *irāyma* and Ravi Varmā who is the lord of Oṇaṭṭu-Kara and who gave the Māṇikkaratna as *Kārāyma*.

who may be identified with the Ravi Varmā of the *Sandeśakāvya*. If these identifications are correct, then the father of Uṇṇiyaṭi, the consort of Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā of the Perumpaṭappu Svairūpam must be the immediate predecessor of Ravi Varmā who was the king of Kayankulam in 1342 A.D. In which case the two Rāma Varmās, the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil and his nephew, must be contemporaries of both Kerala Varmā and Ravi Varmā of Kayankulam; and that means they are the Rāma Varmās who are mentioned as being the first kings of Cochin in the *Tenkailanāthodaya*.

This conclusion finds some support in the circumstances leading to the execution of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa* of the Māṇikkakṣetra of Iriñjalakkuda. The Perumpaṭappu Mūppil had already been granted by the year 1336 large powers in the temple[24] and yet no reference is found made in the temple chronicles to this suzerain lord either in the matter of loaning the gem, or in the execution of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa*, by which two very important rights were granted to the king of Kayankulam, namely the right of appointing the

Referring to the Māṇikka-ratna received on Kārāyma, the people of the nine families gave in writing to accompaniment of *Nirudaka* as *Kārāyma* right in their *Māṇikka-kṣetra* the *Kārāyma-melāyma-sthānam* and the *Śri-kovilpaṇi-taccuṭa-kammal-avarodha-sthānam* to be conducted without deviating from the customary usages obtaining in the *Saṅketa* to keep the *bhāṇḍāra* and render accounts to the Sabhāyogam in the *Vātalmāḍham* of the temple. Similarly, giving to the nine families the *Māṇikka-ratnam* as *Kārāyma*, Ravi Varma received in writing to the accompaniment of *Nirudaka* as *Kārāyma* right the *Samudāya-melāyma-sthānam* and the *Śri-kovil-paṇi-taccuṭa-kammal-avarodha-sthānam* in the *Māṇikka-kṣetra*, belonging to the people of the nine families who received as Kārāyma the *Māṇikka-ratna* in return. In this wise receiving the *Māṇikka-ratna* as *Kārāyma* gift and giving back in writing to the accompaniment of *Nirudaka* the *Samudāya-melāyma-sthānam* and receiving this in writing by Ravi Varma from the nine families, attesting witnesses Taraṇanallūr Nampūtiri, Akor Nampūtiri, Matiyatt Tānni and Pāmbum Mekkaṭṭ. Written with their knowledge and in the hand-writing of Turuttikaṭṭ Kutal."

This is no doubt a very interesting document for more reasons than one, and particularly to the students of language and of history, particularly of the temple at Iriñjalakuda.

24 Vide article mentioned in note 23 *ante*.

the Samudāya Melayma and the temple architect. According to our interpretation of the references in the Śiva-vilāsa, this lack of reference is easily explainable: it must have been at the instance and with the cognisance of the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil that the loan was made and the document executed. We, therefore, hold that the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Kāvya* must have been living in 1342 A.D.

From what has been said it will be clear that these two Rāma Varmās can with a fair degree of accuracy be ascribed to the middle of the 14th century A.D. and that means they can be identified with the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Tenkailanāthodaya*, who are described as the first kings of Cochin.[25]

Viṭanidrābhāṇam,[26] of an unknown author, mentions a Rāma Varmā, at whose instance was the work written: compare the following extracts:

अहो चूर्णिसरित्कल्लोलहस्तालिङ्गितप्राकारमेखलायाः केरलकुलराजधान्याः श्रीरामवर्म-परिपालितायाः महोदयपुर्याः इत्यादि

Also compare:

यावत् खण्डेन्दुमौलिः श्रयति गिरिसुता यावदास्ते मुरारे ।
वक्षःश्रीणहारदुश्यमणिशबलिते देवतामङ्कलानाम् ॥
यावद्भक्तेषु मैत्रीमुपनयति गिरामीश्वरी पद्मयोनेः ।
तावद् लक्ष्मीप्रसूतिः स्वयमवतु भुवम् रामवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥

Here again the Rāma Varmā is described as holding court at Mahodayapuram and as the son of Lakṣmi Rāṇi. The latter of these two facts is a clue which justifies our identification of this Rāma Varmā with the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil who figures in the *Kāvya*,

25 Mr. U. S. P. Iyer's dating of these kings is evidently wrong. Vide note 6 ante.

26 Vide *Vijñānadipikā*, part IV, p. 207; also *History of Sanskrit Literature in Kerala*. The former writer forgets that the poet has mentioned this Rāma Varmā as holding court at Mahodayapuram and therefore has tried to connect this king with the king who reigned between 1565 and 1600. This, it needs scarcely be said, is totally wrong.

and the elder Rāma Varmā who is mentioned as the founder of the city of Cochin.

We may here sum up the characteristic features of the hero panegyried in the works mentioned above. The Perumpaṭappu Mūppil described in the *Śivavilāsakāvya* is the king of all-Kerala who held his court at Mahodayapuram, which was then the premier city in all-Kerala; he was a brave king and heroic warrior, graced with all regal qualities. The Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was equally great as a warrior—adorned with physical strength and valour which are toned down by patience and forgiveness, with knowledge which is enhanced by kindness and sweetness of disposition, and with charity which is characterised by selflessness and religiosity. He is described as the flash of lightning which roots out the darkness of ignorance and the divine tree which supports the creeper of fame. Even when due allowance is made for the imagination and exaggeration of the poet, enough yet remains in the poem which would show that these two Rāma Varmās were very eminent kings, an aspect which is also borne out by the description given by Nīlakaṇṭha. They were both great warriors and statesmen, well versed in the arts, both of peace and of war.

K. Rama Pisharoti

Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon

1. *Mercenaries* and *militia* were the two constituent parts of the Sinhalese army in the mediaeval period (Cf. H. W. Codrington, *Short Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 64-70; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 83-85). Terms for, soldier 'are *yodha*, *bhaṭa*, and if their bravery is to be emphasised by the poet: *sūra* hero.' A peculiar term for 'mercenary' is *āyudhīya* (*Mhvs.*, 61. 69) or *āyudha-jīvin* (66. 67), one who is living by bearing arms or by military service.

The *mercenaries* got payment from the king. They were *Sihalas* or more frequently people who came over to Ceylon from Southern India: *Damiḷas*, *Keraḷas* and *Kaṇṇāṭas* (*deśāntaravāsino yodhā* soldiers domiciled in a foreign country, 69. 18). In the old Mahāvaṃsa neither Keraḷas nor Kaṇṇāṭas are named at all, and the Damiḷas were but the hated enemies of the Sinhalese people. For the first time at the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. Damiḷas occur as soldiers in the service of a Sinhalese ruler (36. 49). Abhayanāga, the younger brother of Vohārikatissa was forced to take flight to main India owing to a crime he had committed at court. He returned afterwards to Ceylon at the head of a Damiḷa army, defeated and killed his brother and ascended the throne.

In the 7th cent. King Aggabodhi III was supported in his war with Jeṭṭhatissa by Damiḷa troops he had hired in India, and Jeṭṭhatissa's dignitary Dāṭhāsiva also had Damiḷa soldiers in his service when he himself took the crown from Aggabodhi (44. 105-125). It seems that at that time the mercenary system was already established or at least not unknown in Ceylon. The kings could not dispense with it though it sometimes caused serious troubles

We are told in 55. 1 *sq.* that King Mahinda V, 981-1017, was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. Therefore a mutiny broke out, and when the king had taken refuge in Rohaṇa in the remaining parts of the country the brutal soldiery of Sīhalas, Keraḷas and Kaṇṇāṭas carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing this the Coḷa king sent an army to Ceylon and made it a province of the Coḷa empire (H. W. Codrington, l.l., p. 40; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 55). A public calamity befell the Keraḷa mercenaries during the reign of the usurper Māgha, 1214-35. They oppressed and harassed the people in a terrible manner, plundered their houses and took away their possessions, and Māgha himself, whose power was depending on this soldiery, had delivered up to the Keraḷas whatever else belonged to the Sīhalas (80. 61-77).

2. Later on the Velakkāra mercenaries played an important rôle in the king's army. They were, no doubt, a warlike tribe or clan or a military community of Dravidian origin and may be compared with similar communities within the Coḷa army as the Maravaras (76. 130, 246) or the Kallaras, the Goḷihaḷas and the Kuntavaras (76. 246, 259) who are mentioned in the description of King Parakkamabāhu's campaign against the Coḷa king Kulaśekhara.

We learn from South Indian inscriptions that they for the first time came to Ceylon with king Rājendra I by whom the conquest of Ceylon mentioned above was completed in the first half of the 11th century (Wickremasinghe, *Epigr. Zeyl.*, II. 247). Since that time they had great influence in the Island serving as mercenaries to the king. But they appear to have been a rather tumultuous element within the army. Already about the year 1089 we hear that they rebelled against king Vijayabāhu I. The revolt was put down and the leaders were punished with bloody cruelty (60. 35-44). Half a century later they, suborned by Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, deserted king Gajabāhu, and, supported by their

defection, the two brothers attacked Rājaraṭṭha. But the king defended his dominion successfully. We may assume that in this case also a severe punishment of the mutinous mercenaries took place (63. 24 *sq.*).

Even during the reign of Parakkamabāhu we hear of a Velakkāra revolt. When the king began his campaign against Rohaṇa the Velakkāras banded themselves together with the Sihala and Kerala mercenaries and revolted in order to profit by this opportunity and to take possession of Rājaraṭṭha. However the mutiny was suppressed by the king, the leaders were killed and the landed property formerly granted to the mercenaries as payment was withdrawn from them (74. 44 *sq.*).

There is in Polonnaruva a fine slab erected by the Velakkāras with a Tamil inscription which, as I believe, must be dated immediately before the revolt that took place at the beginning of King Gajabāhu's reign in the year 1137. The Velakkāras at that time, as the self-confident and proud tone of the inscription shows, were on the summit of their wealth and power, having regained their former influence after the first rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the year 1089. In the inscription they declare their agreement to protect the temple of the Tooth Relic, though they were themselves adherents of a Śaiva sect. But on undertaking the control of that sacred shrine they were so bold as to call it the property of the Velakkāras and regarded it as their own charitable institution under their entire support. So they assigned to it lands, guards, etc., for its maintenance. (W i c k r e m a s i n g h e, *Ep. Zeyl.*, II, p. 247).

In the later chapters of the *Mahāvaṃsa* we do not hear any more of the Velakkāras, but in the 13th century *Āriyas*, i.e. Rājputs were serving as mercenaries of the Sinhalese king side by side with Sihalas. Their leader bore the interesting name Thakuraka which corresponds to the modern family name Tagore (Y u l e and B u r n e l l, Hobson-Jobson s.v. Thakoor). He is said to have

killed the usurper Mitta with his own hand, and after this resolute deed the mercenaries banded themselves together and reinstated the legitimate king Bhuvanekabāhu in the royal dignity (90. 12 *sq.*).

3. The *militia* is called 'the army dwelling in the country' (raṭṭhavāsikā senā *Mhvs.* 70-89, 75. 102) and were agriculturists who were tilling and watering their fields and waiting for the harvest in perpetual fear of demons who might annihilate the whole work; the Sinhalese were never warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value. Cordiner, in his description of Ceylon, as it was shortly after its occupation by the Englishmen, says: 'An attempt was made some years ago to train a body of them (i.e. of the Sinhalese) as soldiers, but, after great perseverance, it completely failed of success. A life of military discipline proved, in the highest degree, irksome and uncongenial to their habits. They deserted in great numbers, and examples intended to terrify only stimulated those who remained to abandon the service' (*Ceylon*, I. pp. 92-3). In mediaeval times the Sinhalese were hardly better soldiers. We often read in the chronicle that the soldiers are running away on all sides as soon as they see themselves exposed to an unexpected danger (*Mhvs.*, 66. 89-90, 104; 67. 48). Such passages are met with chiefly in that part of the chronicle the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu, and it may sometimes have been the unsophisticated chronicler's intention to exalt the king's heroism in comparison with his suite. But we also hear that a general of king Gajabāhu owing to an inauspicious dream fell from his bed and ran away into the forest where he was wandering about during the whole night, until at daybreak he reached his village. His men too, when they heard of the general's flight, left their weapons behind and followed their lord in bewilderment (66. 47 *sq.*). So much seems to be certain that such scenes were by no means strange or unusual much less contemptible in the chronicler's eyes.

General Gokanna's army which was made ready by him in all

haste for warding off Parakkamabāhu's general Māyāgeha consisted of the troops sent to him by king Gajabāhu, of his own former army and of the army dwelling in the country, that is, of regular troops and militia. Apparently the militia was the last hope. The minor Mānābharaṇa is said to have armed the able-bodied inhabitants of his two provinces, the two portions of Rohaṇa Aṭṭhasahassaka and Dvādasasahassaka (*balaṃ raṭṭhadvayanivāsinaṃ* 70. 187; cf. 70. 260) in order to be ready for war, if Parakkamabāhu should succeed in conquering Pulatthinagara and then menace Rohaṇa. In the ensuing war two generals of Parakkamabāhu, Deva and Kitti, who had too far penetrated into the province of Rohaṇa, were encircled by the hostile army together with the militia-men (*sakalârāti-vāhinī sa-raṭṭhavāsikā* 72. 127). In the later war when general Rakkha attacked the Rohaṇa troops in the flank near Sīmātālatthali his unexpected appearance caused surprise and terror among the rebels and they called upon the militia for assistance in this dangerous situation (75-102).

As militia men the *Vyādhas* took a particular position in Parakkamabāhu's army (69. 20; cf. below). The word is here, no doubt, the Pali equivalent of the modern Väddā, the name of the wild tribe of huntsmen who are believed to be the remnant of the aboriginal population of Ceylon. It is obvious that these people who were intimately acquainted with the wilderness, could be of good service to a commander of troops as scouts or guides. In a similar connection the word *kirāta* occurs in 72. 208. It is said here that the Kirātas were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderness of forest and mountain and slew many people by night and day. In Sanskrit and Pali *kirāta* denotes a wild jungle-man of dwarfish stature. Can it be that the *Mhvs.* 72. 208 preserves the memory of a race of pygmies formerly living in some districts of S.E. Ceylon? Traditions concerning such a race are mentioned in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Ceylon Br. XXIII, no. 67, 1914, p. 288. *sq.*

Even professional *thieves* practised in house-breaking (*saṃdhibhedassa kusalā corā* 70-168) were employed in war by Parakkamabāhu. They were sent by him in the middle of the night to a fortified camp (*dugga*) erected by the enemy to undermine it with sharp antelope horns (*migasiṅgāni*) and so to take it. Antelope horn was perhaps the name of an iron-instrument comparable to a miner's pick. *Coras* were also engaged in the siege and capture of Pulatthinagara (70. 285).

4. The traditional name in India for a complete *army* is the four-membered army '(*senā cāturaṅgiṇī* in the ancient *Mahāvaṃsa*, 18. 29 etc., and in its mediaeval portion, 70, 217 etc.), because it is composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers. In the 13th century the four constituent parts of the army of Parakkamabāhu II were the *vīramahāyodhā*, the great warriors, i.e. the foot soldiers, *hatthipakā*, the elephant drivers; *turaṅgasādi*, the horsemen; and *rathino*, the charioteers' (88. 34). This however seems to be but a poetical paraphrase of the traditional name which in fact hardly suits the mediaeval Sinhalese army: for I believe that H. W. Codrington (l.l. p. 69) is right, when he says: 'In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon; indeed the thickly wooded nature of the country, in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent.'

It is true that in the earlier centuries of the mediaeval period elephants were used as animals for riding in battle by kings or their substitutes (41. 23. 47 *sq.*; 50. 21 *sq.*). But otherwise elephants are never mentioned in the description of a battle. In 70. 228 *sq.* we hear that king Gajabāhu's generals when preparing the final resistance placed in readiness well-armoured elephants but this is hardly more than a poetical phrase, for in the following chapters we do not learn anything about their employment. Parakkamabāhu is said

(69. 22-3) to have brought up many sons of distinguished families in his own palace with the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants and horses should increase in number. This notice, however, does not concern but sport, and bodily training in general, not military exercise especially. The Ramaṇas contrary to the Sinhalese were using elephants in war. When, therefore, Parakkamabāhu prepared the Rāmañña campaign, he provided his soldiers with a peculiar sort of arrows for the defence of those animals (76. 48).

As to horses, in one case only it is related that a royal prince, Kassapa, the younger brother of king Sena I, was on horseback, in battle (50. 26-28) but we may infer from the narration itself that this was something extraordinary. In the Cola army cavalry was numerous and the report in the *Mahāvaṃsa* on Parakkamabāhu's war with Kulaśekhara clearly shows how much the Sinhalese were impressed by this fact. The capture of many horses in the various battles is repeatedly exalted by the chronicler (76. 100, 298, 331).

The bulk of the mediaeval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala-vāhana*). Even the *officers* (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72-100 (*Cūlavaṃsa*, trsl. I, p. 328, n. 2; H. W. Codrington, l.l., p. 75). We must, therefore, also translate the word *yāna*, generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin; not with chariot (70. 85, 122). The badge of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66. 49; 70. 122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

Trumpets and *drums* are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *saṅkha* (85. 113; 89. 46; Sk. *Śaṅkha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells (*jayāsaṅkhā* 65. 27; 88. 75; *maṅgala-*

saṅkhā 74. 222). From 72-119 *pañca-mahāsadda-saṅkha-nāda* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches we may perhaps infer that so many forms or kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum' are more various. It is a well-known fact that the Sinhalese people are very fond of drumming and beating the drums with admirable rhythmic art. More than sixty sorts of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size, one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a peculiar name. It must have also been the same, or nearly the same in the mediaeval period. The most common name for a military drum is *bheri* (Sk. *id.*, Sinh. *beraya*), also *raṇabheri* battle drum or *jaya-bheri* victorious drum (70. 227; 75-104; 76-161 88. 75). Other words are *kāhala* (74. 222; 75. 104; Sk. and Sinh. loanword *id.*), *dundubhi* (85. 113; Sk., Sinh *id.*), *āḷambara* (69. 20; Sk. *āḍambara*) and, mentioned in the latest part of the chronicle, *maddala* (96. 15; 99. 46; Sk. *mardala*). We may notice here that in time of peace drum-beating and blast of trumpets were never lacking on festive occasions (72. 315. 74. 221), and that public proclamations used to be made by beat of drum.

Flags (*dhaja* 85. 114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies were taking to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajaṃ* 70. 225; cf. 88. 75). According to a later passage (99.44.18th cent.) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

5. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* five kinds of *weapons* (*pañcâyudha* or °*âv*° 41. 48; *dasaddhâyudha* 70. 229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. C l o u g h in his *Sinhalese Dictionary* s.v. says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon; nor do I know whether the

battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese . I think that *pañcâyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturaṅgini senā*, and used by the chronicler without considering the actualities.

The first and foremost weapons were *bow* (*cāpa, dhanu*) and *arrows* (*sara, bāṇa, usu, salla*). The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70. 116; 72. 244; Sk. *dhanurgraha*), *dhanuddhara* (83. 45; Sk. *dhanurdhara*) or *issāsa* (72. 245; Sk. *iṣvāsa*), the archery *dhanusippa*.

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66. 27; 70. 114; 72. 134, 246, 250; *saravuṭṭhi* 74. 96; *bāṇavuṭṭhi* 74. 117). Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubted. It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramaṇas and the Jāvakas. Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmañña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pitasalla-* 76-49). And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harrassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visa-diddhehi bāṇehi* 83. 38) likened to terrible snakes; they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83. 44). It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is touching a strange foreign custom which was unknown and unheard of to the Sinhalese people and looked to them like a diabolic practice.

A peculiar kind of arrows is called *gokaṇṇaka*, probably after their form. The word corresponds to Sk. *gokarṇa* which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same meaning. Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76. 48).

Archery was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon. Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, is praised for his skill in the use of the bow already in his thirteenth year (57. 43). In the army raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent

archers, called, moon-light archers (*candâlokadhanuddharā* 69. 19) because they were versed in night-fighting. In the ancient *Mahāvaṃsa* 23.86 archers are mentioned who hit their mark guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhino*) and others who were able to hit a hair (*vāla-vedhino*) and others who hit their mark by the light of a lightning (*vijju-vedhino*). The last group is mentioned in the mediaeval period also: *akkhaṇavedhino issāsā* (72. 245), and we shall be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

6. For the sword we come across the names *asi*, *khagga* (Sk. *asi*, *khaḍga*) and less frequently *tharu* (*Mhvs.*, 69. 22; Sk. *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks were flying from the clash of swords in such a combat (72. 84). Training in the manipulation of the sword as well as in that of the bow belonged to the education of princes and sons of noble families (64. 4; 69. 22). The Sīhalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88. 74). The sword was the principal weapon in the hand of the king (66. 24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 *sq.*, one being called the Jambudīpa blade and the other the Sīhala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The *dagger* (*churika* 39. 27; *asiputtaka* 41. 24; *nikkaraṇi* 44. 112) is mentioned as royal weapon. It was also weapon of the Keraḷa mercenaries (55. 6) and among the different regiments of Parakkamabāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggāhakā* 69. 24).

The heavy lance (*kunta*) is often mentioned in the chronicle. In ancient Ceylon a lance with a relic was the badge and standard of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (25. 1, 26. 9 *sq.*). In the 17th cent.

bows, swords, lances, etc. (*dhanukhaggakuntâdini* 96. 14; cf. 99. 49) were the weapons of the foot soldiers. The spears given by Parakkamabāhu to the Vyādhas (69. 20) were probably javelins. The word *sattikā* used in this passage is Sk. *śakti* + suff. *ka*. Another word for a dart or some other light missile is *samara*. Parakkamabāhu's warriors who had taken up a position in the stronghold of Āḷigāma killed many enemies with arrows, darts and javelins (*usu-tomara-sattihi* 70. 116) which they flung from the turrets of the gate. The meaning of *sattha* is doubtful. The pursuers of king Bhuvanekabāhu are said to have pierced the king's litter *tikkha-satthehi* so that everything was in tatters. The king sprang to the ground from his litter and fled by foot (90. 7-8). My translation was, 'with their pointed spears' (*Cūlavaṃsa*, trsl. II. 1.1.), but, with their sharp swords (Cf. Sk. *śastra*) would perhaps be better. We have seen above that light missiles were shot by the Jāvakas from a machine (*yanta*). Such a machine from which stones were hurled, apparently something like a catapult, was also in use among the Sinhalese (72. 251).

An ancient and primitive weapon was the *club* (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yodhe* 69. 17). The most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century.

Among the *defensive arms* (*kavacāni* 69. 7, 38, or *vamma* 76. 47, opposite to *āyudhāni*) the shield (*phalaka*) must be mentioned. It was probably made of wood but it is doubtful whether it was always worn and by all soldiers. When Parakkamabāhu was attacked in the wilderness by a dreadful bear he forced the beast down with the edge of his shield and killed it with his sword (67. 42). In 74. 73 it is said that two generals of Parakkamabāhu provided for their troops arrow protectives consisting of buffalo-skin'

(*mahisacammamaye bāṇavāraṇe*). It seems that leathern doublets are meant by this expression; but their use was apparently an isolated case.

7. When *war* is imminent it is necessary first of all to provide the food supply for both the army in the field and the population at home. Therefore Parakkambāhu, ere he began the campaign against *Rājaraṭṭha*, took care in every possible way to enlarge the cultivable area of his province so that he might be able to store a large quantity of grain (*Mhvs.*, 68. 7-53). His financial reform served the same purpose (69. 27 *sq.*). We need not add that also stores of armour and weapons of every kind and many other things formed parts of the war material (*yuddhôpakaraṇa* 69. 5, 14). For the war in Rāmañña the king had supplied for his army not only the iron arrows against elephants and medicine for the healing of venomous wounds, but also armour and weapons in abundance, and provisions for a whole year such as rice and the like, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken. The army was also accompanied by skilful physicians and serving women (*thiyo paricārikā*) who were to attend sick and wounded soldiers (76. 47 *sq.*).

The soldiers themselves were trained for the military profession already at peace by manoeuvres. Parakkamabāhu in order to test the fitness of his men arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled people and dismissed those unfitted for fight. They were to till the fields and perform other works living at home (69. 37-8). Sham-fights (*yodhakīḷā*) in which the soldiers could show their skill in handling the weapons were also in use (89. 26, 31).

Before the beginning of the war against Rājaraṭṭha Parakkamabāhu is said to have worked out with ingenuity in a way suited to the locality and the time, and the plan of campaign. He did so

with careful study of literary works valuable for carrying on war, such as the text-book of Koṭalla, i.e. the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra*, and the Yuddhaṇṇava, probably a part of the *Agnipurāṇa* which bears the separate title *Yuddhajayârṇava*. The plan was written down and handed out to the officers with the strict order not to swerve by a hair's breadth from the king's instruction (70. 56-8).

It is however impossible to carry through a war successfully without an accurate knowledge of the military power of the hostile king and of the political and financial situation of his country. Such a knowledge must be acquired by *espionage*. Prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have done so (66. 126 *sq.*) during his sojourn at king Gajabāhu's court in Pulatthinagara. We must not accept this report as historical in its details, for the chronicler followed here, as I have shown in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* (in honour of H. Jacobi), p. 418 *sq.*, the text of the *Kauṭaliya*. He wished to describe his hero as a ruler who in all his qualities corresponded to the ideal of an Indian king who is versed in the *nīti*.

The prince is said to have sought out clever and astute men and sent them forth in various disguises in order to become acquainted with the people in the outlying districts, whilst he himself confined his observations and inquires to the town and its inhabitants. In the enumeration of these spies in the *Mahāvaṃsa* the ascetic (*tāpasa* 66. 135) corresponds to the *tāpasa* in the *Kauṭaliya*, the poisoner (*rasakriyâbhiññā* 66. 138) to the *rasada*, the sorcerer and fortune teller (*bhūtavijjāvidū* 66. 138, *sāmuddikâdikânekalakkhaṇaññu* 66. 132) to the *sāmedhika* (cf. *aṅgavidya*), and the itinerant trader selling glass bangles and similar trifles to the *vaidehaka* (*Kaut.*, I. 11 and 12). In order also to find out among the king's dignitaries those whom he could win over and to apply the right method for doing so he tried to distinguish between those who were ambitious (*abhimānino*), those who nursed a grudge (*saṃkuddhā*), those who

were afraid (*bhītā*), and those who were avaricious (*luddhā* 66. 142). These four-groups exactly correspond, even in wording, to the *mānivarga, kuddhavarga, bhītavarga* and *lubdhavarga* in the *Kauṭaliya*, I. 14.

There are some more spies of other character mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as well as in the *Arthaśāstra*. But so much seems to be certain that the *Kauṭaliya* and perhaps also other works of the Indian *nīti* literature were well-known and eagerly studied in mediaeval Ceylon, and what they taught was probably also applied by the kings as far as it was possible or advisable. It is however very improbable that Parakkamabāhu personally practised espionage at Gajabāhu's court, as it is described in the chronicle; for such an activity was too risky and could hardly be kept secret.

8. As to the *war* itself four 'means of success' (*upāya*) are mentioned in the chronicle 58. 3. The same distinction occurs in the Indian śāstras. In the *Kauṭaliya* the four stratagems are enumerated (II. 10; Shamasastry, ed.[2] p. 74; trsl., 84): *bheda* division of the enemy; *daṇḍa* open war, offensive; *sāma* friendly negotiations, *dānāni* gifts or bribes. The character of the war itself was mainly depending on that of the country. In the mediaeval times Ceylon was, for the greatest part, thickly covered with forest, and frequently the assistance of scouts (*cārā* 66. 99; 75. 64) was necessary to show to the soldiers a road leading through the wilderness. They were probably recruited from the local militia, perhaps also from forest tribes (see above in 3). Often the war was hardly more than a guerilla (*corayuddha* 75. 135). In this respect the description of the beginning of the second Rohaṇa campaign is very interesting (75. 1-18).

In the first campaign the sacred relics of the *dāṭhādhātu* and the *pattadhātu* had been captured by Parakkamabāhu's generals (74. 138). That was certainly an important moral success. But in order to achieve the main object of the whole undertaking, the

subjection of the province, the king was forced to begin a new campaign. He first intended to invade Rohaṇa from north-east through the districts of Dighavāpi and Guttasālā, now Buttala. The resistance offered by the Rohaṇa people was apparently weak, but when it seemed to have been suppressed at one place, it at once broke out anew in another. In spite of the victories reported by his generals the king gave up his plan and decided to attack the province from its north-west frontier. After the first defeats in this final phase of the terrible war, the Rohaṇa people themselves proclaimed the guerilla. They said: 'Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore at all inaccessible places let us throw up many entrenchments, make all the well known high ways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths (*corāmagge*), and when our land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle' (75. 31-33).

An ambuscade is described in 66. 72 *sq.* Prince Parakkamabāhu on his way to Pulatthinagara was pursued by his uncle's officers and their troops who had been sent forth to bring him back. When he heard at Buddhagāma that they were approaching, he left in front space for the advancing army and placed his bravest men in ambush on both sides of the road. Then when the whole of the hostile force had advanced to the centre he suddenly fell upon them and had numbers of soldiers cut down. In a similar manner when Gajabāhu's troops approached the stronghold of Mihiraṇabibbila, the warriors of Parakkamabāhu feigned as if they were giving way, and thus enticed the enemy into an ambush of soldiers who had been hidden in the forest and suddenly made a dash on them (72. 246 *sq.*).

The tactics of outflanking the enemy were also known. We can hardly understand the undertakings of the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha against Mahānāgahula in the final stage of the Rohaṇa

campaign, if we do not assume such a method of warfare (75. 83 *sq.*). The basis of Rakkha's operation was Doṇivagga, that is the district round Pelmadulla, S.E. of Ratnapura, from here he first tried to advance directly to Mahānāgahula along the road which at present runs through primeval forest from Madampe to Ambalantoṭa. But he realised that a break through along this highway was impossible and we hear in v. 98 that he marched with a strong force to Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa. That is a place near the modern Deniyaya, south of the Rakvana mountain range. Obviously Rakkha had crossed this range on the Bulutoṭa pass and thus made an outflanking manoeuvre. The enemies were surprised and alarmed, for they had not expected an attack from this side because the road leading from Doṇivagga to Navayojana, i.e. the Bulutoṭa pass was very difficult (75. 72) to negotiate and they had not sufficiently secured their left flank. Rakkha won the ensuing battle and was able to advance to the hostile capital.

The descriptions in the chronicle of a battle are of no great interest. They are always made according to a certain poetical model. The simile is generally a thunder-storm. The soldiers are pouring out a rain of arrows, or the arrows are the cloud by which the heavens are darkened. The battle-cry of the warriors is compared to the thunder, the sparks flying from the clash of swords are like the lightnings (72. 84; 75. 63, 110-11, 131-32 etc.) In a very artificial and fictitious passage (76. 160-61) the battle-field is compared to the ocean in a heavy storm. Often a general is said to be a lion that has broken into a herd of elephants or gazelles (72. 2-3, 69).

A peculiar heroic feature in battles of ancient times was the single combat between the leaders of the two armies. That of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the southern gate of Anurādhapura (25. 67 *sq.*) is a classical example. In the mediaeval period such a combat is mentioned between Dāṭhāpabhuti and his brother Moggallāna,

6th c. (41. 49). In later times we do not hear any more of such heroic deeds. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059-1116, is said, it is true, to have challenged the Coḷa king (60. 30 *sq.*), but this was rather a theatrical pose or a poetical exaggeration. The single combat never took place. In his adventurous youth Prince Parakkamabāhu sometimes is reported to have personally taken part in fighting (66. 103-4; 67. 48), if this is not simply an embellishment of the narration made by the chronicler who wished to exalt the bravery of his favourite hero. After he had become king, Parakkamabāhu in all his wars generally remains behind the army in the headquarters or in the capital sending therefrom his commands to the generals in the field. Once when he was present in the most critical phase of a battle against Mānābharaṇa he cried for his sword (72. 102). However he made no use of it, but looked significantly at the faces of his generals who had given way, but turned now again towards the enemy and flung themselves into the midst of the hostile army.

The *victory* (*jaya*; opp. *parājaya*, *parābhava*) was celebrated by a festive entrance into the capital of the victorious army. When the dignitaries of Parakkamabāhu had finished the Rohaṇa campaign and occupied the whole province they marched at the head of their troops to Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers of the city who played music, shouted with joy and waving cloths let their cries of victory resound, they drew near the palace and rendered homage to the monarch (75. 200 *sq.*).

After a successful war the heads of the hostile officers who had been killed in battle together with their umbrellas and palanquins, the weapons captured during the campaign, and the captives caught alive were sent to the king (70. 122), and the victorious generals were honoured by titles and ornaments (*ābharaṇāni* 72. 320) corresponding to our medals.

Naval battles are mentioned at the beginning of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu and were fought by the king's generals

in the middle of the sea 'near a place called Muttākara.' This name and the fact that pearls were captured as booty seem to prove that the Gulf of Mannar was the seat of this naval war (70. 63 *sq.*, 91 *sq.*). Some of the Sinhalese kings also sent ships across the sea to Southern India to wage war with the Pāṇḍus and Coḷas. Thus did Sena II in the 9th cent., Kassapa V and Udaya IV in the 10th cent., and Parakkamabāhu I in the 12th cent., (51. 22 *sq.*, 52. 70 *sq.*, 53. 46 *sq.*, 76. 86 *sq.*). The latter even is said to have made an enterprise against Rāmañña (76. 44 *sq.*). In none of these cases we hear that a naval battle was given by the enemies in order to repel the aggressors. When Parakkamabāhu sent many hundred ships, which sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean, to Southern India the Damiḷas restricted themselves to defend the coast and to prevent the Sinhalese army from landing (76. 89 *sq.*). As the ships had to lie in deep water the Sinhalese commander made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. In order to protect them from the rain of arrows that came flying from the Damiḷas who were standing on the coast, he had shields made of leather set up in front of the soldiers. Thus he landed on the coast and after putting to flight the Damiḷas he took up a firm position near the harbour.

9. *Fortified camps* or temporary fortresses (H. W. Codrington, l.l. p. 70) played a great part in the wars in mediaeval Ceylon. The same was the case in main India since ancient times. The first chapter of the tenth book, on war in the *Kauṭaliya* contains the rules concerning the laying out of a fortified camp (*skandhāvāra-niveśa* Shamasastry. ed.[2] p. 363; trsl., p. 437). In the *Mahāvaṃsa* the word for such a fortress is *khandhāvāra* exactly corresponding to the expression used in the *Kauṭaliya*. It is met with already in the oldest part of the chronicle (10. 46; 25. 20; 37. 19), and in the fifth century king Dhātusena waging warfare with the Damiḷas who at that time had ravaged Ceylon, is said to have laid

out such camps in the Island, twenty-one in number (*khandhāvāre nivesetvā* 38. 36). But the expression *khandhāvāra* rather occurs seldom in later chapters (70. 138, 161, 167); it is replaced by *dugga* (cf. 55. 28; 58. 42). This word corresponds to *durga* in the *Kauṭaliya* (e.g. *durga-niveśa* 2. 4 s.f.; td.[2] p. 57[6]) which however here as well as in the *Mahābhārata* appears to denote a permanent rather than a temporary structure (cf. *Kauṭ.*, 2. 2; ed.[2], p. 114 *durgavidhāna*).

Fortified camps were constructed wherever the army had reached an opportune position in order to serve as entrenchments against sudden attacks and as basis for further operations. In the history of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against Rājarattha and Rohaṇa many duggas are enumerated, and the names of the places where they were laid out sometimes enables us to state the vicissitudes in war which so often are veiled in the chronicler's report.

As an example I shall excerpt the description of the military operation of Senāpati Deva who commanded the troops in the district Giribā, south of Kalāveva. He first raised an encampment on the bank of the Kālavāpi river. Then he threw a bridge across this river, marched off and built a new encampment near Aṅganu and took up a position there. The leader of the hostile army did the same at a place called Senāgāma. After it had been captured by Deva the enemy built four encampments more, apparently in order to stop the advance of Deva, but they were all successively taken away by Parakkamabāhu's general (70. 123-136). The word for 'encampment' is always *dugga;* one only which was erected by Gajabāhu's officers near Terigāma is called (v. 138) *khandhāvāra.*

When after the death of Mānābharaṇa[2] the Rohaṇa people wished to save their independence and were expecting the invasion of Parakkamabāhu's army, they built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the province many camps, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barricades and made the roads in

accessible with felled trees. Then they took up their place in one of those camps (74. 31-35). But the general Rakkha having broken through three different fortifications advanced up to a big forest where the Rohaṇa people had laid out one behind the other seven fortified camps (74. 55-66). Here Rakkha's advance came to a standstill, and the seven strongholds were conquered only when his army had been enforced by the troops of the general Bhūta (74. 75-6). In this passage the term *dugga* is used for all those camps and fortifications.

Such a temporary fortress which was erected by Parakkamabāhu's officers near Mihiraṇabibbila is described (72. 232-53) in detail. They had stakes made like spear-points and driven into the ground. Outside these they had stakes of greater size driven in and had them interwoven with branches. Between the two rows of stakes they had a trench dug with pitfalls, and similar trenches at other places also. Then they had the big forest felled round the camp over a tract two or three bow-shots in extent. The footpath leading through the wilderness was made impracticable by sharp thorns which were covered with sand and withered leaves. In the middle of the fortification (*dugga-majjhambhi*, v. 244) a structure of four storeys was erected, from which when the enemy approached the archers rained a hail of arrows and stones, and burning sharp-pointed bamboo rods were hurled from engines.

10. Imposing strongholds were built in Ceylon on some of those isolated gneiss rocks which rise abruptly from the lowland and form such a characteristic feature of the landscape. The most famous example is the Sigiri rock (Sihagiri) with its stronghold erected already in the 5th century by king Kassapa I (*Mhvs.*, 39. 2-3). A similar stronghold was that on the Vātagiri, now Vākirigala in the Kegalla district (58. 31, 60. 39), built in the 11th century. Others were erected in those times of terrible perturbance when Māgha was reigning in Ceylon 1214-35, by Sinhalese noblemen

who wished to maintain their independence, as in Dakkhiṇadesa on the Subha mountain, now Yāpahu (= *yasa-pabbata*), and on the rock of Jambuddaṇi, modern Dambadeniya, and in Rohaṇa on the Govindasela rock which is now called Westminster Abbey (81. 2-6, 15-16).

The big towns, especially the capital cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, were fortified with wall and moat, with turrets and bastions (cf. below). Defence and besiege of strongholds are described often enough in the chronicle but generally in a conventional form. The defence of a fortified camp has been quoted above in 9. In a similar manner the stronghold of Āḷigāma was defended by general Rakkha. When Gajabāhu's troops attacked it, the Sihala archers standing on the gate-turrets, slew numbers of the foe with various missiles. Other warriors took up their position at the gates which the enemy tried to blow up. The combat ended with a sally of the Sihalas who suddenly burst forth and cut down the foe (70. 112 *sq.*).

The stronghold Semponmāri in the Pāṇḍu country was captured by the Sihalas within half a day. After they had broken through two outer-walls and four gate-towers, they penetrated into the interior of the fortress and slew there the Damiḷas, many thousands in number (76. 241 *sq.*). When Parakkamabāhu after many actions approached Pulatthinagara and had sent in advance his light troops, the Vyādhas and Kirātas, the dwellers in Pulatthinagara were living as in a besieged town. As circulation on all the roads leading to the city was stopped by those troops they dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside the gate when they wanted supply of water and wood. In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up (72. 209 *sq.*). When captured by storm the towns were plundered and destroyed in the most reckless manner.

W. Geiger

The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas

I-Tsing visited India in A.D. 671 or 672 and returned to China in A.D. 693-694. In his *Kau-fā-kao-sang-chuen*, an account of fifty-six Buddhist pilgrims, who visited India, he narrates that 'about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nalanda, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana. "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrī-Gupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz'chuen to Mahābodhi Temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago."[1]

I-Tsing's report places Mahārāja Gupta some time between A.D. 173 and 194. The grandfather of the Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta I was, as is known from the Gupta inscriptions, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta.[2] As Candragupta ascended the throne in A.D. 319, Gupta is to be placed in the second half of the third century A.D. Fleet remarks that[3] "as it is now certain that the era used by the early Guptas commenced from A.D. 319-20, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, mentioned by I-Tsing and referred by him to about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the early Gupta family, who lived in the fourth century A.D." Allan is, on the other hand, inclined to identify I-Tsing's Śrī-Gupta with the grandfather of Candragupta I, "considering the lapse of time and the

1 Chavannes, *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 82. A plus de quarante relais (yojanas) a l'est du temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda), en descendant le K'iang-kia (Gange), on arrive au temple Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no (Mṛgaśikhāvana). Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Introduction, xxvi.

2 *CII.*, p. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8, f.n. 3.

fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives this information on the authority of a tradition, handed down from ancient time by old men."[4] Following this identification Allan concludes that Pāṭaliputra had been in the possession of the Guptas since the time of the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta.

Needless to mention that the traditional report generally lacks precision. Hiuen Tsang, depending on the traditional report places Budhagupta (A.D. 477) in the pre-Christian era.[5] He also places Śilāditya, king of Mālava, sixty years before his visit to Mālava i.e. in A.D. 580.[6] But a record of the Maitrakas establishes that Śilāditya was ruling in A.D. 609.[7] Hence Allan's view that I-Tsing's Gupta is identical with Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the tradition removes one from the other by nearly one hundred years.

The scholars, though they differ from one another in regard to the identification of the two kings as one and the same, agree in thinking that I-Tsing's Gupta ruled in Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. But the discussions made below will prove that their location of Gupta's kingdom is faulty.

According to I-Tsing, as has already been noticed, the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana is forty stages east of Nalanda, descending the Ganges. Shortly after this statement I-Tsing lays down that Nalanda is seven stages north-east of Mahābodhi.[8] Cunningham's map places Nalanda forty miles north-east of Bodh Gaya.[9] This makes one stage of I-Tsing equal to nearly six miles (5 5/7 miles). Mṛgaśikhāvana, which is, according to the above calculation, two

4 *Gupta Coins*, Intro. p. xv.

5 Beal's *Life*, p. 110.

6 Beal's *Records*, II, p. 261.

7 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I.

8 *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 84—A plus de sept relais (yojanas) au nord-est du temple de la Grande Intelligence (Mahabodhi), on arrive au temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda)".

9 *ASI.*, XV, pl. I.

hundred and twenty-eight miles east of Nalanda, following the bank of the Ganges, is to be placed in the Murshidabad District, Bengal. That Gupta held sway over at least some part of Bengal, finds corroboration in another statement of I-Tsing. I-Tsing states that the land, which the king Gupta granted to the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana, "has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarma, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests come from China."[10]

I-Tsing's report places Magadha in Mid-India,[11] and lays down that Tamralipti[12] and Harikela (He-li-ki-lou)[13] are respectively the southern and eastern limits of Eastern India. Harikela is the other name of Vaṅga, modern East Bengal. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[14] identifies Devavarma with the king Devakhadga of the Khadga dynasty of East Bengal. In this circumstance the temple-land, which reverted to Devavarma, does not seem to have been situated in Magadha, but in East India.

The above discussion leads to a definite conclusion that I-Tsing's Gupta held sway over the Murshidabad District.

If Allan is right in identifying I-Tsing's Śri-Gupta with Śri-Gupta the founder of the Gupta dynasty, doubt may be reasonably entertained whether Magadha was an early possession of the Imperial Guptas. Possession of Magadha by Śri-Gupta would imply that his kingdom extended from the District of Shahabad, Bihar, to the District of Murshidabad, Bengal. The Gupta inscriptions[15] describe Śri-Gupta as a Mahārāja, a title indicative of lower political status. It is unlikely that a petty ruler of Śri-Gupta's status held sway over an extensive territory, comprising the Districts of Shahabad, Patna,

10 Beal's *Life*, Intro., p. xxvii.
11 *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Intro., p. xx.
12 *Ibid*, p. xxx.
13 *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 106.
14 *Early History of Bengal*
15 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*.

Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Murshidabad, including Santal Parganas. Moreover the evidence, hitherto available, will not support the conclusion that Śrī-Gupta's kingdom extended beyond Murshidabad.

Thus the early home of the Imperial Guptas is to be located in Murshidabad, Bengal, and not in Magadha.

Some coins bearing the legend Candra (gupta I) are known.[16] They demonstrate the marriage between Candragupta I and the Licchavi princess, Kumāradevi. V. A. Smith,[17] while discussing the importance of these coins, remarks—"It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union the Licchavis were masters of the ancient imperial city (Pāṭaliputra), and that Candragupta I by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives." Allan[18] criticises Smith's view by pointing out that "I-Tsing's evidence suggests that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Gupta's time." In his opinion Candragupta conquered Vaiśālī from the Licchavis, and "that his marriage with Kumāradevi was one of the terms of the treaty of peace."

But the above discussions show that Smith's view, viz. that the Licchavis were in possession of Pāṭaliputra in the early part of Candragupta's reign, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the city was in the possession of the Guptas from the time of Śrī-Gupta.

If Smith's view proves to be true, it will follow that Candragupta I transferred his capital from Bengal to Magadha, where his successors ruled for a long time.

D. C. GANGULY

16 *Gupta Coins.*
17 *Early History of India*, Second ed., p. 265.
18 *Gupta Coins*, Intro. p. xix.

The Dutch in Bengal after Bedara

Dependence of the Dutch on the English

The defeat of the Dutch at Bedara in November, 1759, dealt a crushing blow to their hopes "to rival the political power of the English in Bengal;"[1] and henceforth their existence in Bengal became entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rival, the English. The Nawab of Bengal began to look on them as "an unloved guest," whose departure, rather than existence, he now desired most. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited Bengal during 1769-71 A.D., has thus described the situation of the Dutch after 1759:—"Since the unfortunate issue of our expedition to Bengal in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline; and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the English, with respect to the piece-goods wanted for our cargoes, both for Batavia and for Holland. In the beginning of the government of the Director V (Vernet), in the year 1765, or 1766, when Lord Clive was still in Bengal everything seemed to take a friendly aspect, and arrangements respecting trade were about to be made to mutual satisfaction and advantage. Both these gentlemen came to an agreement, that all the aurungs, or weaving manufactories in Bengal, should be numbered, in order that a repartition might afterwards be made for so many aurungs to each nation for the purpose of weaving the goods they wanted; and two Commissioners were appointed, to this end, respectively, by the English, the Dutch and the French, to go through the whole country and ascertain the number of manufac-

1 The importance of the victory of Bedara for the English was aptly hinted at by Clive in the following sentence:—

"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter destruction; for, had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony." Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, vol. II, p. 89.

tories.....But these excellent arrangements were all broken, by the departure of Lord Clive from Bengal; his Lordship was succeeded by Mr. Verelst, with whom the Director V—shortly afterwards fell out, and their disagreement was carried to such a point, that upon paying the customary annual national visit to Calcutta, Mr. V—was treated in a most improper and humiliating manner; whence, in the end, so great a breach arose between these two chiefs that the above arrangements were, much to our prejudice, entirely set aside. The English had equally, on their sides, much reason to be discontented with Mr. V—as he had used his utmost endeavours to favour the French in all things, notwithstanding they (the French) had no power to render our Company any service or even to help themselves, and the English were much hurt at this conduct, especially at Mr. V—'s selling all the Japan copper, which the Dutch ships brought to Bengal, to the French, without allowing them the opportunity of purchasing a single pound, for a considerable time although they offered a higher price than was obtained from the French. This was evidently not only unfriendly but wholly incompatible with the interests of the Company; which appears the more strongly if we consider that, upon the least difference with the Moors, the Council at Hugli were obliged to have recourse to the mediation and protection of the government at Calcutta, as was the case, two or three times, while I was in Bengal."[2] The Dutch commerce in Bengal, formerly "very profitable, now ceased to be so."

Relations between the Dutch and the Nawab of Bengal

The relations between the Dutch and the Nawab's government did not also turn out to be cordial. The Dutch had annexed the village of Partabpur near Hugli to their territory, and Mirza Kazim,

2 Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. I, pp. 499-501

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

formerly *naib* of the *faujdar* of Hugli, and an inhabitant of that village, had connived at this encroachment of the Dutch for the sake of their protection. Muhammad Reza Khan, *naib* Nazim of the minor Nawab Saif-ud-daulah, visited Hugli in February, 1768, argued before the Dutch Director Mr. G. L. Vernet that Partabpur was within the area of Hugli and was "never annexed to Chinsurah" and "wanted him to restore it to the Nawab."[4] We do not know if it was actually restored or not. There were also other faults on the part of the Dutch which excited the displeasure of the Nawab's government against them. The Dutch Company had to pay certain duties to the Nawab for conveying goods up and down the river Ganges; but these had not been paid by Mr. Vernet for several years. The Nawab thereupon ordered the *faujdar* of Hugli to exact his lawful dues in a forcible manner, and the latter accordingly sent a *chubdar* to the Dutch Governor demanding the money and threatening him that "in case it were not paid, he would not suffer any more goods belonging to the Dutch to pass."[5] The Director "took umbrage at this peremptory message, and after having violently abused the poor *chubdar,* sent him to the fiscal De Saumaise, and had him bound to the whipping post, and unmercifully flogged."[6] At this the *faujdar* of Hugli detained all callicoes and other piecegoods intended for cargoes for the Dutch ships, which were to sail for Europe in the month of November 1768, and he also invested Chinsurah on the land side on 3rd October 1768, with ten or twelve soldiers.[7] All the "approaches and barriers were so closely guarded, that no one could go in or out. This occasioned in the ensuing days such a scarcity of provisions, among the inhabitants of the village that many of them perished for want.....Besides this blockade in the land side, the Moors (the Muslims) had also beset the river,

4 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* vol. II, pp. 231-32.
5 Stavorinus, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 115.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*

above the village, so that nothing would be brought down the water; and from below, there was little to be obtained, while there was any rice, seven pounds weight were sold for a rupee, but it was soon consumed."[8] On a reference being made by Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Council thought it useless to use force and decided to settle the matter amicably through the mediation of the English. A Dutch deputation consisting of Mr. Ross, the Chief Administrator, and Mr. Van Braam, the Controller of Equipments, settled the affair with the English Council in Calcutta and Muhammad Reza Khan. On their promise that the Nawab's duties should be quickly paid, the Dutch goods were released, the Nawab's soldiers left Chinsurah on the 15th October, and the navigation of the Hugli river was opened.[9]

Dutch actions during the administrations of Cartier and Hastings

But both the English and the Nawab's government kept a strict watch on the movements of the Dutch. They were required by the Naib Nazim "not to send more than one European with a fleet."[10] Officers were appointed at Kalpi to inspect their ships as also of the other Europeans like the French and the Danes, to take strict account of the cannon, arms and military stores on board their ships and to prevent them from sailing up the Kalpi with more than 24 guns and stores in proportion and 250 men in one ship, which were considered sufficient for a merchant ship.[11] These officers were ordered "not to use violence without just cause.....and on no account to receive gratuities from anyone."[12] The regulations of the *Nizamat* were, however, scarcely obeyed by the Dutch, the French and the Danes.[13] On the other hand, they obstructed the business of the *faujdari* and oppressed the people.[14] In 1771 the

8 Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 115. 9 *Ibid.*
10 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. III, p. . . 11 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
12 *Ibid.* 13 *Ibid.*, p. 138. 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

Director of the Dutch Company committed a murder, and the victim's heirs petitioned to Sayyid Muhammad Ali Khan, *faujdar* of Hugli, for redress.[15] Mr. John Cartier, the Company's Governor in Calcutta, thereupon, authorised the *Naib Nazim*, Muhammad Reza Khan, to write to the *faujdar* of Hugli, to put a stop to the illegal actions of the Director of the Dutch Company.[16] Further, disputes generally took place between the Director of the Dutch Company at Chinsurah and the officers of the *Nizamat* on the question of respective rights and privileges. Considering it desirable to put a stop to such disputes, Warren Hastings, who succeeded Mr. John Cartier as the Governor of Bengal, wrote to Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah and his guardian Muni Begam, on the 11th May, 1773, to call upon the Director of the Dutch Company to produce copies of *firmans* by virtue of which his Company claimed privileges in Bengal.[17] The Nawab acted accordingly. It is not known if the Nawab's orders were complied with by the Dutch or not. But the Dutch Director defied the authority of Khan Jahan Khan, the *faujdar* of Hugli, who thereupon requested the Company's Governor to "give him definite directions for his guidance and to ask the Nawab at Murshidabad to reprimand them and issue a *parwanah* empowering him to stop their boats of grain, etc."[18] As desired by the English Governor,[19] the Nawab issued a *parawanah* to the *faujdar* of Hugli asking him "to stick to the privileges of his office and not to give up his authority."[20]

Hostile Anglo-Dutch relations during the War of American Independence

In course of a few years, the Anglo-Dutch relations in India turned to be hostile under the influence of extra-Indian politics. The adhesion of Holland to the league against England during the

15 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. III. 16 *Ibid.*, p. 255.
17 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 56. 18 *Ibid.*, p. 149 and p. 168.
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62. 20 *Ibid.*, p. 168.

War of American Independence was followed by a declaration of war on the part of England and seizure of Dutch colonies. In pursuance of this policy, Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, drove the Dutch out of Madras and Pulicat, and in November 1781 captured the Dutch settlement of Nagapatam.[21] The Dutch forts and factories in Bengal and Bihar were also seized by the English without much difficulty, as the English, apprehending a rupture with the Dutch for some time, had not allowed them to maintain strong garrisons in their settlements.[22] But after the termination of the War of American Independence by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the Dutch got back most of their possessions in India,[23] and in the year 1778 the Dutch settlement of Baranagar was exchanged with the English territories contiguous to their factory at Hugli.[24]

Anglo-Dutch alliance during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

The Dutch power was badly affected in Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. On the conquest of Holland by France in 1795, the Dutch possessions in India were placed under the protection of the English for their safety against the French,[25] and the English issued the following proclamation[26]:—"Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightnesses, the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stad-holder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain; We do by this Proclamation

21 E. H. Nolan, *Illustrated History of the British Empire in India*, II, p. 400.

22 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng. trans.), IV, pp. 118-19.

23 Consultations, 23rd Nov. 1784 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch).

24 Consultations, 12th Jany. 1789 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch).

25 Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, 14th August, 1795 (Patna District Judge Court Unpublished Records).

26 *Ibid.*

issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by His Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter."

Loss of Dutch possessions in India

The Dutch gradually lost all their possessions in India during the first three decades of the 19th century. The Marquis of Wellesley contemplated an expedition against the Dutch at Batavia, as the Dutch were then in alliance with the French, but it could not be carried out.[27] When Mr. Sohnlein, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna, died in May, 1803, his effects were sent by Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, according to the desire of the

27 *Journal of Indian History*, 1932, p. 52.

deceased, to his executors, Messrs Bowman of Chinsurah and Ullman of Fultah.[28] During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-13), the Dutch lost Cape of Good Hope, the Spice Islands and Amboyna.[29] But Java and the Dutch possessions within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government were restored to the Dutch by Lord Hastings.[30] The territories of the Dutch in *moujah* Octler Nowapore in paragana Sonhit near Balasore, from which the Dutch agent at Balasore had been dispossessed, were also given back to them in 1820.[31]

During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, a treaty was concluded between England and Holland with a view "to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies so that the welfare and prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times, interrupted the Harmony which ought always to subsist between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between their respective agents may be, as much as possible, prevented."[32] The important terms of the treaty were the following: —

Art. 8—His Netherlands Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all establishments on the continent of

28 Letters from Messrs Playdell and D. V. Kerrim to H. Douglas, dated 23rd May and 24th June, 1803 (Patna District Judge Court Unpublished Records).

29 Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India* IV, pp. 181-95, pp. 200-201.

30 Consultations, 26th October and 17th December, 1816 (Imperial Records Department, Foreign Branch).

31 Letter from D. A. Overbeck, Resident at Chinsurah, to W. L. Melville, *Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack*, dated Chinsurah, the 2nd February, 1820. (Cuttack Unpublished Records). Copies of these records were lent to me by Principal K. P. Mitra of Monghyr, for which I thank him sincerely.

32 Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th October, 1824 (Cuttack Unpublished Records).

India, and renounces all privileges and exemption enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Art. 9—The Factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty; and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British settlement shall be formed on that island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with Native Prince, chief or state therein.

Art. 10—Town and fort of Malacca and dependencies ceded to Brittanic Majesty.

Art. 11—His Brittanic Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherland Government.

Art. 12—His Netherland Majesty withdraws objection to occupation of the Island of Singapore by subjects of His Brittanic Majesty. No British establishment to be made on the Carimon Island and Island of Baltam, Bintang, or other islands.

Art. 13—Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March, 1825.

Art. 14—Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of ratification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like.'[33]

Thus by the year 1825 vanished all the possessions of the Dutch in India.

KALIKINKAR DATTA

33 *Ibid.;* Consultations 13th January, 3rd February, 3rd March and 19th May, 1825 (Imperial Records Department, Foreign Branch).

Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751)

Introductory

The contemporary historian, Robert Orme, wrote in 1764 that Captain Clive, on his return from Trichinopoly in the beginning of August 1751, proposed as the only resource left to the English, to attack the possessions of Chanda Sahib in the territory of Arcot, "offering to lead the expedition himself which he doubted not would cause a diversion on the part of the enemy's force from Trichinopoly." Following him, other writers of eminence have given Clive the whole of the credit for conceiving the idea of the diversion on Arcot. Sir George Forrest repeats the same in his *Life of Lord Clive* (1918) and says that Clive, on his return to Fort St. David, made "a proposal which was an example of daring and military sagacity", *viz.*, if a swift dash should be made on Arcot, Chanda Sahib would be bound either to lose the seat of his government or send a large portion of his besieging force from Trichinopoly to protect it or retake it." A study of the records of the English Presidency and of other indigenous sources will, however, point to the fact that it was Nawab Muhammad Ali, the son of the martyred Nawab Anwaru'ddin Khan, who was besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib assisted by the French, that insisted, almost from the very beginning of the siege operations at Trichinopoly, on the necessity for, and the importance of, an attack on Arcot; and the English Governor Saunders wholly approved of the plan and supported it from the first.

Muhammad Ali on the importance of Arcot

Nawab Muhammad Ali who had taken shelter in Trichinopoly after the assassination of Nasir Jang, in December 1750, had all along been urging on the English the necessity of their promptly

sending reinforcements to him. He assured Governor Saunders, in his letter to Fort St. David (received 2/13th March 1751), that Mir Asad of Chetpat, Mutabir Khan of Ranjangudi, Hirasat Khan and Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore were all his friends and his troops could take shelter in their forts whenever they might be sent to take possession of the Carnatic country.[1] Muhammad Ali thus gave out his plans: "I do therefore give it as my opinion that it is highly necessary to strengthen the affairs of Trichinopoly Fort, retake Madura (from Alam Khan, an adherent of Chanda Sahib who had to come to be in possession of it in the beginning of 1751) and settle Tinnevelly, but at the same time we ought to be mindful of the affairs at Arcot, and use our endeavours to weaken the enemy, for if we proceed to Arcot before we retake Madura, Alam Khan will grow powerful. On the other side, if we neglect Chanda Sahib on account of Madura, it will prejudice our affairs. We must therefore be mindful of both these affairs and to that end I think it requisite to send a part of my army with a detachment of your troops to Madura.....and the other part of the army shall be commanded by my brother Abdul Vahab Khan who in conjunction with your troops are abroad upon the expedition to Arcot."[2]

Writing a few days later, the Nawab was sanguine that Madura could be easily retaken and it should be secured "before we think of settling the affairs of Arcot." Governor Saunders appreciated the wisdom of the plan of the Nawab; but he deprecated the sloth of his movements. He thus wrote to Muhammad Ali on the 30th April/11th May 1757:—"Am doubtful whether you have come to a final resolution. Our troops have been abroad above a month, when

1 No. 29 of Country Correspondence, Public Department: Records of Fort St. George. (1751).

2 Letter No. 59 of Muhammad Ali to Fort St. David received 20th April 1751—For Cope's failure before Madura see Orme, vol. I, pp. 169-170: and Orme Mss. O. V. (India Office): Hill's *Catalogue*.—O. V. 14; 21.

they first went out. Chanda Sahib had gained no advantage and it was thought your joining us would entirely frustrate his designs. On receipt of your letter, I wrote to the Deputy Governor of Madras to send a detachment to Vellore, but the affair was finished. It is my opinion that if you don't attack Chanda Sahib in this province, he will attack you; if his forces come into your country they will plunder and ruin it, but if yours enter his, it will be the contrary. The friendship and regard I have for you induce me plainly to tell you what I think."

Muhammad Ali was apprehensive of Chanda Sahib's march on Trichinopoly and was chagrined when Cope had to send away a detachment to Fort St. David under definite instructions from Saunders. He could only repeat his firm conviction that "if this (Trichinopoly) is preserved, we shall be enabled to retake Arcot."

Muhammad Ali repeats the urgency of a diversion on the Arcot country

But the nearer Chanda Sahib approached Trichinopoly, the more frightened Muhammad Ali came to be, for his own safety. The latter was prepared to deliver up the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly to the English, provided they allowed him 2 lakhs of Madras pagodas every year for his expenses; as an alternative, he desired the English to negotiate with the French and conclude a peace between him and Chanda Sahib so that "each of us may remain in peaceable possession of his respective country, that is, I in Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and Chanda in Arcot."[3] At the end of the letter containing the above alternatives, Muhammad Ali wrote in his own hand thus:—"Please raise as great a disturbance as possible in Conjeevaram etc. countries." Muhammad Ali was already getting to be suspicious of the English and could

3 The Nawab's letter to Governor Saunders received on the 29th July/9th August/1751 (No. 103—Country Correspondence, Public Department 1751).

be easily persuaded into believing that they were ready to abandon him. So when Governor Saunders wrote to Chanda Sahib taxing him with having unjustly seized the Trichinopoly country, advantage was taken of his sealed letter to prepare an inner slip as though addressed by Saunders to Chanda Sahib offering to deliver up to the latter the Fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad Ali on certain conditions.[4] A letter of Muhammad Ali to Governor Saunders received on the 15/26 August, discloses how he did not feel very secure in the possession of English friendship; he thus began his letter:—"I have had the pleasure to receive a letter from you wherein you are pleased to intimate that affairs in this World are not always upon the same footing so that I should by the help of God continue to be mindful of my own affairs.....I do not doubt but you will be mindful of the friendship between us according as you have wrote to me."

Nawab Muhammad Ali had, for some months past, been stressing on the value of a diversion in the country of Arcot. He had all along been holding that if troops had been despatched from Madras, they could have taken possessoin of several places in the Arcot country and the enemy might have been obliged to desist marching on Trichinopoly.[5] At first Governor Saunders and his

4 Dodwell remarks that this was "a device characteristic of Dupleix, no matter whether proposed by him or not." For the reply of Chanda Sahib to Saunders see No. 109, Country Correspondence, 1751, Public Department; letter received on 20/31 August.

5 *Vide* para 4 of the Nawab's letter received at Madras on the 26th May/6th June. (No. 74 of Country Correspondence 1751) Again in his letter to Saunders received on the 27th June/8th July 1751, the Nawab reiterated his advice in the following words:—"Be pleased also to send a proper assistance and a supply of warlike necessaries. *Sometime* ago I desired you by several letters to send a small force from Madras to assist my amaldars to take possession of the several districts lying that way; if this had been done, the enemy might have been deprived of the revenues of the country which in all likelihood would have obliged them to decline their march this way and then our troops would have fought them to their entire defeat in that country."

Council thought that this might be effected by Captain Gingens leaving sufficient number of men in Trichinopoly and marching with a detachment into the Arcot country.

Rightly therefore does the contemporary annalist of the Carnatic, Burhanu'd-din, in his *Tuzuk-i-Wálájáhi,* write thus:—"When weakness overtook the beseiged at Natharnagar; (Trichinopoly) on account of the protraction of the seige and the stubbornness of the enemy, Hazarat Aala (Muhammad Ali) devised to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and to clear the roads for the coming in of provisions. Accordingly Hazarat Aala despatched Muhammad Madinah Ali Khan and Mr. Clive, the Sirdar of the English army, with sepoys who bore hatred to the enemy to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus to exhibit their courage."

Governor Saunders appreciates the Nawab's idea

Governor Saunders now began to appreciate the value of the Nawab's proposal. At first he was very hesitating. He wrote to the Nawab on the 23rd August thus:—"As I judge a diversion in the Arcot country may be serviceable to your affairs, I have sent a party of men with good officers to Madras to be reinforced with more; these are to raise money for you.....whatever is got is entirely for you; but in case of hostilities the plunder is to be half yours; the other half to the officers and men, as soldiers who venture their lives ought to be rewarded." The Nawab responded to this letter by writing to his Diwan, Sampat Rai, who was at Madras to send Wali Muhammad Khan or some other officer along with the English troops and also to write to Bommarazu and other poligars

6 From the manuscript translation by Mr. Muhammad Husain Nainar, Senior Lecturer in the Islamic section, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras. This translation (in process of publication by the Madras University) has been annotated by the writer with historical notes.

for help. He then envisaged the consequental happenings in the following words:—"As soon as our troops have begun incursions in the Arcot country it will hinder the enemy from receiving the revenues which will weaken them greatly and they cannot divide their troops in case they march with their whole army towards Arcot, my troops shall pursue them jointly with yours and those of Mysore and Tanjore.....If it happens that the enemy retreat and our troops pursue them, I shall then be able to collect money from different parts which will be a means to gain our ends. You will in no way neglect to disturb the Arcot country and take possession of the several districts. This may probably withdraw the enemy's troops from this (Trichinopoly) country." Muhammad Ali urged thus in a subsequent letter, in reply to Governor Saunders,[7] after Arcot had been actually taken from the enemy and before its full significance had been grasped by the English, and when Clive actually proposed to abandon Arcot and to strengthen himself in Timiri:—"It is highly necessary for us to take care of this place; it has pleased you to fortify the fort at Vriddhachalam. I cannot omit writing to you that Arcot is the metropolis of the Carnatic country so that the Fort will be of better use to us than Vriddhachalam; I must repeat you will take care to make it strong by demolishing all the buildings which may be destructive to it.....By the blessing of God the present success will procure you a great name in the Deccan and Hindustan countries and also in Europe.....Please.....to take diversions in the several districts round your place."

7 Saunders felt that though the English and the Nawab's forces might be strong enough to keep Arcot, they would never be able to collect the revenues from the poligars, without some of the Trichinopoly troops joining them. The enemy was strong in cavalry while they had none and therefore when they were beaten, they could not be pursued. He added "It is thought this will not divert Chanda Sahib from his enterprise on Trichinopoly, there is no time to lose, exert yourself, engage Chanda, if possible and send some horse to Arcot." (Letter No. 193, Country Correspondence of 1751.)

The immediate effect of the capture of Arcot

Actually the English capture of Arcot[8] did not make any great impression on the country, nor did it much disturb the minds of the Pondicherry people. News of the English march to Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week; and Polur Muhammad Ali Khan, a brother of Chanda Sahib who was the Killedar at Arcot and evacuated it after a little or no resistance, was promised reinforcements from Pondicherry where the crafty Madame Dupleix gave out as her advice that it would not be advisable to recall Chanda Sahib's troops or the French troops from before Trichinopoly.[9] The two sons of Bangaru Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, whose vakils were at Pondicherry, soliciting Dupleix's favour, were written to immediately to send troops for the help of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan. It was, however, Dupleix that realised the seriousness of the event; he became greatly put out and urgently wrote to Chanda Sahib who had already despatched 1,000 horsemen, to write to his son Raza Sahib to march at once to Arcot with another body of 1,000 horse; and that Chanda Sahib himself should immediately cross the Cauvery and deliver an assault on the Tichinopoly fort.

Nawab Muhammad Ali rightly cautioned Governor Saunders to urge Clive and Muhammad Hamid to fortify Arcot and endea-

8 Governor Saunders wrote to Muhammad Ali on August 15/26, that he had resolved to leave only three or four hundred men at Trichinopoly and make a diversion on the Arcot country with the rest, and join the Nawab's forces and raise contributions, consistently with the Nawab's desire. Subsequently he wrote to Nawab (30th September/11th October) that he had actually ordered a diversion into the Arcot country in order to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoly. Clive embarked with 130 men from Fort St. David for Madras on August 22/September 2. He got a reinforcement of 80 men at Madras and proceeded to Arcot on August 26/September 6, with a body of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys and 8 officers and 8 field pieces. Passing on through Conjeevaram the force reached the neighbourhood of Arcot on August 31st/September 11, and they took possession of the Fort next day, hoisting both the English colours and Muhammad Ali's flag.

9 As reported by the Pondicherry Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai (vol. VIII).



vour to get in provisions and also to send reinforcements to Arcot from Madras and Fort St. David. The English troops and the Nawab's troops were very deficient in cavalry; their sallies could not be long; and Clive's assault on Timiri was unsuccessful (17th September). A week later, the reinforced enemy took up a stand within 3 miles of Arcot; and then Clive could only make a feeble attack upon him. The latter seized the big pagoda of Conjeevaram; and Clive had to use great skill in conveying safely the two eighteen-pounders that were sent to him from Madras. Raza Sahib finally began the famous siege of Arcot which lasted from the 4th October to the 25th November. Even when the siege was raised after the failure of a final attack, Governor Saunders did not seem to have valued much the undisturbed possession of Arcot and the neighbouring forts of Timiri and Kaveripak, as in his opinion "it will only weaken our small force greatly to leave men in them."

Thus it will be seen that the credit for the initiative of the idea of diversion made on Arcot should go in a very large measure to Nawab Muhammad Ali whose repeated requests opened Governor Saunders' eyes to the possibilities of success attendant on the plan, while Clive eagerly took advantage of the opportunity offered by it and persuaded Saunders that he could do it, when Captain Gingens doubted his own capacity for the task.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI



Seated Sūrya at Ūnzā
North Gujrat



Trailokyamohana
A rare image of Viṣṇu with 16 hands
(according to Rūpmaṇḍana)



A rare image of Viṣṇu from Gujrat



A woman with a child (in black granite)
(*from Kotyārka, Vijapur Taluka, Baroda Territories*)

Gujarātī or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture

The Western School of Mediaeval Sculpture

The Western School of Indian Sculpture flourished in three ramifications: of which one lies to the west of a line which begins at the latitude of Delhi and may be drawn through Ajmer southward to the river Tāpti. Some of the best-known monuments lie in Gujarat, and so the westernmost branch of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture should better be styled as "Gujarati."[1]

Nomenclature "Gujarati."

The nomenclature of the Mediaeval Sculpture and Architecture presents considerable difficulty. In any case, a sectarian classification (such as that forms the main defect of Fergusson's work), is quite misleading. For just as in the case of Sculpture and Painting, there are no Buddhistic, Jaina or Brāhmanical "styles" of architecture, sculpture and painting; but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical buildings, paintings and images, in the Indian style of their period.

The Indian painting, architecture and sculpture is one: but there are provincial variations in its formal development, existing side by side with the secular variation in pure style. Hence, in respect of these, the only adequate classification is geographical. "Gujarāti" is therefore the apt name for the Western Indian School.

Gujarat, an art-province

Gujarat—the mediaeval Gujarat of the days of the Solankis and Vāghelās—in her palmiest days, say from the 10th century to the

1 Cf. *Indian Sculpture* (Heritage of India Series, Calcutta 1933) by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, p. 105.

end of the 13th, had evolved a provincial school of sculpture, the existence of peculiar specimens of which have been recorded in the dhyānas (descriptions) of the images by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana (*circa* 1450 A.D.) in his three compendiums on the subject: the[2] Rūpa-Maṇḍana, the Rūpāvatāra and the Devatā-Mūrti-prakaraṇa.

Gujarat enjoyed political tranquility in the reign of the Solanki kings—in the time of Mūlarāja, Bhīmadeva, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla and some others of the Vāghela branch, though occasionally it was disturbed by the inroads of Moslem iconoclasts. And this was the time when art, literature, etc., could flourish in Gujarat.

Gujarat deserves, therefore, to be considered as an art-province, with a dialect of its own, although it is related to that of the contemporary currents in the other two branches of the Western school of sculpture. It can be said that mediaeval craftsmen from Gujarat to Orissa share common traditions.

Contemporary Mediaeval Art in India.

The best period of mediaeval art in India, ranged from the 9th century onwards to the 13th century, before the general conquest of the various provinces by the Mahomedans, when the Hindu artistic talent got a set-back and soon degenerated into a decadent art. This is the period when the Pāla and Sena schools of art flourished in Bengal, and reached its zenith. The Utkal and the Kaliṅga art flourished in Orissa, as manifest in the temples at Puri, Koṇārka and Bhuvaneśvara.

Indian architecture and sculpture, in a way, illustrate the background of philosophy and religion, that are still blended together in this country. Sculpture and pictorial representations of our different gods and goddesses are significant inasmuch as that a kind of symbolism meant for meditation attaches to them. This gives a peculiar importance to the different texts on Śilpa.

2 Published as No. XII in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, (1936).

In the Indian idea, the artist, the Śilpin, is not a peculiar individual with special gift of experience, but simply a tradesman meeting a general demand. His vocation is hereditary, and he receives his education in the workshop. His genius is not an individual achievement, but it manifests the quality of the society at any given period in the work of a single school. Therefore practically the same grade of vitality appears everywhere, and the workmanship of individual is only to be distinguished in the Hindu and the Jaina temples of Gujarat and in the style of miniature-painting in Jaina and non-Jaina MSS. of the Gujarati school which bear out this truth.

Śilpaśāstras

These Śilpa-śāstras, as far as they are known hitherto, deal either with image-making with regard to iconography and iconometry, or else with the theory and practice of painting, but not with the theory and but little with the technique of sculpture as a plastic art. The artist in India is not the master of his own theme, nor does he choose his own problems. For him they are laid down in the Śāstras or canonical prescriptions, which lay down instructions to make such and such images in such and such a fashion.

Abnormal forms

At times changes in the prescribed abnormal forms of images are done at the instance of a certain class of donors, who do not like such grotesque forms with a large number of heads; and accordingly by reducing the number of faces make the image as natural as possible. Moreover, much depends on the stone they work upon. If the stone is weak at certain spots, the sculptor fashioned it according to convenience, and thus either reduced the number of heads or changed the order of symbols—and these naturally constituted the iconographic peculiarities of these images.

Harmonising the abnormal

Sometimes the texts prescribed abnormal descriptions of images; but, here the individual talent of the Śilpin is found to come to his help. In the creation of abnormal types (in case of image having more than one head or more than two hands or having non-human form) the idea is new and the conception bold. Here the clever artist is found able to harmonise the seemingly impossible theme into a graceful work of art. Several artistic examples of the important deities in the Brahmanical pantheon—Viṣṇu, Ganeśa, Śakti, etc. are found in Gujarati sculpture.

Artistic peculiarities

The artistic peculiarities of Gujarati sculptures bear a close resemblance to the specimens hailing from Bengal in the Pāla and Sena periods. The delicate ornamentation, artistic expression, boldness of outline, definiteness of detail and the pleasing effect produced on the minds of every onlooker make the images of the mediaeval period the product of the best days of Hindu art, particularly in Gujarat. The execution of these images seems to be perfect, but gaudy and much detailed. The figures are beautifully and yet delicately ornamented, the expression is natural, serene and peaceful. The frame of the body, the garments, the various ornaments and the symbols are found depicted faithfully, according to the dhyānas in the texts.

Characteristics of the Gujarat branch

In the Gujarati branch of Western Indian Sculpture, a strained motion (instead of the easy and swaying state of poise in which classical reliefs had dwelt) in its nervy elegance, overstresses the curves, so that they have a tendency to become angular, not far remote from that of the Gujarati paintings of the same age[3] Such

3 Cf. *Indian Sculpture,* Plate L, fig. 114.

vestiges as there are of modelling in this region are laid flattened and angular, with an acute and fantastic outline.

A beautiful variation of the Āryāvarta or Indo-Aryan style, found in Rajputana and Gujarat is characterised by a free use of columns, carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets and exquisite marble ceilings with casped pendants.

By an unfortunate error Fergusson described this Western or Gujarati style as the "Jaina Style." In reality it has no concern with any special kind of religion, and is Jaina merely because Jainas were numerous and wealthy in Western India in the late mediaeval period as they are still. When power passed into Muslim hands the so-called Jaina style, i.e., to say the local style was applied with the necessary modifications to the needs of Mahomedan worship. We need hardly mention the two temples at Mount Abu as being unsurpassed models of this wonderful style.

Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana

Both Maṇḍana and his father Śri Kṣetra were under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the celebrated king of Mewar (Medapāta), and an outstanding personality of the middle of the 15th century (reigned 1419-1469 A.D.). Rāṇā Kumbha was a distinguished hero, a man of letters and a noted builder of monuments. His Kumbha-merū-prāsāda at Chitor is well known. It, therefore, stands to reason that Mahārāṇā Kumbha should be a patron of architects and sculptors, just like king Bhoja of Dhārā to whom goes the credit of the compilation of *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (G. O. Series, vol. XXV.), a work on mediaeval architecture, and like king Someśvaradeva who compiled his *Mānasollāsa,* an encyclopaedia on useful topics (G. O. Series, Vol. 28).

Thus it is evident that Maṇḍana's handbooks on architecture and sculpture enjoyed considerable popularity with artists and crafts-

men. The Oriental Institute collection of MSS. at Baroda alone includes 7 MSS. of *Rūpamaṇḍana* and about 5 MSS. of *Rājavallabha Maṇḍana,* some of these embellished with running translations in Gujarati prose, some centuries old. Maṇḍana seems to have been a prolific writer of treatises on architecture and sculpture. The following is a list of works ascribed to him, the titles ending with his name, viz., *Vāstu-maṇḍana, Prāsāda-maṇḍana, Rājavallabha-maṇḍana, Rūpamaṇḍana,* etc.

Maṇḍana's works seem to have enjoyed wide popularity throughout the length and breadth of India. In the unique library of Kāvindrācārya,[1] a Deccani Brahmin, and a very learned man, the head of the Pandit community of Benares of his time (17th century) who ultimately took Sannyāsa, copies of Maṇḍana's works were deposited. Thus within two centuries after compilation, we find copies of Maṇḍana's texts, deposited in Benares, the great centre of Indian culture. From Benares Maṇḍana's works probably spread to other places, westwards as well as eastwards. MSS. of his works are also met with in the South.[5]

Variety of forms of Viṣṇu

From the original form, developed many other forms of Viṣṇu, according mostly to the individual taste and conception of the authors and sculptors or the donors of the different images. When the worshipper thought that with four arms his god does not become powerful enough, he increased the number of hands from two to four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, twenty, or more. When, again, the sculptor thought that his god with one face was not able to display all his might or illustrate the mythology connected with the god, he went on adding faces

4 G. O. Series No. 17 (1921) 'Kavindrācārya Grantha Sūci.'

5 Vide T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography.*

one after another till he was satisfied. Sometimes new forms are described in the dhyānas or executed in actual sculptures and then the authors on Śilpa enjoined the execution of such images in that fashion.

Viṣṇu being one of the chief deities of the Hindu Pantheon, is very frequently represented in sculpture. He is conceived in various forms, and the sculptures of all these forms are found in temples in North and South India. Usually Viṣṇu's symbols are the Conch and the Disc; but when four-armed he carries in addition the Lotus and the Mace. The conch-shell is symbolical of eternal space, the wheel of eternal time, the mace of eternal law and the unfailing punishment consequent on its breach, and the lotus symbolizes the ever-renewing creation and its beauty and freshness.

By way of illustration as to the uniqueness of iconographical materials in Gujarat we mention the iconographic characteristics of certain Viṣṇu and Śakti images found alone in Gujarat, and nowhere else. These are described in the Rūpamaṇḍana and not in any other Śilpa work. Images like those of Acyuta (four-armed, with its 24 varieties due to the permutation and combination of the four symbo's held in the four arms), of Vaikuṇṭha (one-faced, eight-armed and seated on Garuḍa) and of Viśvarūpa (four-faced, twenty-armed, and mounted on Garuḍa) are thus unique and rare in the history of Indian sculpture.

Their variations from Rūpamaṇḍana

Sometimes, however, images are met with in Gujarat, which are in the main in accord with the descriptions in the Rūpamaṇḍana, but differ in certain details from the same. And it is very probable that the sculptures of the mediaeval period had kindred texts to guide their artists, which canons were, however, modified or changed by the time of Maṇḍana.

Maṇḍana's compilations on sculpture are more interesting in that they contain descriptions of certain rare and abnormal images of Viṣṇu and varieties of Gaurī, which are found nowhere else in India. It is for the same reason that T. A. Gopinath Rao has drawn upon the text of Rūpamaṇḍana in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1916, 4 vols.) for description of rare and unique images. However, he has not been able to support the text from Rūpamaṇḍana with adequate photographs of actual images. Dr. B. Bhattacharya's paper on 'Eight mediaeval images in the collection of Prince Pratāp Sinh'[6] although based on a study of actual images, could not be illustrated.

Discovery of rare Viṣṇu images

I have, however, been able to take photographs of some of the rare Viṣṇu images, mentioned in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* during my research tours in North Gujarat, at the instance of the Bombay University, (see Illustrations).

Section in Rūpamaṇḍana on Jaina Iconography

The other noteworthy feature of the Rūpamaṇḍana is that different forms of Hindu and Jaina images have been described along with Āyatanas or the companion deities or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇīs, as the case may be. This is explained by the fact that the rich Jaina community in Western India was very influential at the court of Rājput kings. The warlike Jaina ministers and merchants were also great patronisers of art. They were great builders. Hence the section on Jaina iconography in Maṇḍana's work is highly justified, as it was principally designed to guide the artists and craftsmen of Rajputana and Gujarat.

6 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, no. 3.



Soma (Moon)

(from the Sūrya-Kuṇḍa at Madherā, 11th century)

Gujarat is a rich mine of fine sculptural remains; in spite of this fact nobody has attempted a detailed and intensive study of such artistic specimens of the mediaeval period. Whenever the detailed series of sculptures from Gujarat shall be reproduced, it will be invaluable as a key to Brahmanical and Jaina iconography. It is also likely that such a study would contribute to the history of art, in its aesthetic aspect as well.

M. R. MAJMUDAR

Kulatattvarṇava—a spurious work ?

This work has been published by the *Midnapore Prādeśika Brāhmaṇa Sabhā*. The single Ms. is said to have been taken from Vikrampura to a Navadvīpa *tola* from where it travelled to Midnapore. The authorship has been attributed to Sarvānanda, son of Dhruvānanda of *Mahāvaṁśa* fame. The following reasons make us question its genuineness.

(a) No book of this name and of this author was known before. This is no doubt an argument *ex silentio*. But in case of the *Kulaśāstras* this argument has some weight. Very few *Kulapañjikās* have been published or read by few. But many have heard the names of the important works. They are generally transmitted from generation to generation. Before the publication of Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvaṁśa*, it was known that there was a work of this name and author. The works of Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra have not yet been found. But they exist in quotation of later authors. It is rather strange that so important a work as *Kulatattārṇava* by the son of a celebrated *ghaṭaka* was never heard of before.

(b) Every important event in this work is dated. We have got dates for the introduction of Kulinism by Vallālasena, Danujamādhava's *Śrotriya* divisions, for Dattakhāsa's reforms and for Devīvara's *mela-bandhana*. The curious fact is that all these dates tally with the results of the recent historical researches. So far as we know, no Sanskrit work gives so many correct dates, not even the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (all of the dates in it have not proved to be accurate). If the *Kulatattvārṇava* proves to be a genuine work, it must be regarded as a unique work, so far as its dates are concerned.

(c) Dattakhāsa's reforms are narrated in the book, against which a section of the *Śrotriyas* revolted. They refused to accept his decisions and left Bengal and settled in Midnapore and became known as *Madhyaśreṇī*—a section of the Brāhmaṇas found only in that district (*ślokas* 380-396). It may be that Dattakhāsa was an *amātya* of Rājā Gaṇeśa during whose rule there was a Hindu revival. It is now held by competent scholars[1] on numismatic grounds that Rājā Gaṇeśa had the viruda Danujamardana. But in the *Kulatattvārṇava* his *viruda* is Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. Kaṁsanāryaṇa of the *Vārendra Kulapañjikās* flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century[2] while Gaṇeśa ruled in the beginning of the fifteenth. The real cause of this confusion in this book is, it is to be suspected, due to Mr. N. N. Vasu's article in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, (vol. IV, p. 146). Those who are responsible for this part of the *Kulatattvārṇava* will do well now to revise it, because Mr. Vasu has changed his opinion. Rājā Gaṇeśa and Kaṁsanārāyaṇa are two different persons and flourished in two different centuries. The revolt of a section of the *Rāḍhīya Śrotriyas* against Dattakhāsa's reforms and the rise of the *Madhyaśreṇī* have been given undue importance in the book. This revolt is not mentioned in any other book. Is it because that it has been published from Midnapore?

The reading of the book leaves the general impression that it is a recent compilation, based on the *Kārikās* of Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra and Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvaṁśa*, as published in the *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, vol. I. Modern researches about the chronology of the royal dynasties of Bengal have been utilised.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

1 Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Sultans of Bengal*, Intro.
2 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1341 B.S., p. 16.

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda

The question of the relation of the *Gauḍapāda Kārikās* to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* has been engaging the attention of the present writer ever since Mm. Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya raised a discussion over it.[1]

The *Māṇḍūkya* is traditionally regarded as one of the ten major upaniṣads, and the kārikās of Gauḍapāda are supposed to be explanatory verses thereon. The *Muktikopaniṣad* names 108 upaniṣadas and holds that the *Māṇḍūkya* alone is enough to liberate a man.

There is a good deal of controversy over the extent of the *Māṇḍūkya,* which is set forth in Professor Bhattacharya's paper referred to above. While present-day Advaitins are unanimous that the twelve prose passages found interspersed in Gauḍapāda's work constitute the upaniṣad, most Vaiṣṇava commentators of it since the days of Madhvācārya have, on the other hand, held the kārikās of the first book also to have been a part of the upaniṣad, Puruṣottama, the grandson of the suddhādvaitin, Vallabhācārya, going further and holding the entire work of Gauḍapāda as a part of it. It has also been pointed out by Bhattacharya that all the four books of the kārikās have been severally held by others as distinct upaniṣads, while some latter-day advaitins have accepted the Vaiṣṇava view. Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma has pointed out[2] that kārikā I. 17 is referred to in *Sūta-saṃhitā,* IV. 55, as *Śruti,* and he has further attempted without success to prove that both

1 'The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.' *IHQ.*, I, pp. 119-25, and 295-302.

2 'Some light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās.' 'Further light on Gauḍapāda Kārikās,' and 'Still further light on Gauḍapāda Kārikās"—in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion,* II, pp. 35 ff.; III, pp. 45 ff. and IV, pp. 174 ff.

Śaṅkara and Sureśvara knew the kārikās of BK. I to have been a part of the upaniṣad. All that he has succeeded in proving is that a few of these kārikās have been mentioned as *Śruti* in Śaṅkarācārya Apocrypha like the 'Viṣṇusahasranāma' commentary, the 'Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya' commentary, and the 'Vivekacūḍāmaṇi.' Bhattacharya has pointed out that Śaṅkara, in his commentary on *B.S.*, II. 1. 9, distinctly refers to kārikā I. 16 in the following terms:—*atroktam vedāntārthasampradāyavidbhirācāryaiḥ*. It is also found that in his Brahmasiddhi, Śaṅkara's senior contemporary, Maṇḍanamiśra, quotes kārikā, I. 11, but does not mention it as *śruti*.[3] Nor does Sureśvara refer to kārikās BK. I as such. He refers to them as 'āgama-mātram' or 'vedāntokti, but that is because the entire work of Gauḍapāda is described as the 'Āgama-śāstra' and the first book is particularly named the 'āgamaprakaraṇa.'

So there can be no doubt that Śaṅkara and his contemporary advaitins did not look upon the kārikās of BK. I as part of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. If the prose passages and the kārikās had been works of the same author, there is no reason why the prose passages should use the terms 'vaiśvānara' and 'turīya'; while the kārikās vary them as 'viśva' and 'turya'; nor should we expect in such a case a difference of opinion as between prose passage 9 and kārikā 19, BK. I. Madhva, however, anticipated these difficulties when he said that Varuṇa, in the shape of frog, saw the passages, while he introduced explanatory *mantras* in the shape of the verses which had been seen by Brahmā, the creator, a view which he supports by quotations from certain Purāṇas which, according to Bhattacharya, cannot be traced in the printed editions thereof. This practically amounts to an admission that the prose and the verse portions of BK. I are not works of the same author.

3 *Brahmasiddhi*, ed. by Mm. S. Kuppuswami Śāstri, p. 150.

Prof. Bhattacharya thinks that the twelve prose passages are a later work than the kārikās of Gauḍapāda, and that probably it is a post-Śaṅkara work, since Śaṅkara is not found referring to them, even where one would expect him to do so, in this recognized commentaries. He is also of opinion[4] that the author of the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya* and kārikās is not really Saṅkara, but somebody else assuming that great man's name,—a view which it should be possible to accept in spite of tradition and the opinion of such a distinguished scholar as Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī to the contrary.

One may also readily accept Bhattacharya's view that the kārikās are by no means what they are supposed to be, namely, a sort of vārtika on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, since they have no characteristic of a vārtika which consists in discussing what is said, what is not said and what is badly said (*uktānukta-durukta-cintā vārtikam*—Rājaśekhara). The reasons set forth by Prof. Bhattacharya need not be repeated here.

But one cannot help joining issue with this erudite scholar when he insists that the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* that is, the twelve prose passages, is a post-Śaṅkara or even a post-Gauḍapāda work. First, the tradition that the *Māṇḍūkya* is one of the ten major upaniṣads cannot be discarded without adequate reason. Secondly, Y. Subrahmaniya Sarma has pointed out[5] that Sureśvara actually quotes from this upaniṣad and names it:—

एषो ऽन्तर्य्याम्येष योनिः सर्वस्य प्रभवाप्ययौ ।
माण्ड्केय-श्रुति-वच इति स्पष्टम् अधीयते ॥

Thirdly, Māṇḍanamiśra, who like Sureśvara, was a senior contemporary of Śaṅkara, quotes the Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya passage *ekam amṛtam ajam,* and the Māṇḍūkya words—*sarvajñaḥ, sarveś-*

4 *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee,* vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 101-110.
5 *Review of Philosophy and Religion,* IV, p. 220.

varaḥ.[6] Fourthly, Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV. 2. 3 and 4., leaves hardly any doubt in one's mind that he is referring therein to the *Māṇḍūkya*, though not expressly naming it. I refrain from quoting the relevant commentary *in extenso*, and hope that my readers will take the trouble of reading the commentary at first hand. Swami Mādhavānanda, in the excellent translation of Śaṅkara's commentary on this *Up.*, appears to have come across references to the *Māṇḍūkya* in the *bhāṣya* for he names this *Up.*, in the list of abbreviations, prefixed to his work, but I have unfortunately failed to trace the references. Then, again, in view of Sureśvara's quotation of the *Māṇḍūkya* passage containing the expression, *prabhavāpyayau*, it seems likely that Śaṅkara, too, had this passage in mind when he used the expression in his *B.S.*, I. 1. 9, commentary and not *Kaṭha*, II. 3. 11, as Bhattacharya contends, for the expression appears to have a somewhat different import in the latter context. Lastly, Bhattacharya has himself shown that the terms 'Vaiśvānara' and 'Turiya' are older than 'Viśva' and 'Turya' found in the kārikās, and also that the prose passages have a tinge of the language of the Brāhmaṇas. For all these reasons it would be legitimate to hold that the *Māṇḍūkya* is a pre-Śaṅkara and pre-Gauḍapāda work and that it would be wrong to reject the tradition that it is one of the ten major upaniṣads. Even Nāgārjuna might have borrowed the word 'prapañcopaśama' from it.

We shall now proceed to discuss the real problem before us, viz., what is the relation of the kārikās to the Upaniṣad. In agreement with Bhattacharya, I have already said that the kārikās of Gauḍapāda are not a vārtika on the *Māṇḍūkya*. What, then, is the relation between the two? To come to a finding on this point, it is necessary to examine first what it is that the kārikās aim at. Are they pure Vedānta as the orthodox commentators would have

6 *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 4, 127.

us believe? Most probably not. It stands to the credit of Poussin[7] and Bhattacharya[8] that they have been the first to tell us what the kārikās really aim at. The kārikās of the first BK. establish non-dualism of the Māṇḍūkya type, the second and the third BKs, have, to use Poussin's words, a *double entendre* or, in the language of Prof. Bhattacharya: they begin with the Vedānta and end with Buddhism, while the kārikās of the fourth BK. confine themselves to the exposition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, mainly of the Vijñānavāda but partly also of the Mādhyamika variety. Bhattacharya points out how, in this book, the terminology used is entirely Buddhistic, such upaniṣadic terms as 'ātman' and 'brahman' being discarded, how the word 'agrayāna' (which means 'Mahāyāna,) is used and how the author begins by saluting the Buddha and ends by telling us what the Buddha did not teach.[9] Any one having a moderate acquaintance with Yogācāra and Mādhyamika literature, who goes through the kārikās dispassionately, will have little doubt left in his mind that the sole object of Gauḍapāda in writing this prakaraṇa work was to show, first, what Vedāntic non-dualism really stood for and, next, to make out that Yogācāra and Mādhyamika Buddhism could be reconciled to it and placed on an upaniṣadic basis.

The question which now confronts us, and which should not be difficult to answer, is how the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* came to have a place at the head of the kārikās. Even in the case of an upaniṣad, we know that the *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpaniya* quotes almost the

7 'Vedanta and Buddhism,' *J.R.A.S*, 1910, pp. 129-40.

8 'The Gauḍapāda Kārikās on the Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad,' *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 439 ff.

9 According to Poussin and Bhattacharya Kārikā 99, BK., IV, tells us what the Buddha did not teach. I am inclined to think however, that the Kārikā tells us what the Buddha taught; it repeats what has been said in the introductory Kārikā I, viz., that 'jñeya' is not different from 'jñāna'. This, however, does not affect the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

whole of the *Māṇḍkya*. Now, Gauḍapāda, in order to show that his views had the support of the *Śruti* could do no better than to begin his prakaraṇa work of four Books with the quotation of the *Māṇḍūkya* passages. After quoting six prose passages, Gauḍapāda introduces some of his verses with the words, *Atraite ślokā bhavanti;* and the process continues till the entire Upaniṣad is exhausted. The introductory words do not mean, in this case at least, that the verses are older than the prose passages. Gauḍapāda evidently preferred the *Māṇḍūkya* to any other Upaniṣad because this very brief and unambiguous work was best calculated to support his own point of view, and he has distributed the prose passages just as they suited his purpose.

The commentator of the Upaniṣad and the Kārikās, whoever he might be, was, therefore, perfectly right when he said that this 'prakaraṇa' work of four Books began with the words *"Om ity etad akṣaram."* But this does not certainly mean that the entire work is Gauḍapāda's in the sense that there is no such thing as a *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, as Dr. Venkatasubbiah contends.[10] The entire work is Gauḍapāda's, but he has quoted the entire *Māṇḍūkya* in support of his thesis. This seems to be the right solution of the problem before us.

AMARNATH RAY

10 See his paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, ; ১. 181-193.

Sūrjanacarita of Candraśekhara

(A mahākāvya of the sixteenth century)

A complete ms. of this *mahākāvya* is contained in the Government collection of mss. deposited in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and has been noticed by Rajendra Lala Mitra,[1] Theodor Aufrecht,[2] and Hara Prasad Shastri.[3] It is written on country made paper in Nāgara character. There are 87 folios, each containing ten lines. The appearance of the Ms. is old and its extent in ślokas is 2200. The work consists of twenty *sargas* and contains 1446 verses.

Its contents

After a few invocatory verses, the author states that Dīkṣita Vāsudeva was the first amongst the princes of the Cauhāna-vaṃśa (I, 9). He lived in the city of Vṛndāvatī (I, 19) and his activities were restricted mainly to the banks of the river Carmaṇvatī (I, 18). His son was Naradeva (I, 20); his son Śrīcandra (I, 21); his son Ajayapāla (I, 22). He built the fort named Ajayameru (I, 23); his son Jayarāja (I, 24); his son Sāmantasiṃha (I, 25); his son Gūrjaka (I, 26); his son Candana (I, 27); his son Vajra (I, 29); his son Viśvapati (I, 30); on the advice of his spiritual preceptor's son Sunaya (II, 13) he set out to worship the goddess who is described as *sakalārthadātrī* and *śumbhāsurapraśamanī*[4] in the Śākambharī janapada.[5] Accompanied by Sunaya, the king arrived at the temple

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Calcutta, vol. I, 1871, No. LXXVI, pp. 42-43.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, Leipzig, 1891, p. 181.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Government Collection, pp. 8-9, No. 3084.

4 She is also called Aṣṭamūrtehkuṭumbinī (III, 11), Bhavānī (III, 26), Girirājaputrī (III, 37), Nāgarāja-kanyā (III, 36), Ambā, Ambikā, Gauri, Śaṅkara-priyā Acalaputrī, Śumbhadaitya-dalanī, Andhaka-vairijāyā, Indirā, etc.

5 Also called Śākambharī-deśa (III, 9).

of the goddess and Viśvapati worshipped her by undergoing many austerities. The goddess being pleased gave him her blessings and directed the prince to rule over that *janapada* which was named after her (IV, 25). After this king Viśvapati brought the whole world under his yoke. His son was Harirāja (IV, 43), a devotee of Hari. The Yavanapati, feeling encouraged by the death of the "son of Vajra", invaded the Cāhamāna territories by crossing the Sindhu. But Harirāja soon defeated the Pārasīka army which consisted of Hūṇas, Madras, Cīnas and Mlecchas and celebrated his victory by building the Yodhapuradurga near Maṇḍapapura at the sight of which the Turuṣka lords trembled in fear (IV, 47-53). His son Simharaja was childless; so to save the *Cauhāna kula-rājadhānī* Vṛndāvatī from falling into the hands of enemies he crowned his nephew Bhīmadeva (V, 30). In the course of his (Bhima's) *digvijaya*, he passed through Magadha, Gauḍopakaṇṭha, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Kuntala, banks of the rivers Pampā, Godā, Tāpī, Tāmraparṇī and the city of Dvārāvatī; he defeated the Khasas, the Śakas living on the banks of the river Sindhu, and the Kāmbojas, after extending his power to the Himādribhūmi and Kāmarūpa, he returned to his capital Vṛndāvatī (V, 41-63). His son was Vigrahadeva (VI, 1). He defeated the Gurjaras and annexed their extensive kingdom (VI, 3). His son was Guṇḍadeva (VI, 15); his son was Vallabha (VI, 16) who defeated the Cedipāla and the Bhoja-bhūpati and having imprisoned the latter entered Śākambhari-pura; after some time he sent him back to his own country with gifts and presents (VI, 18-31). His son was Rāmanātha (VI, 33); his son Cāmuṇḍa (VI, 35) was a great votary of Vṛṣāṅka. He defeated the Yavanānika-nāyakas and threw the lord of the Śakas into prison (VI, 42). His son was Durlabharāja (VI, 43), and the latter's son was Dusaladeva (VI, 44). His son was Visala (VI, 45) who defeated king, Karṇa and entered Avantinagarī. Several verses are devoted to a *praśasti* of this city and references are made to the god Mahākāla and

the river Siprā (VI, 49 ff). After bathing in this river and having worshipped Pramathanātha (VI, 63), he made the Mālava prince his tributary and returned to his own city (VI, 81). His son was Pṛthvirāja (VI, 82); his son Valhaṇa (VI, 83); his son Analadeva (VI, 86) to whom are devoted the whole of the 7th and the first twenty-five verses of the 8th *sarga*. The poet however devotes his labours not to record the king's victories but to a description of the seasons and of Puṣkara. On the advice of his *Purodhas*, the king went to this sacred *tīrtha* and built a magnificent temple of Hari and constructed a garden round it. The son of this king was Jagadeva (VIII, 26) and his son Vīsaladeva (VIII, 28). His son Ajayapāla (VIII, 29) married Vijayā. The poet then seems to describe the *vijayayāna* of this prince and incidentally gives a description of many flowering plants and trees. In the course of his travels the king notices a beautiful girl on the side of a tank. It was a case of love at first sight but before the king could approach her she disappeared in the water of the lake. The prince however meets a Siddhapuruṣa and is informed that she was named Vijayā and was the daughter of the Vāsuki-vaṁśaja Nāga Sudāma. On his advice he worshipped the god Ananta and having dived into the tank went to the *Phaṇiloka*. The poet devotes a number of verses to a fanciful description of the land of the Nāgas and then describes how the prince met its king Vāsuki and the Nāga Sudāma. The Siddha now makes his appearance and through his intercession the king succeeds in marrying Vijayā. With the permission of the lord of the Pannagas, he then returned with his queen to his capital. In course of time he adopted the life of a Vānaprastha after placing his son Gaṅgadeva on the throne (IX, 73). His son Someśvara married Karpūradevī, a daughter of the king of the Kuntalas (X, 4). He had two sons of whom the elder was Pṛthvīrāja and the younger Māṇikya. The whole of the tenth sarga is nearly devoted to the career of the former prince (X, 10ff.). While he was resting in a pleasure garden outside the city of Vṛndāvatī, a female messenger

(*dūti*) came to see him. She said that she came from Kānyakubja, the capital of the king who was followed in war by 9,00,000 horsemen (*aśvavārā-navalakṣa-saṅkhyā*).[6] He had a beautiful daughter named Kāntivatī who had fallen in love with Pṛthvīrāja on hearing his praise from the *cāraṇas* who visited her father's court. Seeing no hope of union with her beloved, she began to languish. Her condition became desperate when she heard that her father was thinking of marrying her to another prince. Pṛthvīrāja tells the messenger that the father of Kāntivatī was his sworn enemy but still he would devise some means to help her. He then visits the great city of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjam nagaraṃ garīyaḥ*), ingeniously comes into touch with his beloved princess, and secretly entering the female quarters of the palace of Jayacandra, the father of Kāntivatī, unnoticed by the guards, (*Pratihāras*) eloped with her. Though pursued by the army of the irate Jayacandra, he succeeded in reaching Indraprastha (also called Hariprastha) with his bride. He then attacked the pursuing Kānyakubja army and destroyed it in the waters of the Yamunā. We are next told that Pṛthvīrāja conquered all the quarters and though he defeated and imprisoned Śāhāvadina 21 times, he released him each time. But the ungrateful Yavana by some means having once defeated and imprisoned him carried him to his own country and blinded him. While in this condition he was discovered by a *cāraṇa*, whom he had once befriended. On the advice of this *vandī*, he gave up all ideas of putting an end to his life by *prāyopaveśa* and having formed a secret plot with this minstrel succeeded in killing Śāhāvadina during a tournament. The Muslim prince was shot through his *tālumūla* by a *śabdabhedi-vāṇa*. In the confusion which followed, the *vandi* and Pṛthvīrāja both escaped on a

6 This king was named 'Jayaccandra' and not 'Jayacandra' as in the text See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, 1931, pp. 536 ff.

fleet Persian horse (*vanāyuja*) to the Kurujāṅgala. The Cāhamāna prince died in this Puṇyakṣetra. He was succeeded by his son Prahlāda (XI, 1) and he by his son Govindarāja (XI, 3). The latter was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇa (XI, 4) and the latter by his son Vāgbhaṭa (XI, 5) who captured Raṇastambhapura by defeating the Yavanas. The latter's son Jaitrasiṃha (XI, 6) built Siṃhapurī and was succeeded by his powerful son Hamīradeva (also called Hammīradeva) (XI, 7, 12 & 14). Except the first few verses of canto XI, practically the whole of this *sarga* and the next one (XII) are devoted to the career of this prince. We are told that he conquered the whole earth and fought with the Turuṣkas. He captured Raṇastambhapura having expelled the Yavanas from the city (XI, 17). The poet then gives an elaborate description of the king's journey to a city named Pattana accompanied by his *Paṭṭarājñī, Purohita,* feudatory princes, *sadasya, vayasya, saciva,* cavalry and elephants. He arrives at the banks of the river Tiladroṇī and bathed in its waters. Then follow the descriptions of forests and Pāriyātragiri and other mountains; the king saw the god Vilveśvara (Mahādeva) and worshipped him. After some time he entered the above mentioned *Pattanākhyam nagaram* whose praise was sung by the Carmaṇvatī. He bathed in this river and not only worshipped Mṛtyuñjaya and performed the *Tulādāna* but also a big *Saptatantra* (*Yajña*). While engaged in these Alāvadīna finding him away from Raṇastambhapura, started with a powerful cavalry force to attack his capital. The front portion of his army was under the command of his dear brother Ullukhāna (XI, 65). Hearing of this invasion, the Cāhamāna prince consulted Vidyābhaṭa and other *Mantrimukhyas* and began to move his cavalry and elephants in the direction of the enemy. His Senāpati attacked and routed the Yavana encampment at Jāgarapura which was under the direct charge of Ullūkhāna. The latter appeared before the Sārvabhauma of the Śakas and told him of the disaster. The lord of the Pāraśikas then besieged the city of the Cāhuvāṇa

(XI, 71).[7] In the meantime "the son of Jaitra" had also entered his city. While the outer ramparts of the fort (*durgānta*) were being attacked by Muslim artillery (XI, 73), a messenger (*sandeśahara*) came to the court of the Cāhamāna prince bearing a proposal from the Śākādhipa. It amounted to this;—(i) Giving up of those who had taken shelter with him from the fury of the Yavana prince[8] and (ii) submission and payment of tribute. Unless Hammīra accepted this *sandhi*, he would meet with the same fate that had overtaken Gayāsadīna (XII, 21). In reply the Cāhamāna prince told him that it was inconsistent with the traditions of his line either to humbly pay tribute or to hand over those who had been granted asylum. One of his predecessors Harirāja after defeating the Pārasīkas had built the formidable fort of Upaṣodhapura (XII, 27); another, Cāmuṇḍa after defeating the Śaka-cakravartin brought him in chains to his capital; a third Jaitrasiṃha bravely defended Yoginīpura when Gayāsadīna went to the land of Indra (XII, 28-29). He denied all liability for the looting of the Yavana camp at Jagarapura and in the end proudly refused to submit, and challenged Allāvadīna[9] to do his worst (XII, 33-38). The Muslim *dūta* left the Cāhamāna court in high dudgeon and told Hammīra that he would soon die like a fish caught in a net (XII, 40-42). After the departure of the messenger, the Cāhamāna prince accompanied by his *mantrins* got up on the top of his fort and noticed the constantly increasing and numerous forces of his enemy. Then thinking as follows:—

समरे शमयन्ति वैरिवर्गानथवा जीवनमेव यापयन्ति ।
इह काचन चाहुआनवंशे विदिता नैव हि पद्धतिं स्तृतीया ॥ (XII, 49),

he took leave of the ladies of his household and his Purohita and surrounded by his followers and those whom he had given refuge,

7 Same as Cāhamāna. See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, 1936, p. 1052, fn. 1.

8 *Mahimā-Śāhimukhāns Turuṣka-mukhyān* (XII, 10 & 30); also Ray *ibid.*, p. 1102.

9 Sometimes spelt 'Alāvadina', see XII, 4.

issued out of the fort and engaged the Muslim forces in furious combat. The battle rages for some time outside (XII, 75) the fort and Hammīra is killed (XII, 76-77); in the meantime, the *Mahiṣīs* had burned themselves in fire.

The next canto (XIII) begins with the name of a prince called Māṇikyarāja[10] who is described as the younger brother (*jaghanyaja*) of Pṛthvīrāja, the seventh predecessor from Hammīra (XII, 1-2). Māṇikya's son was Caṇḍarāja (XIII, 6); his son Bhīmarāja (XIII, 7); his son Vijayarāja (XIII, 8); his son Rayaṇa (XIII, 9); his son Kolhana (XIII, 10); his son Vaṅga (XIII, 12); his son Deva (XIII, 13); his son Samarasiṃha (XIII, 14); his son Narapāla (XIII, 15), his son Hammīra (XIII, 16); his son Varasiṃha (XIII, 17); his son Bhāramalla (XIII, 18); his son Narmada (XIII, 19); his son Arjuna (XIII, 23); his son Śūrajana (XIII, 49)[11] by his queen Jayantī, daughter of Daśaratha (XIII, 28.). Arjuna obtained this son as a special favour from the god Śauri (Viṣṇu) whom he worshipped. The remaining portion of canto XIII (verses 49-80) and *sargas* XIV to XIX are devoted by the poet to the career of this king. Some 20 verses (XIII, 50-70) describe the beauty, gifts and prowess of Sūrjana. He owned the city of Vṛndāvatī by hereditary rights and captured many other *durgas*. The poet then gives us an account of his victorious campaigns (*āśājaitra-yātrā*) (XIII, 72ff.). By defeating the lord of Mālava (*Mālavānām-adhiśam*) he captured *Koṭākhyaṃ durgam* (XIII, 76). He also conquered Telaṅga, Kerala, Andhra, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa (XIII, 79). Then follows an elaborate description of the king's marriage with Kanakāvatī, the daughter of Jagamāla (XIV, 1ff.). The latter is described as a *bhūbhṛt* (king) and lord of Vaṃśavahalā; Jagamāla-pattana is mentioned as his capital. Sūrjana goes to this city and marries Kana-

10 See, canto X, 7:—नृपस्तयोः पूर्वजमाह पृथ्वीराजं स माणिक्यमथानुजातम् ; see also ibid., X, 9:—विभज्य राज्यं भुजवीर्यभाजौ पित्रा-प्रणीतं प्रतिपालयन्तौ ।

11 Sometimes spelt 'Sūrjana'.

kāvatī. Many verses describe the beauty of the bride, the ceremonies and the pleasures of the married pair (XIV, 6-88). With Jagamāla's permission the Cāhamāna prince then arranges to start for his own city. The mother of the bride gives her daughter advice on her duties and responsibilities (XV, 16-33). After reaching his capital Sūrjana passes some time in pleasure with his wife in a pleasure garden (XV, 34ff.). The poet describes the king's pleasures in summer in a *dhārāgṛha*. Women dressed in *dukūla* and *kañcuka* and with their lips coloured (*ayāvakaṁ dantacchadaṃ*) (XV, 70, 73)[12] took active part in water sport. In course of time a son named Bhoja was born to the king by his *Paṭṭamahiṣī* Kaṅakāvatī (XVI, 1). The poet then again describes Sūrjana's wars and victories. Akavara is introduced and prasied; we are told that this prince who lived in Ḍhillinagara and had brought the whole world under his power, besieged the capital of Sūrjana. The attempts of the Yavana generals however, did not meet with any success. King Sūrjana defeated the Turuṣka and Pāraśika hosts thirteen times. Then the *Humātmaja* (Akbar) himself came to battle with the Cāhaṃāna prince (*Jāṅgala*, XVI, 11). In the preliminary engagements which seem to have taken place on the banks of a tank or lake (*sarit, hrada, taṭinī*) Akbar's hosts were defeated inspite of the personal encouragements of the Muhammadan emperor. The Muslim army rallied a little towards evening, but soon darkness descended and the armies were separated. The valour of Sūrjana drew unstinted praise from the *Humātmaja* and next morning before the battle began, the latter sent a *saciva* to the fort of the former to open negotiations for peace. Led by the *Pratihāra* of the Cāhamāna prince, he came to the royal presence and eloquently pleaded for the conclusion of peace which would lead neither to loss of glory nor material loss. The proposal of the emperor was that he should receive from the Cāhamāna prince Raṇastambha-durga in exchange of territories on the banks of the

12 See *Kumārasambhavam*, V, 11.

sacred rivers Narmadā, Yamunā (Mathurā-*maṇḍala*) and Jāhnavī. After some deliberation Sūrjana accepted the peace proposals of the Śaka king and started on what looks like a pilgrimage. Leaving Raṇastambhapura, he pitched his camp on the Narmadā and after subjugating the neighbouring regions went to Madhupurī on the banks of the *Kalinda-kanyā*. After passing the rainy season in Vṛndāvana, he started for Vārāṇasī, halting on his way at the junction of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā (i.e. Prayāga) to perform suitable religious ceremonies. Starting from here in the month of Māgha (*tapasi*) (XIX, 7) he reached Vārāṇasī and from the *Vyāsa* Gopāla got a graphic account of the excellence of the place (XIX, 9-34). The rest of the *sarga* is devoted to a description of the many meritorious acts of Sūrjana viz., gifts to many *yācakas*, Brāhmaṇas, excavation of tanks, *tulāpuruṣa* etc. In the end he attains *Sthāṇutvam* in Kāśī and Kanakāvatī and his other wives burned themselves on his funeral pyre. The last canto opens with a note of sorrow at the death of Sūrjana (XX, 17). His son Bhoja conquered *Gurjararājabhūmi* (XX, 9). On the occasion of his coronation *Vyāsa* Gopāla's son Cakradhara stood in front of the Cāhamāna prince. Description of the ceremonies connected with this event and his *praśasti* takes us practically to the end of this *sarga* and the *mahākāvya*. We are told that he was Dillīśena-puraskṛta (XX, 63) and he defeated the Suhmas, Vaṅgas, Vaidarbhas, Traigartas, Mālavas and the Gāndhāras. He is still called Vṛndāvatī-nāyaka. His death seems to be referred to in the penultimate verse (XX, 68) of the last canto of the work.

Its author

Unlike some other historical *kāvyas*, the *Sūrjana-carita* does not give us any information about the author in the colophons at the end of each *sarga*. The only information about the author which we can gather from the internal evidence of this big work is in the last verse of the last sarga (XX, 64). It runs as follows:—

गौडीयः किल चन्द्रशेखरकविर्यः प्रेमपात्रं सता-
मम्बष्ठान्वयमण्डनात् कृतधियो जातो जितामित्रतः ।
निर्बन्धान्नृप-सूर्जनस्य नितरां धर्मैकतानात्मनो
ग्रन्थोऽयं निरमायि तेन वसता विश्वेशितुः पत्तने ॥

Kavi Candraśekhara is described as *Gauḍiya* and the son of Jitāmitra who was an ornament of the *Ambaṣṭha* family. We are further informed that he composed this *grantha* at the request of *Nṛpa* Sūrjana in the *Pattana* of the ruler of this Viśva (Vārāṇasī). Several authors with the name Candraśekhara are known. One was the author of the *Smṛtiratnākara*. But he belonged to the 14th century[13] and as such cannot be identified with our author. As Sūrjana and Candraśekhara were apparently contemporaries of Akbar (1536-1605 A.D.), we must try to find out an author of the 16th century. The *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja refers to one Jitānitra[14] as a disciple of Śri-Gadādhara Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Caitanya. The same work also refers in another place to the Vaidya Candraśekhara.[14a] We are told:—

বারাণসীমধ্যে প্রভুর ভক্ত তিনজন।
চন্দ্রশেখর বৈদ্য আর মিশ্র তপন॥
রঘুনাথ ভট্টাচার্য্য মিশ্রের নন্দন।
প্রভু যবে কাশী আইলা দেখি বৃন্দাবন॥
চন্দ্রশেখর ঘরে কৈল দুইমাস বাস
তপন মিশ্রের ঘরে ভিক্ষা দুইমাস॥

This Candraśekhara was a Bengali Vaidya resident in Benares. As Caitanya was born about 1498 A.D. and entered into the *Sannyāsa āśrama* about the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, his disciple Candrasékhara was certainly a contemporary of the emperor Akbar and the Cāhamāna prince Sūrjana. It is thus probable that our author is identical with this disciple of Caitanya. But as yet I am unable to produce any evidence that

13 Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 448.
14 P. 82. Ādililā, XII. 14a *Ibid.*

this *bhakta* was also a poet and an author or that Jitāmitra, the disciple of Gadādhara, was the father of Candraśekhara, the disciple of Caitanya.

A Historical Kāvya

The generally accepted view that ancient and early mediaeval Hindu authors were not familiar with the true conception of real history must be considerably modified in the light of the following statement of Kalhaṇa: —

श्लाघ्यः स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृतः।
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥[15]

But unfortunately, with the exception of the last four cantos of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* we have not yet discovered many historical works written in the spirit and with the historical detachment of the Kashmirian author. We are however long familiar with the historical *kāvya.*[16] Though their authors could never afford to be really impartial and take a detached view of events, yet as contemporary documents they cannot be ignored by the student of history. The present *kāvya* shows that the work begun by Hariṣeṇa, Bāṇa, Padmagupta, Bilhaṇa, Vākpati, Sandhyākara Nandī, Hemacandra and others was continued by their successors at least up to the 16th century A.D.. We must also remember that with the exception of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī we are not familiar with any other work by a Bengali poet which can be called a true historical *kāvya,* though we know a number of Bengali authors of the 15th and the 16th centuries who composed poetical works which can be called non-historical *kāvyas.* The *Haricarita* of Caturbhuja (1493 A.D.), Murāri Gupta's *Caitanyacarita* (*c.* 1528 A.D.), and Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Uddhava-sandeśa* and *Haṁsa-dūta* (*c.* early 16th century) may be

15 *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* I, 7.

16 Keith, *op. cit.,* pp. 144 cf.; also Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 61 ff.

mentioned in this connection.[17] Umāpati Dhara's Deopara *Praśasti*, though scanty, may however, be included in the list of historical *kāvya* by a Bengali author of the first half of the 12th century A.D.[18]

H. C. Ray

17 I am indebted to Dr. S. Sen of the University of Calcutta and Mr. C. Chakravarti, of the Bethune College, Calcutta for some suggestions in this paper.

18 See my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, 1931, p. 362. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's *Praśasti* is really a record of a Brāhman family and as such cannot be properly called a historical *kāvya*, see *Ibid.*, p. 255.

The Date of the Kaumudīmahotsava

कौमुदीकारकं चन्द्रं चूडायां बिभ्रतं सदा ।
उमाया रमणं नत्वा विचारं कश्चिदारभे ॥
कः कालो नाट्यबन्धस्य यः कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ।
यत्नेन निर्णयः कार्यः प्रश्नस्यास्य समीक्षकैः ॥
गुप्तानां समये जाता नाट्यस्यास्य निबन्धिका ।
इति यत् केचन प्रोचुस्तत्साधु नैव भाराते ॥
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठं च नानात्वस्य च नाशकम् ।
कथयन्ती शिवं कर्तां विस्पष्टं सूचयेदिदम् ॥
व्याख्याता ब्रह्मसूत्राणां शङ्कराचार्यसंज्ञितः ।
शिवावताररूपी स श्लेषेणात्र हि सूचितः ॥
अतः सा शाङ्करात्कालान्नैव पूर्वमजायत ।
इत्येतच्छक्नुमो नूनं प्रतिपत्तुमसंशयम् ॥
यदि सा विज्जकाप्रख्या प्रसिद्धा काव्यकारिका ।
धनिकादवलोकस्य कर्तुर्न परभाविनी ॥
अथ चेद् विज्जका न स्यादेतच्चापि हि दुर्वचम् ।
इत्यतश्चाधिकं वक्तुमधुना नैव शक्यते ॥

Since the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal wrote on the "Historical Data in the Drama *Kaumudimahotsava*" in the *ABORI.*, vol. XII, pp. 50-56, the drama has attracted considerable attention. Jayaswal (henceforth abbreviated as J.) took it as a work of the early Gupta period and he drew from it a good deal of material for the reconstruction of the early history of the Guptas.[1] Several scholars have accepted the historical conclusions of J. without properly examining whether the text of the drama really supports them or not.[2] The highly speculative character of these deductions did not, however, escape the critical eyes of the late Prof. Winternitz, who said that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this *Kaumudimahotsava*

1 *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* (*JBORS.*, Vol. XIX), pp. 113-121.
2 See, e.g., E. A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, pp. 25-35.

drama to 340 A.D."[3] Winternitz, however, did not make a detailed refutation of J.'s views and Mr. Dasharatha Sharma found fault with him and supported J.[4] In view of the important character of the historical deductions of J., the question of the date of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (henceforth abbreviated as *Km.*) needs be re-examined, though from the literary point of view the drama is not of much value.

The author's name has not been fully preserved, not also in the colophons of the unique manuscript on which M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanath Sastri based their editions.[5] The author's name appears in the prologue of the drama but a part of it is missing. Its conclusion *-kayā* (*nibaddhaṁ nāṭakam*) makes it certain that the writer was a female whose name ended with the syllable *kā*. Mr. Kavi says that he noticed traces of "a part of *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion"[6] and a suggestion has been made that the name of the authoress was *Vijjikā*.[6a] J. however, ignored this and inferred from the verse (Prologue, v. 3) that her name was Kiśorikā, daughter of Kṛṣīvala![7] No Sanskritist familiar with prologues in the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* and other Sanskrit dramas will take this verse as conveying any sense other than that of *ṛtu-varṇana*:

कृष्णशारां कटाक्षेण कृषीवलकिशोरिका ।
करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥

in autumn the young girl (*kiśorikā*) of the peasant (*kṛṣīvala*) is placing sheafs of paddy on her ears. There is no reference to the authoress.[8]

3 *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 362.

4 *JBORS.*, vol. XXII, pp. 275-282.

5 *Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series*, No. 4, Madras, 1929.

6 Introduction, p. 3.

6a Mr. Kavi must be wrong in his view that the writer was not a woman (Introduction, p. 2.).

7 *ABI.*, XII, p. 50, n. 1.

8 Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 10.

J. inferred from the undermentioned words of the Stage-Manager in the prologue that the authoress was a contemporary of the characters in the drama:—

तदानीं (तदिदानीं?) तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः प्रतिनवराज्यलाभसंवर्धिततदृष्टिवृद्धिपरसंकुलेऽपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासीदति कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलोचितेन सङ्गीतकसेवाधिकारेण लब्धावसरो राजकुलं प्रविशामि। (प्रविश्य) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु पूर्वसूरिसूक्तिविशेषेषु का पुनरभिनवरमणीया कृतिरभिनेतव्या। भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं चरितमधिकृत्य कया निबद्धं नाटकम्। तदिदानीमग्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजान्तःपुरमवतरामि॥

If the above be compared with the prologues in other Sanskrit dramas, J.'s conclusion cannot be regarded as the only possible one. In the prologue of the *Uttararāmacarita* the Sūtradhāra says:

एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यकस्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः। (समन्तावलोक्य) भो भोः। यदा तावदत्रभवतः पौलस्त्यकुलधूमकेतोर्महाराजरामस्यायमभिषेकसमयो रात्रिन्दिवमसंहृतानन्दनान्दीकस्तत् किमस्य विश्रान्तचारणानि चत्वरस्थानानि।.....एहि। राजद्वारमेव स्वजातिसमयेनोपतिष्ठावः।

Here also the Stage-Manager affects to be a contemporary of the characters in the drama. With the exception of the sentence एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यकस्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः, the Stage-Maneger's words in the *Uttararāmacarita* are similar to those in the *Km*. In the prologue of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* we have the same affectation of contemporaneity without even a qualifying sentence as in the *Uttararāmacarita*. As soon as the Stage-Manager has introduced the names of the drama and its author to the audience, some one shouts from the green-room;

भाव, त्वर्यतां त्वर्यताम्। एते खल्वार्यविदुराज्ञया पुरुषाः सकलमेव शैलूषजनं व्याहरन्ति —"प्रवर्त्यन्तामपरिहीयमानमातोद्यविन्यासादिका विधयः। प्रवेशकालः किल तत्रभवतः पाराशर्यनारदतुम्बुरुजामदग्न्यप्रभृतिभिर्मुनिवृन्दारकैरनुगम्यमानस्य भरतकुलहितकाम्यया स्वयं प्रतिपन्नदौत्यस्य देवकीसूनोश्चक्रपाणेर्महाराजदुर्योधनशिबिरं प्रति प्रस्थातुकामस्य" इति।

The Stage-Manager then joyously says,

अहो नु खलु भोः, भगवता सकलजगत्प्रभवस्थितिनिरोधप्रभविष्णुना विष्णुनाद्यानुगृहीतमिदं भरतकुलं सकलं च राजकमनयोः कुरुपाण्डवराजपुत्रयोराहवकल्पान्तानलप्रशमनहेतुना स्वयं सन्धिकारिणा कंसारिणा दूतेन। तत्किमिति पारिपार्श्विक नारम्भयसि कुशीलवैः सह संगीतम्।

The Assistant now enters and the two carry on conversation in the same strain, as if they are contemporaries of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the Stage-Manager in course of his talk with his wife flares up and curses that his friend who has enjoined a costly *vrata* on her should receive capital punishment at the hands of king Pālaka, as if they were all contemporaneous with that king. The Manager also holds a dialogue with Cārudatta's friend, Maitreya, "in the sky." In the *Vikramorvaśiya* while the Stage-Manager is talking with his Assistant, cries of help are heard from behind the Stage and the Manager feigns that he does not know what they mean and then after affected reflection says that Urvaśi is being carried away by Asuras and her friends are crying for help. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* (as in the *Veṇisaṁhāra*), while the Prologue is in progress, the character in the opening scene, Cāṇakya (like Bhīma in the *Veṇisaṁhāra*), takes serious exception to the words falling from the lips of the Stage-Manager and begins his angry speech. Similarly in the *Ratnāvalī*, Yaugandharāyaṇa, the first speaker in the Prelude to Act I, takes up with approval from behind the stage a verse uttered by the Stage-Manager while the Prologue is still continuing. Of the so-called Bhāsa dramas each one (with the exception of the *Cārudatta* which is only an abridged version of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*) includes within the Prologue the first sentence of the first speaker of the opening scene.

All this shows that our dramatists often put anachronous words in the mouths of the Stage-Manager and his assistants. The words of the Stage-Manager in the Prologue of the *Km.*, therefore, need not necessarily make him or the authoress a contemporary of Kalyāṇavarman.

We cannot thus assume that the date of the work is the same as that of the story. If, however, the story is historical, its date will give the uppermost limit of our drama. But is the story

historical? None of the characters of the drama are known to us from inscriptions, coins or literary references. J. equates Caṇḍasena, the villain of the drama, with the famous Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. This Caṇḍasena was the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, but he got estranged from his adoptive father probably when, as J. plausibly supposes, a son (Kalyāṇavarman) was born to him, which probably made Caṇḍasena suspicious about the chance of his succession to the throne. Caṇḍasena allied himself with the Licchavis, the enemies of the house of Magadha, and attacked Pāṭaliputra. Sundaravarman is said to have been victorious in the battle: He spared the life of Caṇḍasena but disinherited[9] him and banished him to the Licchavi territory (p. 30). But Sundaravarman himself died soon after, seemingly of wounds received in the battle, and Caṇḍasena came back and occupied the throne of Magadha. Kalyāṇavarman, the young son of Sundaravarman, had been removed to safety by his partisans and he grew into manhood, when a *coup* was arranged which installed him on the throne of his father and Caṇḍasena was killed.

J. thinks that this Caṇḍasena is the historical Candragupta I because both of them had connexions with the Licchavis and had accession of territory through their help. There is no doubt that Candragupta I married a Licchavi princess, Kumāradevī, *through whose right* he and his son Samudragupta ruled over lands that did not originally belong to them. But about Caṇḍasena we are only told that he had connexion (*sambandha*) with the Licchavis—ततः स्वयं मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नाप मगधकुलवैरिभिर्म्लेच्छैर्लिच्छविभिः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा लब्धावसरः कुसुमपुरमुपरुद्धवान्। (p. 30). Nothing is said here about

9 अपहस्तयित्वा in the text. This rendering is suggested by MM. Dr. Ganganatha Jha.

a marriage relation which J. näively assumes.[10] The context rather suggests that it was only a political alliance.

It is difficult to understand why Candragupta I, supposed to be the same person as Caṇḍasena, should become the adopted son of another king, when his father, Ghaṭotkaca, was already a king. The Gupta inscriptions from the time of Samudragupta and the coins of Candragupta I and Kumāradevī suggest that Candragupta I succeeded to the dominion of the petty kings (Mahārāja, which does not necessarily mean 'feudatory king'), Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca, and became an emperor (*Mahārājādhirāja*) when he received considerable addition to his territory through marriage with the Licchavi princess. Caṇḍasena's rule, on the other hand, was only through the usurpation of Sundaravarman's throne. If the Licchavis had kept him on the throne of Magadha, Kalyāṇavarman would have had to cross swords with them when he conquered Caṇḍasena and the *Km.* must have mentioned this feat of the new king.

Then the drama distinctly says that Caṇḍasena was killed after the *coup* of Kalyāṇavarman: दिष्ट्येदानीं प्रतिलब्धराज्याभिषेको देवः कल्याणवर्मा दिष्ट्या वत्सानुबन्धो निहतश्चण्डसेनहतकः । (p. 36). The meaning of वत्सानुबन्ध is not very clear. But the only way in which it can be construed is as a Bahuvrihi compound adjective to चण्डसेनहतकः meaning 'along with his issue.' This meaning is made quite explicit by the following verse:

प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथमुन्मूलितचण्डसेनराजकुलम् ।
कल्पन(?)मिव नमति जनः (सकलः) कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

So the entire family of Caṇḍasena was uprooted by Kalyāṇavarman. But Candragupta I seems to have had a peaceful end and certainly left sons, the great Samudragupta and other princes of equal birth (*tulyakulaja-*) referred to in l. 7 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, No. 1). J.'s assumption that "Candra-

10 *ABI.*, XII, p. 53.

gupta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Pāṭaliputra, addressed Samudragupta, one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes, and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—'You now, my noble sir, be the king ("protect the kingdom")' and expired"[11] goes against both the *Km.* and the Allahabad Inscription. The *Km.* shows that Caṇḍasena, the alleged counterpart of Candragupta I, was not *expelled* from Pāṭaliputra when Kalyāṇavarman became the king but was *killed* (*nihataḥ*). He could not, therefore, have the time to give the alleged charge to one of his sons in the presence of the "Council of Ministers." Then, what "Council of Ministers" could sit in deliberation or even give "tacit consent" near the death bed of a king who had been dispossessed of his realm? Then, the tears in the eyes of the historical Candragupta I as recorded in the genuinely historical Allahabad Inscription (ll. 7-8), which J. ascribes to Caṇḍasena, are clearly tears of affection and not of sorrow. The words in the inscription are:

आर्यो ह्रीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येभूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्यालुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पात्येवमुर्वीमिति ॥

"whom his father embraced, saying 'verily, noble thou art,' with his hairs, indicative of affection, standing erect, while the members of the court heaved with joy but (princes) of equal pedigree looked on with pale features, and then scanning him with eyes rolling with affection and laden with tears (of joy) and penetrating into (his) true nature, said 'Thus protect all this earth'." We have here very clearly the words of a prosperous king, seated in state in his court, naming a successor and charging him to protect the earth as he did it (एवम्) and not the plaintive words of a king, lying

11 *JBORS.*, XIX, p. 119.

mortally wounded in the field of battle, who has lost his all and asks one of the sons to regain the lost dominion. The other princes could not have turned pale because they were not given charge of an extremely difficult and hazardous task, a life and death struggle against tremendous odds. Actually the inscription refers to a peaceful succession. J.'s interpretation of these lines makes a travesty of the actual text. We must, therefore, conclude that the end of Caṇḍasena's career as given in the *Km.* makes his identification with Candragupta I impossible.

Then there is the difference in name. J. finds no difficulty in taking *Caṇḍa-* as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Candra-*[12] and Dasharatha Sharma supports it.[13] *Candra-* of Sanskrit becomes *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-* in Prakrit.[14] A preceding and not a following *-r-* ordinarily cerebralizes a dental.[15] It is only in Jaina Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī) that *-dra-* sometimes becomes *-ḍḍa-*.[16] Even in Ardhamāgadhī *Candra-* becomes *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-*[17] and the form *Caṇḍa-* is extremely rare in Jaina Prakrit.[18]

12 *JBORS.*, XIX, p. 113. 13 *JBORS.*, XXII, p. 276.

14 *Dhanapāla, Pāialacchīnāmamālā*, v.5. The grammarians add an alternative form *Candra-* without assimilation (Vararuci, III. 4, Hemacandra, II. 80, Mārkaṇḍeya, III. 4, Trivikrama, I. 4, 80). *Caṇḍa* is not vouched for by any grammarian or lexicographer.

15 R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, §291.

16 *Ibid.*, §294.

17 Haragovinda Das Seth, *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, pp. 393-394. Compare, e.g., *Canda-* for Sanskrit *Candra-* in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, §36 (ed. Leumann, p. 57) by the side of *Khuḍḍaga-* for Sanskrit *Kṣudraka-* in the same text, § 38 (p. 48). Caṇḍa also cites only the form *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-* in his grammar of the Ārṣa Prakrit (*Prākṛtalakṣaṇa*, II. 1, III. 39).

18 *Ibid.*, p. 392*a*. The author has cited an illustration from Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. The reason for *Candra* not becoming *Caṇḍa* is not far to seek: the preceding *-n-* protects the dental *-d-* from change. The alleged instance of *Candra-* becoming *Caṇḍa-* in Prakrit in the Kodavali Well Inscription of Vasiṭhiputa-sāmisiri-Caḍasāt (i) (*JBORS.*, XIX, p. 113, n. 4) is extremely doubtful for there the Sanskrit form of the king's name seems to be Vāsiṣṭhīputra *Caṇḍa-svāti* and not V. *Candra-svāti*, (Cf. Sten Konow, *ZDMG.*, LXII, p. 591) a form favoured by the

Dasharatha Sharma says "The Prākṛta name Chaṇḍasena is turned into Chandrasiṁha by Kṣemendra. Somadeva, however, gives it as Chaṇḍasena in his Sanskrit version of Bṛhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛta Chaṇḍa has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chaṇḍa, but also of Chandra."[19] The fact stated here is not correct. It is true that in the Nirnay Sagar edition of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra the name of the king of Tāmralipta in the eighth story of the Vetāla in the *Śaśāṅkavatī-lambaka* twice occurs as *Candra-siṁha* (verses 420 and 430) corresponding to the consistent reading *Caṇḍa-sena* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva,[20] but it also occurs there as *Caṇḍa-sena* for the same individual within the self-same story (vv. 446, 449, pp. 323-4), which shows that *Caṇḍa-sena* is the form of the name in the *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī* also and *Candra-siṁha* is only a wrong reading confined to two places. Nowhere else in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* does *Candra-* in a proper name show the variant *Caṇḍa-* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[21]

majority of the Purāṇa manuscripts, the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and most manuscripts of the *Matsya* supporting *Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi* and only the *Viṣṇu* and stray manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one manuscript of the Matsya favouring the spelling *Candraśri*. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dy. of Kali Age*, p. 43 and fns. 19, 22). It is true that Rapson read the legend on the coins of this king as *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri-Cada-Sātisa* with a dental *-d- Cat. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 30-1). But the letter which he reads as *-da-* is hardly different from the letter in the coins of a different fabric, seemingly of the same king, to which he gave the value of *-ḍa-* (*Cat. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 32-3, pl. VI). If the legend on the coins of this Vāsiṣṭhiputra (Rapson, nos. 117-124) must be read with a dental *-d-*, so can be read the name in the Kodavali Well Inscription. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri in *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 317.

19 *JBORS.*, XXII, p. 277, n. 1.

20 *Lambaka*, XII, *Taraṅga*, XIV (*Nirnaya Sagar* edition, pp. 421 ff.). It is the seventh story according to the order in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

21 Critical editions of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* based on very thorough examination of all available manuscripts are a great necessity. Study of these two texts will then be placed on a scientific basis.

In the *Km.* we find that *Candra-* appears as *Canda-* (p. 7, ll. 11, 14, 19; p. 14, l. 14; p. 21, l. 2; p. 28, l. 2; p. 46, ll. 11, 13). On the other hand, Caṇḍasena's name always appears in the Sanskrit passages as *Caṇḍa-sena* and not as *Candra-sena* (p. 29, l. 8; p. 30, l. 19; p. 32, l. 5 and p. 36, l. 13). Consequently the text of the *Km.* goes against the phonetic equation proposed by J.

It is thus clear that the *Km.* cannot be taken as referring to Candragupta I.[22] Nor can we determine the date or the historicity of Kalyāṇavarman, Caṇḍasena and Kīrtiseṇa. Consequently the story cannot help us in fixing the upper limit of the date of the drama.

Now let us look for other indications in the work for the date. The very first verse which gives a clear indication is as follows:

श्रीमद्व्याघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले स्थण्डिले संनिषण्णः
कृत्वा पर्यङ्कबन्धं फणमणिकिरणोद्गारिणा तक्षकेण ।
नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिघ्नस्तव भवतु तमःकृत्तये कृत्तिवासाः ॥

The authoress is here paying obeisance to Śiva (*Kṛttivāsas*). The second half of the verse uses two adjectives for *Kṛttivāsāḥ* which are remarkable (1) नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन ("spreading, as it were, in the form of the lustre of his teeth, the knowledge that cuts the knot of duality") and (2) ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिघ्नः. The second

22 It is surprising how Jayaswal could gather from *Km.*, IV. 6

(कारानिरोधपरिपाण्डुकपोलरेखाकारा निरोधविधुराः प्रकृतीश्चकार ।
कारच्छलेन ककुभो वशमानिनाय कारस्करः स खलु सम्प्रति पार्थिवेषु ॥)

that Caṇḍasena was a Kāraskara (=Dhanṛi Jāṭ of the Punjab!) by birth. The last line of the verse means that in course of his oppressions Caṇḍasena has now (*samprati*) become a "veritable Kāraskara among kings." Āryarakṣita is explaining to Vardhamānaka how Caṇḍasena has become unpopular among his subjects. To take Caṇḍasena as a born Kāraskara from this passage is doing violence to the text. J. is wrong in taking the Kāraskaras as a northern people. They seem to have belonged to the Deccan (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 114, vv. 45-49). But *kāraskaraḥ* in *Km.* IV. 6 seems to mean a poison tree (*Pāṇini*, VI. 2.156, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* V. 14.12 and *Rājanighaṇṭu*, IX. 142). Caṇḍasena had thus become a "poison tree" among kings by his misdeeds.

adjective is striking. Why is Śiva connected with *brahma-vyākhyāna* (exposition of Brahman)? Is it not very strange? If, however, we suppose that the authoress was thinking of the great Śaṅkarācārya, believed to be an avatāra of Śiva, both the adjectives become appropriate. The whole energy of Śaṅkarācārya was spent in establishing the *advaita* doctrine and refuting dualism and he is known as *the* commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras*, at least among Advaitins. *Brahmavyākhyānaniṣṭhaḥ* would admirably suit the well known teacher of *Brahma-vidyā*—ब्रह्मव्याख्याने निष्ठा=सतताध्यवसायो यस्य. 'who is always engaged in the exposition of Brahman.' For Śiva the construction is not easy: it will have to be something like this—ब्रह्मव्याख्यानानां=वेदान्तवाक्यानां (!) निष्ठा=अवसानं तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्, "who is the end of expositions of Brahman"). It is more usual to have a Bahuvrihi compound of *niṣṭhā* with a word in the locative than with one in the genitive. Similarly the adjective नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् would refer to Śaṅkarācārya more directly. In the case of Śiva the interpretation will have to be a little round about—Śiva is supposed to give higher knowledge, which an Advaitin will assume to be a dispeller of dualism. As regards the adjective in the first half of the verse the portion from श्रीमद्व्याघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले to पर्यङ्कबन्धम् will suit Śiva and his incarnation equally well, for Śaṅkarācārya as a Sannyāsin must have used a seat of tiger skin when engaged in yogic contemplation. It is only फणमणिकिरणचारिणा तक्षकेण that creates some difficulty in the case of Śaṅkarācārya, for it is not easy to believe that he used an actual snake for tying himself fast (*paryaṅka-bandha*). Is *takṣaka* in his case to be understood as the T—shaped wooden rest, called *tākhā* in Hindi, much used by Sādhus? It may have had a sharp metallic end for splitting firewood.[22a] Even then फणमणिकिरणचारिणा remains unexplained. What-

22a This suggestion has emanated from a friend of mine, who is not only a good student of *yoga* but a practical yogin himself.

ever that may be the other adjectives clearly suggest that the authoress is referring here together to Śiva and his incarnation Śaṅkarācārya. Compare the words of Sāyaṇācārya at the beginning of his vedic commentaries,

यस्य निश्वसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥

Here Sāyaṇa has identified Brahman, his *iṣṭa-devatā* Śiva, and his guru Vīdyātīrtha. Our authoress seems to have held Śaṅkarācārya in similar regard. *In any case, the idea* नानात्वग्रन्थिमेत्रीं श्रियमिव विकिरन् *hardly be understod before Śaṅkarācārya popularised the advaita doctrine.*

The work is then to be assigned to a date not earlier than that of the great Vedāntist. Śaṅkara is usually believed to have lived between 788 and 820 A.D.[23] but this date now appears to be too late.[23a] In any case, this much can be safely said that he lived sometime between 650 A.D. and 800 A.D. This would then represent the upper limit of the date of the *Km.*

As one carefully goes through the drama one finds that this upper limit is confirmed by the borrowings of the authoress. Dasharatha Sharma and D. R. Mankad have shown the influence of Kālidāsa's writings in this drama.[24] One can considerably add to their lists. Thus

Km., p. 4, ll. 14-15. (निमित्तं सूचयित्वा) किं नु खलु स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः This is clearly suggested by *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Act I (निमित्तं सूचयन्) शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य (Ed. Patankar, Poona 1902, p. 11). It should be noted that the throbbing of

23 K. B. Pathak, *IA.*, XI, pp. 174-5; XLII, p. 235; *JBBRAS.*, XVIII, 218; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA.*, XLI, 206 etc. K. T. Telang pleaded for an earlier date in *IA.*, XIII, 95-103 and Introduction to the *Mudrārākṣasa* (B.S.S.), pp. xxxix ff. See also J. F. Fleet, *IA.*, XVI. 41-2.

23a See T. R. Chintamani, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, III, pp. 39-56, S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *Brahmasiddhi*, Introduction, p. lviii etc.

24 *IHQ.*, X, pp. 763-6; XI, pp. 147-8; *ABI.*, XVI, pp. 155-157.

Duṣyanta's right arm soon secures him a good damsel, whereas Kalyāṇavarman gets Kirtimati after a long time.

P. 6, l. 1 एदिणा (=by the Aśoka tree growing wild in the forest) पच्चादिट्ठा दाणिं पमअवणपावपाणं समिद्धी Cf. *Abh.* I. 17 *cd*, दूरीकृताः खलु गुणैरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः (p. 11).

P. 10, ll. 1-2 कथमेषा वक्त्रामोदप्रसक्तं मधुकरयुवानं लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती हन्त अन्तर्हिता तरुसङ्कटे, clearly suggested by *Kumārasambhava* III. 56,

सुगन्धिनिश्वासविवृद्धतृष्णं विम्बाधरासन्नचरं द्विरेफम् ।
प्रतिक्षणं सम्भ्रमलोलदृष्टिर्लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती ॥

The underlined expressions are identical. It is more natural that a line in verse should have been copied in prose than the other way about.

P. 11, ll. 5 ff. The discovery of the pearl necklace inadvertently left by Kirtimati was probably suggested by the *mṛṇāla-valaya* left by Śakuntalā in Act III of *Abh.* according to not only the long addition in the Bengali recension but also verse 25 (p. 76) of the Devanāgari text.

P. 15, ll 25-26 आश्रयति माधवी चेदाश्रमसहकारपादपस्कन्धम् । स्वार्थकीर्तां लभते निर्वृतिमारण्यको वर्गः reminds one of the talks between Anasūyā, Priyaṁvadā and Śakuntalā in Act I of *Abh.* (pp. 15-16) about the *navamālikā* Vanajyotsnā. The *mādhavi* creeper is named just before this in the Kashmiri recension (ed. K. Burkhard, p. 28) and immediately after in the Bengali text (ed. Permchand Tarkavāgīśa, pp. 14-15)

P. 22, l. 16 ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थः कुमारः । Cf. *Abh.* Act III ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थो राजा (p. 53), using a form (*kāmayamāna-*) which is unusual in classical texts, though grammatically correct.

P. 44, ll. 18-19 रम्यद्वेषनिबन्धनो पनसि मे वियोगोचितसन्तापः.....। The underlined expression seems to have been suggested by रम्यं द्वेष्टि etc. in *Abh.* VI. 5 (p. 150).

P. 48, ll. 7-8. The Vidūṣaka's mistaking a picture-roll thrown in that direction by Nipuṇikā for a serpent seems clearly to have been suggested by the incident of Irāvati's maid Nipuṇikā throwing a stick at the sleeping Vidūṣaka in Act IV of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and his mistaking it for a real snake (ed. S. P. Pandit, p. 121, ll. 158 ff.). It is more natural to mistake a stick as a serpent than a picture-roll.

If Kālidāsa be assigned to the reign of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (*c.* 380-*c.* 415 A.D.) or of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (*c.* 415-455 A.D.) or his son Skandagupta Vikramāditya (455 A.D.—*c.* 467 A.D.), the *Km.* cannot be dated as early as *c.* 340 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that Kālidāsa lived before Aśvaghoṣa (second century A.D.) who borrowed from him and not *vice versa.*[25] If my view about the date of Kālidāsa (not later than 100 A.D.) is correct, there will, of course, be no difficulty in dating the *Km.* at about 340 A.D. on account of borrowings from Kālidāsa. But there are works of dates later than 340 A.D. whose influence we can trace in the work.

The proclamation under orders of the minister Mantragupta for the celebration by the citizens of Pāṭaliputra in Act V of our drama (p. 39), an incident of no importance in the plot, seems clearly to have been suggested by a similar order of Candragupta Maurya in Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (and its forbiddance by Cāṇakya), a very important event in the development of the plot of that drama. If the *Mudrārākṣasa* be assigned to the time of Candragupta II, the *Km.* cannot be assigned to a period even before the accession of Samudragupta, a predecessor of Candragupta II. According to J.'s theory the reign of Caṇḍasena = Candragupta I was followed by the accession of Kalyāṇavarman and his brief rule, after which Samudragupta came to power and ruled long enough to complete his extensive conquests. The rule of Candragupta II, therefore, would thus begin at least 20 to 30 years after the alleged date of the composition of the *Km.*

But the *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot be assigned to even such an early date as the reign of Candragupta II. The evidence of manuscripts is more in favour of the reading पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा for the close of the

25 See *Allahabad University Studies*, vol. II, pp. 79-170, *JIH.*, vol. XV, pp. 93-102 and *Kuppuswami Commemoration Volume*, pp. 17-24.

last verse than पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः। Consequently we should assign Viśākhadatta to the time of Avantivarman, very likely the Maukhari king, father of Grahavarman. This Avantivarman we should place in the second half of the sixth century and that is very likely the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[26]

There are still later works whose influence we can discern in the *Km*. The *Nāgānanda*, passing in the name of king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.),[27] has supplied three motifs to our authoress: (1) The first one is the manner of the first meeting of the hero and the heroine. In the *Nāg.*, Jīmūtavāhana comes to the Malaya mountain and meets Malayavatī in the temple of Gaurī, after she had worshipped the goddess. There is love at first sight on both the sides. Malayavatī feels so bashful that she cannot directly face Jīmūta-vāhana but slightly turns her face and feels like getting away from the place. Soon a hermit comes and calls her away. While going she keeps on slyly looking at Jīmūtavāhana. In the *Km*. Kīrtimatī comes to pay her respects to Caṇḍī Vindhyavāsinī and after coming out of the temple sees Kalyāṇavarman. Here also there is love at first sight and the same bashfulness on the part of the heroine, who sits behind her friend Nipuṇikā but keeps on sending stealthy glances at the prince. A maid now announces that her place for residence has been got ready and she should now go there. Kīrtimatī leaves the place with difficulty, again and again looking at

26 Sten Konow's recent attempt at securing support for his view (*Das indische Drama*, pp. 70-1) that Viśākhadatta lived in the reign of Candragupta II from the title *Devi-Candragupta* of the author's other drama (*JBORS*., XXIII, pp. 450-1) is unconvincing.

27 The foreigner I-Tsing, who came to India after the time of Harṣa, naturally knew the work as Harṣa's, as it circulated in the king's name. But there is internal evidence in the *Ratnāvalī* (Prologue, verse 5 and the whole trend of the Stage-Manager's speech) showing that the *Ratnāvalī* was written by a person who wanted to please the king. The *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda* seem to have been written by the same courtier-Pandit.

Kalyāṇavarman and tarrying on various pretexts. The agreement of the two motifs is striking.

The sense of one verse in our drama,

यातां नितम्बगुर्वीं यावद्यावन्मृगेक्षणा दूरम् ।
विम्बितगात्रीवान्तस्तावत्तावदवगाढा मे ॥

uttered by Kalyāṇavarman after Kīrtimatī leaves his company, becomes clear when we place before us the corresponding utterance of Jīmūtavāhana,

अनया जघनाभोगभरमन्थरया तया ।
अन्यतोऽपि व्रजन्त्या मे हृदये निहितं पदम् ॥ (*Nāg.* I. 19).

The last line of the latter verse explains the corresponding line of the former: We are to supply हृदयम् after अवगाढा मे in *Km.*, I. 26d. The two verses have other points of contact.

2. There is another partial agreement between the two works. In the *Nāg.*, the heroine is appraised in her dream by the goddess Gaurī about her coming marriage with the hero (Act. I) and in *Km.* the nun Yogasiddhi makes the false claim before the king of Mathurā that the goddess Caṇḍī has enjoined her in a dream about the marriage of Kīrtimatī with Kalyāṇavarman (p. 38, l. 9 to p. 39, l. 3 and p. 39, l. 21 to p. 40, l. 3). This ruse of Yogasiddhi is an absolutely unnecessary one. As Kīrtiṣeṇa was a friend of Kalyāṇavarman's father (p. 40, l. 17) and Kalyāṇavarman is now established on his father's throne, there is no reason why the king of Mathurā should not readily agree to marry Kīrtimatī to Kalyāṇavarman, the moment such a proposal was made by Yogasiddhi or by Kalyāṇavarman himself.

3. The third motif agreeing in the two works is this. In the *Nāg.*, Act II, the next meeting of the hero and the heroine takes place thus. Jīmūtavāhana enters a sandal bower with his confidant and Malayavatī and her maid who were already there now move away and watch them from behind a tree. Malayavatī overhearing

their talk only from the middle supposes that the prince is in love with some other woman about whom he is talking and whose portrait he has just painted on the floor of the bower. She is deeply hurt, leaves the place and tries to kill herself. Ultimately she is saved and she is told that the person Jīmūtavāhana was talking about was her own self and all doubts are dispelled when she is shown the picture he has painted. The marriage of the pair comes immediately after this event. In the *Km.*, Act V, we have some of these elements partly reproduced. The meeting of the hero and the heroine here is not their second one, though it is certainly their second appearance on the stage together.[28] But their marriage and final union are to come just after this. Kalyāṇavarman, now the established king of Magadha, is conversing with his confidant in a bower in his palace garden and Kīrtimatī, sent by her father for marriage with him, is approaching that spot along with her friend Nipuṇikā. Nipuṇikā shows her the joint portrait of Kalyāṇavarman and Kīrtimatī which has played an important part in the development of the plot. Kīrtimatī does not look at the whole of the picture and supposes that the woman painted by the side of Kalyāṇavarman is some other girl with whom he is in love and is deeply tormented at the thought. Nipuṇikā makes her look carefully at the picture and she realises with joy that it is her own self that is painted by the side of her lover. Nipuṇikā throws the picture inside the bower and the king and the Vidūṣaka come out when the lovers meet. The mistake of Kīrtimatī about the female companion of the king in the picture, though short-lived, is extremely unnatural.

We then, find the influence of another work contemporaneous with the *Nāgānanda*, viz., the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. After Kalyāṇavarman is firmly seated on the throne, Kīrtisena, the

28 Verses 26 and 27 in Act V show that the lovers had met after Act I and the incidents described in Acts II and III and *not* "seen each other only once before the marriage" as J. hastily supposed (*ABI.*, XII, 52).

king of Mathurā, sends to him along with his daughter a wonderful necklace of *gajamuktā*, tracing back its origin to the Mahābhārata War, which was kept in the family as a precious heir-loom (*Km.*, p. 42). It seems that our authoress was influenced here by two incidents described in the *Harṣacarita*, the gift of a wonderful umbrella sent by Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, to Haṭṣavardhana soon after his accession, to secure his political friendship (*Ucchvāsa* VII) and of a pearl necklace of alleged mythic origin which was once in the possession of the historical Nāgārjuna who gave it to his friend, king Sātavāhana, which in course of *śiṣya-paramparā* reached the hands of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra, who gave it to Harṣavardhana after he rescued Rājyaśrī (*Ucchvāsa* VIII).

There are also traces of the influence of a still later writer, viz., Bhavabhūti, who is assigned to the end of the seventh century A.D.[29] In Act. V of the *Km.* when Kirtimati is approaching the bower in the garden of Kalyāṇavarman already occupied by the king, as soon

29 S. K. Belvalkar, *Rama's Later History*, H.O.S., vol. XXI, pp. xli-xlvi. Some scholars now suppose from the joint testimony of a manuscript of the *Mālatimādhava* (S. P. Pandit, *Gaṇḍavaho*, B.S.S., p. ccvi) and the *Pratyaktattvapradīpa* of Citsukha with its commentary, the *Nayanaprasādinī*, by Pratyagrupa (Nirnaya Sagar edition, p. 265) that Bhavabhūti was the same person as Umbeka, commentator of Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanāviveka* and very likely one of the pupils of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. This identification, if accepted, would corroborate the latter half of the seventh century as the date of Bhavabhūti. I am myself not convinced about the identification. I fear that though Pratyagrūpa definitely identifies Umbeka with Bhavabhūti, Citsukha's own words—

न हि पुराप्त एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणाप्तो भवति भवभूतिः। उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन "यदाप्तोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न त्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यं यथाङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तियूथशतमास्ते"।

definitely suggest that he distinguished between Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. If he had identified them he would have said उक्तं चैतत्तेनैव instead of उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन just after referring to Bhavabhūti. The style of Umbeka, as far as it can be judged from his commentary on the *Bhāvanāviveka*, appears to be different from that of Bhavabhuti's dramas and it shows no sign of the well-known self-consciousness of Bhavabhūti.

as she hears his voice, she gets horripilations all over her body. She asks Nipuṇikā to stand in front covering her from the sight of the king, when the maid says jestingly भट्टिदारिए, कीस मए वारणं अणेस (सी) अदि ? णं तुए एव्व सव्वंगीणो आमुत्तो रोमंचकंचुओ. Kīrtimatī feels ashamed at this physical manifestation of her sentiments and says हला किं मं लज्जावेसि ? (p. 46). This last sentence immediately reminds us of a passage in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*. Rāma has fallen into a swoon and the invisible Sītā touches him at the bidding of Tamasā to bring him back to consciousness. Rāma regains consciousness and catches hold of the invisible hand of his beloved. Sītā gets very much agitated and it is some time before she can withdraw her hand. Tamasā wistfully looks at her and says:

सस्वेदरोमाञ्चितकम्पिताङ्गी जाता प्रियस्पर्शवशेन बाला ।
मरुन्नवाम्भःप्रविधूतसिक्ता कदम्बयष्टिः स्फुरकोरकेव ॥

(v. 43), when Sītā is filled with shame and says to herself अम्महे । अवसेण एदेण अत्ताणएण लज्जाविदम्हि भजवदीए तमसाए । This speech of Sītā has clearly suggested Kīrtimatī's words. Kīrtimatī has no reason for feeling any shame particularly before her confidante Nipuṇikā. But Sītā has good reason for feeling ashamed at the words of the goddess Tamasā, for, she adds herself, किं त्ति किल एसा भणिस्सदि । एसो दे परिचाओ एसो अहिसन्नोत्ति । (*Uttararāmacarita*, S. K. Belvalkar, p. 45). Then again in the same Act of the *Km*. when Kalyāṇavarman comes out of the bower, he unexpectedly finds Kīrtimatī in his front and he takes her into his arms and congratulates himself on his good fortune, but says to the Vidūṣaka that he can hardly believe his eyes:

पश्यतोऽपि न विश्वासः सखेदस्य सखे मम ।
सङ्कल्पदृष्ट्या देव्या बहुशो वञ्चिता वयम् ॥ (verse 29).

The second half of the verse immediately reminds us of Rāma's words in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*: सर्वथा स एवैष भगवाननेकवारपरिकल्पनानिर्मितो विप्रलम्भः पुनःपुनरनुबध्नाति माम् (p. 46). Rāma's supposition is justified by the fact that though he

felt the touch of Sītā he couud not see her nor did his companion Vāsantī have any experience of her presence. Hence he thought that he had an illusion. In the case of Kalyāṇavarman, he saw, heard and touched Kīrtimatī, who was accompanied by her maid, and his companion, the Vidūṣaka, also saw the two ladies. Under the spell of the words of Bhavabhūti ringing in his ears, our authoress has failed to realise the absurdity of Kalyāṇavarman's apprehension of illusion.

The *Uttararāmacarita* may not be the only work of Bhavabhūti to which our authoress is indebted. The Buddhist nun Kāmandakī in the *Mālatīmādhava,* equally interested in Mālatī and Mādhava, who helps in bringing about their mutual love and subsequently contrives their marriage, seems to be the original of the nun in the *Km.* who was once the nurse of Kalyāṇavarman, but turned a nun after the death of Sundaravarman and his queens and became attached to Kīrtimatī. She too played an important part in the development of their love and later arranged their marriage. Painting of the picture of an absent lover or beloved for finding a little solace in separation was popularised by Kālidāsa (*Abhijñānaśakuntala,* Act. VI, *Meghadūta,* ed. Nandargikar, *Uttaramegha,* verse 44). Bhavabhūti has introduced in the *Mālatīmādhava* (Act. I) the motif of the hero and heroine painting each other's portrait on the self-same canvas. Mālatī who had seen Mādhava earlier and had already fallen in love with him painted his portrait to divert herself. After their meeting was arranged in a garden through the intrigues of Kāmandakī, Mādhava also fell in love with her. Shortly after this, his servant Kalahaṁsa brought to him the portrait painted by Mālatī which he had obtained through two intermediaries. Mādhava painted on it the portrait of Mālatī at the suggestion of his friend Makaranda and the picture was conveyed to Mālatī through the same channel. Kāmandakī had a secret hand in the whole affair. We can trace the influence of this motif in the *Km.* After the first meeting

of Kalyāṇavarman and Kīrtimatī, the latter pines for the prince and in trying to divert herself paints his picture. The portrait is conveyed by a happy accident to the nun, Yogasiddhi, from whom Kalyāṇavarman's friend, the Vidūṣaka, receives it (Act. II). Under her instructions, he conveys it to the prince. He makes him paint on it the picture of Kīrtimatī (Act. III). This joint portrait is then carried to the nun and is subsequently utilised by her for bringing about the marriage of the two lovers (Act. V). There are some more differences in the details of the two motifs, e.g. (1) Mādhava writes on the completed picture the verse जगति जयिनस्ते ते भावाः &c. (*Māl.*, I. 39) but Yogasiddhi writes the verse शौनकमिव बन्धुमती (*Km.*, II. 15) when only the prince has been portrayed on the canvas by Kīrtimatī and (2) the completed picture returns to Mālatī in Bhavabhūti's drama but goes to Yogasiddhi in the *Km.* to be shown to Kīrtimatī only in Act. V. Still the general agreement of the two motifs is quite manifest. The indebtedness of the *Km.* to the *Mālatīmādhava* in this respect cannot be proved but appears to be likely on account of the certain influence of the *Uttararāmacarita* pointed out above and Yogasiddhi's agreement with Kāmandakī.

This motif of a joint portrait is also found in the *Ratnāvalī* ascribed to Harṣa (Act. II) and in the *Daśakumāracarita* (*Ucchvāsa* V) of Daṇḍin (*circa* seventh century A.D.). It is, not impossible that our authoress got a clue from Daṇḍin. The *Daśakumāracarita* also shows a nurse of a prince turning a nun out of sorrow after she lost trace of the prince in her charge and her royal master lost his kingdom (*Ucchvāsa* III). The resemblance of Kālyāṇavarman's nurse, Vinayandharā, later becoming the nun Yogasiddhi, in the *Km.* with woman may not be accidental.

Then the motif of the growing in the Vindhya forest of Rājavāhana, son of the dispossessed king of Magadha, and his subsequent attainment of the ancestral kingdom in the

romance of Daṇḍin may have suggested to our authoress the secret rearing up in the Vindhya forest of Kalyāṇavarman, prince of Magadha, and his subsequent return to Magadha as its king. The story may thus have absolutely no basis in history.

We thus see that we cannot place the *Kaumudīmahotsava* earlier than 700 A.D. This is the upper limit for its date. Can we fix a lower limit? Unfortunately we have no means at our disposal to do that. We may, however, become more precise about the date of the work if we can be sure about the name of the authoress. A suggestion has been made that it is *Vijjikā*. Vijjikā or Vijjakā is well known as a poetess, whose verses are preserved in works on anthology and whose name is variously given as *Vijjakā*, *Vijjikā*, *Vijjā* or *Vidyā*.[30] The extant verses of this Vijjakā make it extremely likely that she is the Vijayāṅkā (or Vijayā?) of Karṇāṭa country named by Rājaśekhara,

सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासुः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

because they are all in good *Vaidarbhī* style and we know that the poetess called herself Sarasvatī,

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जकां मामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

(*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, no. 180).

It is, however, extremely doubtful if we should follow Mr. P. V. Kane[32] in further identifying her with Vijaya-mahādevī or

30 *Subhāṣitāvalī*, ed. Peterson and Durgāprasāda, nos. 158, 1141, 1175, 1523, 2090, 3137, 3138, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, ed. Peterson, nos. 180, 451, 509, 582, 1003, 1131, 3746, 3769, 3794, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (?), ed. F. W. Thomas, nos. 298 and 500, *Sadukṭikarṇāmṛta*, ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā (Lahore, 1933), I. 2.3, II. 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 21.4, 56.4, 103.2, 140.2, III. 7.1, 9.1, 15.1, 28.4, IV. 49.3, V. 74.1

31 No 184 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, where it is anonymous. The verse is ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*. (P. V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Introduction, p. xli).

32 *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Introduction, p. xli.

Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā (the queen of Candrāditya, son of the Cālukya Pulakeśin II), who calls herself *kalikāla-pratipakṣabhūtā* in her Kochrem plates (Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, no. 24) and whose Nerūr plates (Kielhorn's *List* no. 23) give the date of 659 A.D.[33] It is difficult to believe that the royal panegyrics भूपालाः शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, III. 15. 1) and यशःपुञ्जं देव &c. (*Ibid.*, III. 28. 4) could have been written by a queen or a princess. If it is justified to infer from the missing letters in the name of the authoress in the prologue of the *Km.* that it was *Vijjikā* or *Vijjakā*, Vijjakā's date would be the date of our work.

Vijjakā is either later than Daṇḍin or is his contemporary, because of her proud assertion, नीलोत्पलदलश्यामाम् &c. referred to above, in which she clearly refers to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* I. 1. d. The question of Daṇḍin's date is a vexed problem in the history of Sanskrit literature.[34] He is perhaps later than Bhāmaha but there is nothing to show that Bhāmaha's date is as late as 700 A.D. Bhāmaha's alleged borrowings from Dharmakīrti really appear to be borrowings from Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga.[35] Consequently it may be possible to assign Daṇḍin to the seventh century A.D. In any case he is not later than the eighth century. The seventh or the eighth century would thus represent the upper limit of Vijjakā's date, which we have already found to be the upper limit of the *Km.* on account of

33 Appendix to *El.*, vol. VII, p. 5, n. 9.

34 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, pp. 58-70, Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha*, Introduction, pp. 35-40, A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 375, n. 2-5, P. V. Kane, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, Introduction, pp. xxv-xl.

35 Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-55, H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, Part II, pp. 419-424. I would myself place Diṅnāga, who is, according to Buddhist tradition, the *parama-guru* of Dharmakīrti (seventh century A.D.), in the sixth century and his teacher Vasubandhu in the time of Narasiṁhagupta (*c.* 473 A.D.), the only Bālāditya, son of a Vikramāditya, known to history.

the reference to Śaṅkarācārya and on account of the borrowing of ideals from other authors. The lower limit of Vijjakā is supplied by the quotation of her verse दृष्टिं दे प्रतिवेशिनि etc. (*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*) no. 3769, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya,* no. 500, *Sadukṭikarṇāmṛta,* II. 14, 1) in the *Daśarūpāvaloka* of Dhanika (II. 21) whose date is the tenth century[36] and in the *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* (p. 12) of Mukulabhaṭṭa who lived in the first half of the tenth century.[37] Consequently Vijjakā is to be assigned to a date between the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D. Vijayā named by Rājaśekhara certainly lived before 900 A.D. If the authoress of the *Km.* is Vijjakā or Vidyā she has to be placed between the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D.

But can we be sure that she is Vijjakā? Till other manuscripts are discovered and they clearly shows the reading *Vijjakā,* we must take the guess with extreme caution, particularly as there is no clear evidence in favour of Vijjakā's authorship of the *Km.* None of the verses in our drama can be traced among the verses ascribed to Vijjakā in the anthologies.[38] The style of Vijjakā is definitely *Vaidarbhī* but the same can hardly be said of the *Km.* which seems to use the *Pāñcālī* style. There is also gresater grace and much higher poetical quality in the preserved verses of Vijjakā than in our drama. Then Rājaśekhara's statement shows that she belonged to the south (Karṇāṭa), whereas our authoress who knows not only Kauśāmbī but also Suyāmuna = modern Sujāwan on the Jumna, near Allahabad (I. 11),[39] was pro-

36 S. K. De, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-4, P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvii.

37 S. K. De, *op. cit.*, p. 76, P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvi.

38 I have also not been able to find the verses in the *Km.* quoted in any of the anthologies or works on *alaṅkāra.*

39 Sujāwan is on the right bank of the Jumna, a few miles above Allahabad and very near Bhita. The Archæological Department of India is to be congratulated for starting excavation at Kauśāmbī and resuming operations at Bhita. The Department should also pay attention to Sujāwan, which is sure to yield a rich harvest to the spade of the excavator.

bably a northerner. Her identification with Vijjakā is, for these reasons, extremely doubtful.

Consequently in the present state of our knowledge we fail to fix the lower limit of the work or to settle its approximate date. The only definite conclusion we have been able to arrive at is that it was not written before Śaṅkarācārya. This serves at least one useful purpose, viz., the rejection of the inferences about the early history of the Guptas made by Jayaswal on the basis of this work.[40]

स्वर्गतो विबुधः सोऽयं भिन्तर्नित्ससमाह्वयः ।
प्रीयतामनया कृत्या क्षेत्रेशचन्द्रशर्मणः ॥

K. CHATTOPADHYAYA

40 It is sad that the great scholar Jayaswal is no longer living to reply to my criticisms or to accept my findings.

The Causeway of Giants at Angkor Thom

Everybody knows that the bridges, which cross the moats of Angkor Thom and give access to the five gates of the city, are decorated by balustrades, constituted by two huge nâgas with hoods turned outside and with bodies supported by giants in stone which represent on one side the Devas and on the other the Asuras.

This motif which is found also in other monuments of the same period (end of the 12th century A.D.) is generally interpreted[1] as the representation of the churning of the ocean, an architectural symbolism of which there are other examples.[2] In a remarkable article entitled "Angkor in the time of Jayavarman VII" and published in the *Indian Art and Letters*[3] my friend and collaborator M. Paul Mus gives a quite different interpretation of these bridges with balustrades of nâgas supported by the giants, and I propose to confirm his interpretation with new arguments and make his information more complete on certain points.

M. Paul Mus finds in these bridges of Angkor Thom a representation of the rainbow which according to Indian tradition is the link of union between the world of men and the world of gods which is materialised on earth by the royal city. His interpretation is based on a verse contained in the Sanskrit inscription dedicated by Jayavarman VII at the south-western corner of the outer walls of Angkor Thom. These verses are:

Vilasita-vyâlikhacchṛṅga eko
bhujagasadanasaṅgâgâḍhatānyā pi tena
anukuruta ime te nirmmite çrīmahâçrī-
jayagirijayasindhū tadbṛhatkīrttikoṭīm

1 Cf. *BEFEO.*, XII, 9, pp. 181-182.

2 Among the first works in which this hypothesis has been formulated, C. J. Commaille, *Guide aux ruines d'Angkor*, p. 110.

3 Vol. XI, 1937, pp. 65-75.

"One scraped the bright sky with its pinnacle and the other in its unfathomable depth reached the world of serpents; the Çrī-mahâjayagiri and the Çrīmahâçrījayasindhu erected by Jayavarman both emulated the arc of his mighty glory."[4]

I have proved already that Jayagiri and Jayasindhu are the names given respectively to the outer wall and the moat of the city.[5] "According to this poetical comparison, says M. Mus,[6] the Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory emulate the Arc of glory of the King. But the meaning of the latter term is not questioned: a king's arc of glory is the representation of the Arc of Indra, or in other words the rainbow, itself symbol of the divine power of sovereigns. Let us now take our stand before the actual lanscape of Angkor Thom. The Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory here become before our eyes, if we may so put it, a rampart and a moat. The third expression is missing. This should be a materialisation of this same rainbow which we learn from elsewhere to be a divine bridge. The conclusion is obvious: the Arc of Glory of Jayavarman VII, vying in splendour with the rampart and the moat, is the bridge which is the worldly representation of the rainbow."

M. Paul Mus has interpreted the expression *anukurutaḥ* as meaning that the rampart and the moat "rivalled in splendour" with the bridge, but I do not think that this is exactly what the poet wanted to say. The poet wanted probably to note that the glory of the king, poured out in the universe from the heaven up to the under-world, was exalted in the architectural complex comprising, in the sky, the rampart that reaches the heaven and, below, the moat which in its depth reaches the world of serpents. This is at least the first interpretation which occurs to anybody who may be a little acquainted with the style of the Sanskrit inscriptions of

4 *BEFEO.*, XXVIII, p. 88. 5 *Ibid.* 6 *IAL.*, p. 70.

Cambodia. But one is never sure of having exhausted all the niceties of a Kâvya stanza even though he may have drawn two or three meanings from it, because the subtleties of the court poets are infinite, and in the present case M. Paul Mus is certainly justified in drawing a third meaning relating to bow, and in discovering in it an allusion to the rainbow of which the material representation is the bridge of giants.

I can besides furnish another argument in favour of his interpretation. The five gates of Angkor Thom are decorated at their angles with gigantic heads of tricephalic elephants. One of these elephants at least (the Gate of Victory, north-east corner) still bears an image of Indra holding the Vajra and it is not too much to suppose that each of these elephants bore a similar image.[7] The rainbow is the bow of Indra and the presence of that god at the end of the bridge in the axis of the nâgas certainly confirms the hypothesis of M Paul Mus.

On the other hand I am not quite in agreement with him when he writes: "The plastic motif of the churning, in which the great serpent already appeared, was no doubt, through association of ideas *the first model* for this new construction."[8] If the giants of the bridges may be an innovation of Jayavarman VII, the motif of nâga as balustrade of the bridge is much more ancient and goes back to the beginning of the classical Khmer art. The oldest example of it is found at Bakong which is dated from 881 A.D.[9] Now there is no necessity of bringing in the myth of the churning to explain the architectural motif of the bridge with the double nâga-balustrade. The rainbow theme is sufficient, and to the arguments cited by M. Paul Mus[10] I may add another which is more actual. In the popular Siamese and Cambodian imagery

7 H. Marchal, *Guide archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor*, p. 85.
8 *IAL.*, p. 71. 9 G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I, p. 31.
10 *IAL.*, pp. 70-71.

the rainbow staircase by which the Buddha descends from the heaven of the Thirty-three is always represented with two hand-rails in the shape of nâgas of which the heads touch the ground.

It is not without interest to note that the first occurrence of this motif at Bakong, towards the end of the 9th cent., belongs to a period in which some Javanese influence is recognisable in the Khmer art, as a consequence of the reign of Jayavarman II who came back from Java.

This influence is manifested amongst other things in Cambodia in the introduction of the *Kâlamakara-toraṇa* motif with divergent heads of makaras.[11] Its connection with the nâga-balustrade on one hand and with the rainbow[12] on the other is apparent. This evidence goes to strengthen the thesis of M. Paul Mus but it places the introduction of the architectural motif in the Khmer country several centuries earlier.

It is not therefore the myth of the churning of ocean which has furnished the Khmer architects with the nâga motif for the decoration of the balustrades of their bridges, although this myth had certainly inspired the constructors of the causeways of Angkor Thom and contaminated the more ancient theme of the rainbow bridge.

It may be noted in this connection that the presence of the two serpents does not in any way stand in the way of our recognising in the causeway of giants a plastic representation of the churning, as M. Paul Mus thinks. "At Angkor Thom, he says, there is not *one* serpent, there are *two*. Gods and Titans each carry their own. Further instead of pulling against each other, they are in two parallel lines facing those who arrive. It is quite clear that they

11 G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Influences javanaises dans l'art de Rolûoḥ,' *JA* CCXXIII, 1933, p. 190.

12 G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Animaux fantastiques de l'Inde,' *BEFEO.*, XXXVI, p. 430.

are churning nothing."[13] This last remark is as judicious as the explanation which he gives a little later of the presence of the two serpents. It cannot be however denied that the representation of the churning at Angkor Vat[14] and Bayon[15] contains two serpents: one coiling around the mountain as a cordon to make it revolve, and the other reposing in the bottom of the ocean. Evidently the latter is so to say caught in the arms of the Asuras of the causeways at Angkor Thom and even if in this position the Asuras and the Devas cannot be regarded as churning anything, the two rows of the Asuras, the two serpents, the outer wall *Jayagiri* and the moat *Jayasindhu* do not constitute any less the essential elements of the churning, as it is represented in the bas-reliefs of the 12th century.

Why has this motif been added to that of the rainbow represented in a more simple way by a bridge with two hooded serpents? This innovation being no doubt due to Jayavarman VII, all that we know of the psychology of this great mystic supplies with a twofold reply to this question.

In the first place by having a representation of the churning of the ocean at the gates of his capital, Jayavarman VII emphasised its divine character, because the Jayagiri and the Jayasindhu of which the names reminded his own, thus became the cosmic mountain and ocean.

In the second place it was common literary theme abundantly exploited by the court poets to compare the battle with the ocean churned by the king in order to win Lakṣmī, the fortune, and also the *amṛta* of Victory,[17] or again to compare the world with a mountain which the king revolves to get

13 *IAL.*, p. 69.

14 *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* (*Mém. Arch. EFEO.*, II), 3e partie, II, pls. 351-370.

15 H. Dufour, *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom*, inner galleries, pls. 78-81.

16 G. Cœdès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge: Jayavarman VII*, Phnom Penh, 1935.

17 For example, the inscription of Tà Prohm, st. XXI (*BEFEO.*, VI, pp. 52, 73).

the ambrosia of prosperity.[18] Jayavarman VII, the protegé of the Victory, has given his name to the mountain of the outer wall and to the ocean of the moat. That will not perhaps be the proof of an exaggerated subtlety if we try to discover in the plastic representation of the churning, effected with the moat as the ocean, and the outer wall as the pivot, a kind of magic operation destined to produce the Fortune and to assure to the country the nectar of Victory and Prosperity.*

G. Cœdes

18 Inscription of Thnal Bàràỳ, south-east angle, st. B. XXI, *ISCC.*, pp. 435, 445.

* Translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Dr. ès lettres (Paris).

Struggle for Supremacy in the Deccan

The Cāḷukya Taila II defeated and overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 973 A.D. and the Cāḷukya kingship was once again revived in the Deccan. It reached its full glory during the reign of Someśvara I (1042-1068 A.D.) The accession of Someśvara II, son of Someśvara I, marked the beginning of the fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), and the decline set in. The feudatory states were the worst disintegrating forces in the body politic of those days. The feudatory princes always enjoyed vast political powers and privileges and were waiting for an opportunity to declare independence. Whenever the sovereign authority was weak, they rose in rebellion and often declared independence.

The fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), two sons of Someśvara I, broke the unity of the Cāḷukya empire and it was divided into two hostile camps. This also gave the important feudatory princes an opportunity to enhance their power. The Cāḷukya empire was reunited by Vikramāditya VI when he ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. after overthrowing his brother, but the solidarity of the empire could not be restored. The feudatory princes, the Hoyasaḷas, the Yādavas, the Kadambas and the Silhāras strengthened their position. The Hoyasaḷas twice rebelled against their sovereign and inflicted severe losses to the emperor, but they were suppressed.

The successors of Vikramāditya VI, however, were incapable rulers and they could not check the Hoyasaḷas from capturing the whole of the southern part of the Cāḷukya dominions. Besides the Hoyasaḷas, other feudatories had also begun minor conquests and annexations at the cost of their sovereign.

When Taila III came to the throne in 1151 A.D. the condition in the Cāḷukya dominions was in a deplorable chaos. The feudatory

princes were busy in asserting, their power. The important feudatory princes, the Hoyasaḷas, the Kadambas, the Silhāras and the Yādavas practically became independent and severed their connections with the central government. Taila III was left to look after his own fate. The Kākatiyas had established their power in the eastern side of the Cāḷukya dominions and the Kākatiya Proḷarāja inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III. The Kaḷacurya Bijjala, who was appointed the commander-in-chief of the Cāḷuykan forces, was himself waiting for an opportunity to occupy the throne at Kalyāṇi. As revealed by many inscriptions, his authority had overshadowed that of Taila III and when the latter suffered defeat at the hands of the Kākatiya Proḷarāja, Bijjala made full use of this event. Inscriptions from 1156 A.D. show that the Kaḷacurya Bijjala had begun the work of usurpation and Taila was made a puppet in his hands. The defeat of Taila III at the hands of the Kākatiya Proḷarāja brought the crisis to the pitch, and the death of Taila in about 1162 A.D. left Bijjala ultimately supreme in the Cāḷukya kingdom. He occupied the throne and assumed full paramount titles. He was also helped in effecting the *coup-de-etat* by the Silhāra prince.[1]

Beginning of the Struggle

The fall of the Imperial Cāḷukya power created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The usurpation of Bijjala was quite sudden; he could not be acknowledged as the sovereign by other feudatory princes and they themselves began a hard struggle to strengthen their position and capture Kalyāṇi, if possible.

Bijjala, soon after accomplishing the *coup*, opened his campaigns to subjugate other feudatory chieftains. He had not to face any trouble in the north. The Silhāras were already friendly to him;[2]

1 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 475, f.n. 6. 2 *Ibid.*

it was from the south that he apprehended danger. The death of the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana stopped the northward expansion of the Hoyasaḷas and his successor Narasiṃha I could not continue his aggressive policy. The Pāṇḍya and the Kadamba territories, which served as the buffer principalities for the Cāḷukyas in the south, were subjugated by the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana; but just at the height of his success Viṣṇuvardhana died. The Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas, immediately after the death of Viṣṇuvardhana asserted their power and carried on their struggle with Narasiṃha I, successor of the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana.

The fall of the Cāḷukya power threw the feudatories in a fit of indecision. The Pāṇḍyas and the Kadambas were fighting against the Hoyasaḷas with the Cāḷukya help on their back, but now they were fighting for their own existence against the Kaḷacuryas and the Hoyasaḷas. Inscriptions dated 1165 A.D.[3] and 1182 A.D.[4] show that the Pāṇḍya chieftain Vijaya Pāṇḍya recognised the Cāḷukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother (?) of Taila III as their sovereign. The Niḍugal chief Mallideva Coḷa Mahārāja also recognised the Cāḷukyas as his sovereign in an inscription dated 1169 A.D.[5]

Bijjala seems to have begun the drive against the Kadambas before the usurpation. In 1109 A.D. he attacked Billaya, the senior general of Banavāsi-nāḍ, appointed by the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kumāra Kirtti-deva.[6] He besieged the fort of Guṭṭi and conquered it. Another inscription of about the same date records that "when Kīrttideva's great minister Bammārasa was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, Bijjaṇa-Deva's minister Soyavamarasa.....was fighting, saying, "I will beseige Guṭṭi."[7] Bijjala was ultimately successful in suppressing the Kadambas before

3 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 77.
4 *Ibid.*, Cd. No. 13.
5 *SIE.*, A.R. 1917, No. 733; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 116.
6 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 416.
7 *Ibid.*, No. 508.

1163 A.D.[8] The Pāṇḍyas also could not hold against Bijjala and accepted him as their overlord,[9] though sometimes they mentioned the Cāḷukya Jagadekamalla as their king.[10]

The Hoyasaḷas were trying to continue their advance towards the north and led expeditions against the Kadambas. An inscription dated 1161 A.D. states that "Narasiṃha who astonished the world, when on hearing that a Kadamba army was at Bankāpura, being raised for assault, he crushed that force and won all its spoils, bringing glory to his father."[11] Yet another inscription records another conflict between the Kadamba and the Hoyasaḷa forces.[12] A third inscription dated 1161 A. D. reveals that the Maṇḍaḷikas of the Kadamba Kīrttideva were fighting against the Hoyasaḷas and beseiging the fort of Guṇṇalaguṇḍi.[13] Kīrttideva ultimately seems to have gained some success against the invaders,[14] but the conflict between the Kaḷacuryas, the Kadambas and the Hoyasaḷas could not be decided finally. The Kadambas unable to fight two powers accepted the authority of the Kaḷacuryas and then a struggle between the Hoyasaḷas and the Kaḷacuryas began. They had already fought a battle on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, before Bijjala usurped the Cāḷukya throne.[15] The Hoyasaḷas had captured the fort of Guṭṭi from the Kadambas[16] and began raids into the Kaḷacurya territory. In 1164 A.D. a Hoyasaḷa general raided the Keṛiyakāsive Agrahāra.[17] In 1164 A.D. Bijjala ordered his subordinate Taḷevūr Heṇḍi Sovavarma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Guṭṭi and the invaders beseiged the fort. The fort of Guṇṇalaguṇḍi, which was under the possession of the Hoyasaḷas was also beseiged by Bammarasa and Vīrarasa in 1166 A.D., but the Hoyasaḷa general

8 *Ibid.*, No. 177.
9 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.
10 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.
11 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 193.
12 *Ibid.*, Ak. No. 172.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 306.
14 *Ibid.*, No. 179.
15 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.
16 *M.A.S.R.*, 1928, No. 81.
17 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 84.

was successful in driving away the invader by stratagem, as he had not sufficient force to fight openly.[18]

These facts indicate that the struggle between the two powers continued without any final decision. Neither side was able to continue the struggle vigorously, because of the internal troubles. Not long after his accession Bijjala had to face a religious revolution in the capital and he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Soyideva in 1168 A.D.[19] Rebellions had broken out in the different parts of the Hoyasaḷa kingdom because of the weak rule of Narasiṃha. He had to abandon his campaigns in the north to find time and means to curb the rebellions.

The internal disturbances compelled the Kaḷacuryas and the Hoyasaḷas to stop the struggle The Hoyasaḷa Narasimha was dethroned by his son Ballāla II. He rebelled against his father and captured the throne[20] in 1173 A.D.[21] For a couple of years after his accession, he seems to have been busy in restoring peace and order in his dominions. Narasiṃha had lost much of the Northern territories conquered and annexed by the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. The Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas had again asserted their authority, and sometimes acknowledging the Kaḷacuryas and sometimes the Cāḷukyas, they were strengthening their own position. Ballāla immediately after restoring peace in his kingdom started towards the north and invaded the Pāṇḍya principality, which had its capital at Uccangi.

Ballāla after making full preparations marched on to the Pāṇḍya kingdom in or before 1177 A.D.[22] The Hoyasaḷas captured the fort

18 *M.A.S.R.*, 1928. No. 81.

19 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 79-80; *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 476-77.

20 *M.A.S.R.*, 1926, No. 55, p. 67.

21 *EC.*, vol. V, Hn. No. 119; Ak. No. 71; Bl. No. 118.

22 *EC.*, vol. XII, Ck. No. 36; vol. VI, Tk. No. 36.

of Devadurga[23] and were then opposed by the Pāṇḍyas at Ummadūr, where a fierce battle was fought.[24] Ballāla showed great personal bravery in the battle and gained complete victory. Ballāla attacked the fort of Uccangi, which was the centre of the Pāṇḍya power. The fort of Uccangi was very big[25] and strong "with a moat like Pātāla, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky, extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds."[26] The fort was beseiged and stormed. The Pāṇḍya chieftains, "King Kāma and the famous Oḍeya and their treasury, women and troops of horses were captured."[27] Ballāla now acquired the titles Giridurgamalla and Śanivārasiddhi as the fort was captured on Śanivāra (Saturday).[28] The Pāṇḍya chieftains Oḍeya or Udayāditya and his father Kāmadeva or Vijaya Pāṇḍya[29] submitted to Ballāla for protection, who taking pity restored them to their principality.[30] It seems very probable that they gave a princess of their family in marriage to Ballāla.[31]

Ballāla now faced the Kaḷacuryas and the Kadambas, who had acknowledged the former as their sovereign[32] by the year 1163 A.D. When the Kadambas were attacked by the Hoyasaḷas, the Kaḷacuryas came to their rescue. The Kaḷacurya Sankamadeva sent his general Kavaṇayya in 1179 A.D.[33] He pitched his camp at Bettaur, but he seems to have gained no success and therefore Sankamadeva

23 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 119.
24 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 175.
25 *Ibid.*, Cn. No. 289.
26 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 72; vol. VI, Ak. No. 10.
27 *EC.*, vol. II, No. 327, Tr. p. 136; No. 240.
28 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Bl. Nos. 137, 175; Ak. No. 178.
29 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Cd. Nos. 13, 36, Intro. p. 18; vol. IV, Ng. No. 70; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 373.
30 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. Nos. 136, 72; vol. VI, Tk. No. 10.
31 *M.A.S.R.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.
32 *Kadambakula*, p. 138, f.n. 4, App. III, No. 10, pp. 444-5, 140; *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 171; vol. VIII, Sb. No. 431.
33 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

personally came down to the south to direct the campaign.[34] From the inscription it appears that a battle was fought at Maḍavalḷi in 1179 A.D. between the armies of Sankama and Ballāla. The battle of Maḍavalḷi does not seem to have been decisive and the two faced each other on the field of Hadaḍeyakuppa. The Hoyasaḷa Ballāladeva ordered the van of his army to attack the Kaḷacurya forces commanded by Murāri Keśava-Narasiṃha and the general Gaṇḍava Canna-kālam Sāhani. The Kaḷacuryas were probably defeated and they made peace as they were threatened by the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV, who seems to have been making an effort to regain the throne.[35]

The withdrawal of the Kaḷacuryas with discomfiture left the Kadambas all alone at the mercy of the Hoyasaḷas. During the campaigns against the Kaḷacuryas, Ballāla seems to have captured the Kadamba fortress of Udhare. It was under the command of the Hoyasaḷa general Toya?Singeya-daṇṇāyaka in 1181 A.D.[36] The Kadamba Kāmadeva who had succeeded his father Kīrttideva in 1180 A.D. sent his generals Gāngeya-Sāhani, Beyama-Sāhani and Javaneya-Nāyaka to recapture the fort of Udhare. They "coming with all the appliances" laid seige of the fort.[37] The Hoyasaḷa general seems to have been killed and the fort was surrendered to the Kadambas. In 1181 A.D. Ballāla seems to have defeated the Kadambas.[38] The struggle so far placed Ballāla in no territorial advantage.

The Cāḷukya revival

When this struggle was lingering on, suddenly the Kaḷcuryas were overthrown and Kalyāṇi was captured by the Cāḷukya Someśvara,[39] one of the sons of Taila III in 1183 A.D.[40] This again

34 *Kadambakula*, p. 142.
35 *Ibid.*
36 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 212.
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.*, vol. II, No. 327.
39 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 259.
40 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1928-29, App. E. No. 207.

changed the political condition of the Deccan. The change did not wipe out the political chaos, but on the other hand made it all the more worse. The Cāḷukya Someśvara IV, as the inscriptions show, was greatly helped by his general Brahma. He is styled as "the establisher of the Cāḷukya sovereignty" and "the chief of all the leaders of the army."[41] Another inscription records that Brahma "having vowed that he would uproot the destroyers of his masters, and make the Cāḷukyas again lords of the earth, became the destroying fire of the Kaḷachurya—(Kaḷacurya) kula."[42]

Ballāla II wanted to take full advantage of the situation arising out of this restoration and change. A blow at this time, when Someśvara IV was not in a settled condition, would give an easy success. He, leaving the struggle with the Kadambas undecided, rushed to the north and invaded the Cāḷukya kingdom. An inscription dated 1183 A.D. of the reign of the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV records that Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ballāla's force was unloosing the waists of women.[43] Brahma seems to have been an able general. He drove away the Hoyasaḷa raiders and the inscription records about Barmadevarasa as "a venomous serpent to the strong hill-fortress of the Hoyasaḷas, a thunderbolt of the king Bhuvanaikamalla" i.e., Someśvara IV.[44]

The revival of the Cāḷukya sovereignty by Someśvara IV only served as a passing episode in the then disturbed political condition of the Deccan. It was in a state of transition. The Hoyasaḷas were making a desperate struggle for northward expansion. The Yādavas in the northern part of the Cāḷukya dominions had also commenced their struggle for expansion towards the south. They were already fighting against the Kaḷacuryas. The Yādava Mallugi, predecessor of Bhillama V (1183 A.D.—1194 A.D.) had been fighting against

41 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 250.
42 *JRAS.*, vol. IV, pp. 16-17.
43 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 419.
44 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1915, App. B. No. 458.

Vijjaṇa, probably a Kaḷacurya prince and Ḍāḍa, his general, also claims to have defeated an army led by a Kaḷacurya prince.[15] After the fall of the Kaḷacuryas, the Yādavas continued their hostility against the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV.

In these circumstances, when the resources of Someśvara IV were crippled and few, the two strong powers advancing with grim determination to overthrow him, and the minor feudatories vascillating in their support and making their own position strong, it was not possible for the Cāḷukya Someśvara to hold his position for a long time. Inspite of all the heroism and superb generalship of the general Brahma, the odds were tremendously against him.

Fall of the Cāḷukyas

Ballāla seems to have prepared to strike the final blow, if possible. With his army he started towards Kalyāṇi. He was opposed by the Pāṇḍyas on the way. The Pāṇḍyas had always sympathy towards their sovereign, the Cāḷukyas. They had no doubt submitted to the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla, but when Someśvara IV came to the throne, the Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmādeva immediately transferred his allegiance to him. Ballāla defeated Kāmadeva and killed him in battle in 1187 A.D.[16] The Kaṇṇada poet Rudrabhaṭṭa in his *Jagannātha-Vijaya* gives the title *ari-kāma-dhvaṃśi* (i.e. destroyer of the enemy Kāma) to Ballāla.[17] He then invaded the Cāḷukya dominions. The general Brahma opposed him with his force but suffered a crushing defeat. The Gadag inscription records about the battle in the following words "And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty the general Brahma whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants with a single

45 *E.H.D.*, (Revised) pp. 183-4.
46 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77; vol. XI, Cd. No. 33.
47 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 133.



tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kaḷacuryas."[48]

This sealed the fate of the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV. His power was shattered and he left Kalyāṇī at the mercy of the invader and fled away to Jayantipura, where he was residing on the 19th September 1187 A.D. the date recorded in an inscription.[49] Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vijaya Pāṇḍya was supporting him even there. Someśvara seems to have continued for sometime more. The Kadambas seems to have transferred their allegiance also and it was with them that Someśvara took shelter. An inscription dated Dec. 25, 1189 A.D. reveals that Someśvara IV was continuing his sovereignty with the help of the Kadamba Kāmadeva.[50] This is the last known date of Someśvara IV.

Fall of Kalyāṇī

The victory of Ballāla over Brahma seems to have left him master of the situation and the country, but the overwhelming success was, not long after, eclipsed by another competitor, who was also advancing towards Kalyāṇī. The Yādava Bhillama came to power in 1183 A.D.[51] He was as ambitious as the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II and has been striving hard to gain territorial advantage out of this political confusion. He was also advancing towards Kalyāṇī. Ballāla after defeating the general Brahma, probably, captured Kalyāṇī, but immediately he had to face the opposition of the Yādava Bhillama. Bhillama defeated the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II and deprived him of the territorial advantages he had gained. Kalyāṇī was also captured. An inscription dated 1189 A.D. records that Bhillama "had become the beloved of the goddess of severeignty of the Karṇāṭa country and was reigning over the whole kingdom."[52]

48 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 92. Vs. 35-36.
49 *EC.*, vol. XI, Cd. No. 33
50 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 129.
51 *EI.*, vol. III, p. 217; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1930, App. E, No. 108.
52 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 518-19.

Hemādri also states that Bhillama "having attained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇī put to death the Hoyasaḷa king."[53] Hemādri is definitely wrong in stating that the Hoyasaḷa king was put to death as it is known from various sources that Ballāla continued the struggle for a long time. But Hemādri makes it clear that Bhillama attained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇi from the hands of the Hoyasaḷas. Having captured Kalyāṇi Bhillama pushed on at the heels of the Hoyasaḷas. They were compelled to vacate all the territory formerly included in the Cāḷukya dominions. The Yādavas even entered the Hoyasaḷa dominions and a battle was fought between the two forces at Alūr in the Hassan district of the Mysore state.[54] Bhillama carried on his conquests vigorously and Hemādri states that Bhillama having become master of the country north of the river Kṛṣṇā founded the city of Devagiri and crowned himself a king.[55] The Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A.D. also suggests that Bhillama had his supremacy established[56] and he was residing at his victorious camp at Herūru.

Turn of the tide

The events had moved with a dramatic rapidity. The Hoyasaḷas had been for years past making constant struggle for supremacy. They had fought against the Kadambas, Pāṇḍyas, Kaḷacuryas, and the Cāḷukyas. They were on the point of success, when suddenly the Yādavas deprived them of all territorial advantages and they were driven away almost to the south of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. It seemed that the Yādavas had established their supremacy and for about four years, no doubt, they maintained it, but after that the tide again turned.

53 *E.H.D.*, (Revised), p. 243, App. C.I., Vs. 38-39
54 *Ibid.*
55 *M.A.S.R.*, 1926, No. 9, p. 41.
56 *EI.*, vol. III, p. 219.

Battle of Sorāṭur

The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla silently made preparations and organised his forces for another conflict. He marched with his army towards the north and the Hoyasaḷa and the Yādava armies faced each other on the battle-field of Sorāṭur. The Yādava Bhillama arrayed a vast horde of 200,000 foot soldiers armed with thunderbolts[57] and 12000 cavalry.[58] After a 'fierce' and 'bloody' battle the Yādava army was completely routed and annihilated. Bhillama himself fled away from the battle-field with the remnants of his army. He was hotly pursued by the Hoyasaḷas up to Beḷvoḷa and the Kṛṣṇā river with a terrible massacre.[59] The *Vyavahāraganita,* describing the battle, records that out of the 12,000 cavalry of Bhillama "five parts fell into the river, six fled away in all directions, four fell in the battle, four returned back and Bhillama fled in confusion from the battle-field with the remaining six hundred horsemen."[60] But as pointed out by Mr. Venkatasubbiah, the testimony of the inscriptions and the *Vyavahāraganita* clearly show that Bhillama was not killed in this battle as taken by almost all scholars.[61] The battle of Sorāṭur was fought before December 23, 1190 A.D., the date recorded in an inscription which also states that "Ballāla put them (Yādavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Sorāṭur to the banks of Kṛṣṇaveṇi."[62] Ballāla having defeated Bhillama captured the forts of Kuṛugoḍ, Sorāṭur, Erambaṛage (modern Yellburga in the Nizam's dominions), Guṭṭi, in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, Beḷḷiṭṭige, Raṭṭihaḷḷi, Hangal and Lokkiguṇḍi in the

57 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25.

58 *Ibid.*, Kannada Ms. No. A, 14, Govt. Oriental library, Madras, pp. 42-3, 46; *IHQ.*, vol. IV, pp. 126-7.

59 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; vol. V, Cn. No. 179.

60 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 127; Kannada Ms. No. A, 14, G.O. Lib. Madras, pp. 42-3, 46.

61 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 124.

62 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; *IHQ.*, vol. IV, pp. 125-6.

Bombay Presidency and Ballale (Bellary), Haḷuve, Māṇṇūr, Malanga hill Dhorevadi, Gṭṭavalaḷu, Udhare and Kalāḍi.[63]

When Ballāla was busy in capturing these forts, Bhillama once again reorganised his forces, and with a fresh army he again crossed the river Kṛṣṇā and as his Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A.D. shows, he pitched his camp at Heṛūru, 30 miles north of Gadag.[64] This inscription again indicates that Bhillama had once again recaptured a part of the lost territory.

Death of Bhillama

The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla lost no time to check Bhillama. The two armies again met in the neighbourhood of Gadag, possibly at Heṛūru, where Bhillama, as stated above, had pitched his camp. In this battle the Yādava Bhillama lost his life and Ballāla gained a signal victory once again over the Yādava army. After the death of Bhillama, as indicated by the Gadag inscription of Ballāla II dated November 21, 1192 A.D., the command of the Yādava forces was taken by Jaitrasiṃha or Jaitugi, son of Bhillaṃa. The Gadag inscription states that Ballāla had his victorious camp at Lokkigunḍi and had defeated Jaitra-Siṃha, i.e. Jaitugi, "right hand of Bhillama."[65] Jaitugi, successor of Bhillama, continued the struggle and was fighting from the fort of Lokkigunḍi. Ballāla defeated Jaitugi and recaptured the fort.[66] An inscription of later date records that by "plunging it into water, namely, the blood of the enemy, Pāṇḍya king so that it hissed and splittered, Vīra Ballāla whetted the sword, which he bore in his valorous arm, on the whetstone, namely the head of Bhillaṃa and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi."[67] Again Ballāla II is referred to as the "smiter

63 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; vol. V, Cn. No. 179.
64 *EI.* vol. III, p. 219.
65 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 93.
66 *Ibid.*
67 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77.

on the cheek of Bhillaṃa's army" "driver of Jaitrahuta."[68] An inscription dated 1194 A.D. records the capture of Lokkiguṇḍi from Jaitugi as follows" when he (Ballāla) fought Jaitugi, who was with an army in the great fortress, which with high ramparts, lofty bastions, mounted with astonishing flag-staves, even combined masses could not attack and escape, he soon captured Lokkiguṇḍi."[69] Ballāla again recaptured the fort of Kuṛugoḍ in 1195 A.D.[70] and was residing at Eṛambarage, modern Yellurga in 1196 A.D.[71]

In the meantime Ballāla had also defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The last known date of the Pāṇḍya Udayāditya, also known as Tribhuvanamalla, is January 24, 1194 A.D.[72] Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 province seems to have passed in the hands of the Hoyasaḷas as an inscription records: "Thrashing the Pāṇḍya king on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, (Ballāla) ruled the celebrated Noḷambavāḍi."[73] Another inscription records that Ballāla had his capital in the Noḷambavāḍi country.[74] Ballāla also defeated the Kadambas for rebelling against him. The fort of Udhare was beseiged and captured.[75] Having captured this Kadamba outpost, the Hoyasaḷas advanced towards Hangal, the Kadamba capital in 1196 A.D. Ballāla pitched his camp at Muttaḷa-Keregeṛi and the city was beseiged. He was opposed by the Kadamba general Sāhani, but he was defeated and killed in the battle.[76] Hangal was also beseiged, but there is no evidence to show that it was captured.[77] The Kadambas were subdued at least for some years, though they continued raids in the neighbouring territory.

68 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, Kd. No. 117; Cm. No. 72.
69 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Ak. No. 5.
70 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 204.
71 *Ibid.*, Ak. No. 104.
72 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 77.
73 *EC.*, vol. V, Hk. No. 56; vol. XI, Hn. No. 70.
74 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, Mg. No. 4.
75 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 439.
76 *Kadambakula*, App. III, No. 16, pp. 453-4.
77 *Ibid.*

Ballāla seemed successful in establishing his supremacy. The Yādavas were defeated and driven away and the Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas were compelled to submit. The Hoyasaḷas gained possession of all the territory upto the Kṛṣṇā and the Mālaprabhā rivers.

The last phase

The Yādavas had suffered crushing defeat and retired from the field. Jaitugi had not the generalship of his father. The Hoyasaḷas, when their boundary reached the Kṛṣṇā and the Mālaprabhā rivers, did not press their victories further northward. Both sides stopped the struggle. But the struggle was not finally closed. Though the main struggle between the Yādavas and Hoyasaḷas was closed, the Kadambas continued to maintain a suppressed hostility, and the inscriptions suggest that raids were carried by the Kadambas into the Hoyasaḷa dominions in 1203,[78] 1207 and 1208,[79] but the Hoyasaḷas could not be exterminated from their territory. Dr. Fleet also thinks that the Kadambas were subjugated by the Hoyasaḷas after 1196 A.D., but they continued to carry raids.[80] Mr. Moraes seems to be opposed to this view, but his arguments are not conclusive.[81] Ballāla also defeated the Kadamba Vijayāditya of Goa and exacted tribute, but shortly after that he seems to have freed himself from all obligations.[82]

The Yādava Jaitugi was succeeded by his son Singhaṇa. The date of his accession is still a matter of dispute among scholars. The available epigraphic evidence is also very meagre and conflicting. Some inscriptions would suggest that Singhaṇa came to power in 1197 A.D.,[83] and another inscription may suggest that Jaitugi was killed by Ballāla in about 1197 A.D.[84] Contemporary inscriptions

78 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 563.
79 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sb. Nos. 171, 305.
80 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 563.
81 *Kadambakula*, p. 146.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
83 *A.S.R.*, 1928-29, p. 172.
84 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77.

also show that Ballāla was in possession of the territory upto Kalyāṇī in the north, but the city itself was not included.

For some years Singhaṇa seems to have consolidated and organised his kingdom after the severe disruption caused by the constant Hoyasaḷa aggression and with the opening of the 13th century, he began his invasion of the south. The accession of Singhaṇa marks a new epoch in the Yādava regime and the political and diplomatic history of the Deccan. The southward drive had begun in full swing and Singhaṇa personally seems to have conducted the campaign. Raids by freebooters for plunder and loot specially of the cows and the young girls was a conspicuous dark trend of the early mediaeval political condition of the Deccan. From an inscription dated 1206 A.D., it seems, that Singhaṇa had recaptured all the territory upto the Bijapur district, and Keśavadeva Daṇḍanātha, governor of Tāravāḍi 1000, was governing over that part.[85] Another inscription dated 1211(?) records that when Ballāla was at Haḷḷevūr i.e. Vijayasamudra Singhaṇa carried raid upto that part[86] (i.e. modern Hassan district, Mysore State). In 1212 A.D. the Yādavas raided Bandalike in the Shimoga district and seized the people and the cattle and closed the stores of grain.[87] Singhaṇa carried a second raid in the same year.[88] Ballāla does not seem to have been able to put a stiff resistance and Singhaṇa slowly maintained his advance. Before 1215 A.D. Singhaṇa was able to reconquer Banavāsi and other territories, lost by Bhillama. A Belgaum inscription dated Thursday, September 24, 1215 A.D. clearly designates him as the ruling sovereign. It records that having accomplished conquest over many kings Singhaṇadeva gave charge of the kingdom to his minister Sarvādhikāri Rāya-nāyaka Nārāyaṇa and himself was engaged in various pleasures. The minister also claims to have defeated many enemies

85 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927-8, App. E, No. 264.
86 *EC.*, vol. V, Ak. No. 137.
87 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 309.
88 *Ibid.*, No. 376.

and granted some taxes and tolls on silk and two oil mills to the Brāhmaṇas.[89] Singhaṇa had thus recovered all the lost territories before 1215 A.D.[90] The Udri inscription dated 1217 A.D. states that Singhaṇa defeated Ballāla and captured Banavāsi 12000.[91]

The Kadambas had been playing a dubious game. They also began raids along with Singhaṇa and diplomatically avoided to recognise either the Hoyasaḷas or the Yādavas as their sovereign.[92] Singhaṇa had also succeeded in extending his sway upto the Anantapur and the Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency.[93] A part of the Kadamba territory was also incorporated into the Yādava dominions.

Complete supremacy over the Deccan was established by Singhaṇa by the year 1215 A.D. The Kadambas resented an encroachment on their territory, but their resistance was broken down.

When Singhaṇa was busy in his bitter struggle against the Hoyasaḷas, his generals were waging wars against minor feudatory chieftains.

Bhoja, a Silhāra prince, was ruling over the Koṅkaṇa country. The famous fortress of Panhālā, then known as Paṇṇāla or Poṇṇāla was included in his territory. Bhoja had gained independence in 1179 A.D.[94] and during the turmoil, he is said to have attained great power.[95] Singhaṇa invaded his territory and Bhoja shut himself in the Panhālā fort. It was stormed and Bhoja had to fly away.[96] As a result of this victory, all the Silhāra territory was annexed by the Yādavas and an inscription dated 1217 A.D. in the

89 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 95.

90 *IA.*, vol. II, p. 297; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927-28, App. E, No. 264; 1928-29, Nos. 50-1, 53, 55, 63; 1929-30, App. E, No. 62.

91 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135. 92 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. Nos. 439, 478.

93 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1920, No. 345; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 133; *I.M.P.* vol. I, Ap. 186; vol. II, Kl. No. 221.

94 *EC.*, vol. II, No. 424. 95 Graham's *Kolhapura*, p. 397, No. 7.

96 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135; *B.G.*, vol. I, pt, ii, p. 254, f.n. 1.

Panhālā fort indicates that the conquest took place before 1217 A.D.[97]

Singhaṇa appointed his general Vicaṇa to conduct military campaigns in the southern part of his dominions. He was appointed Viceroy over the southern provinces. His father's name was Cikka and had a brother named Malla. Vicaṇa in one of his campaigns defeated[98] and overthrew the Kadamba Sovadeva Tribhuvanamalla[99] of Goa, whose known date is 1218 A.D.[100] The Kadamba principality was also annexed but later on it was restored to the Kadamba Śaṣṭhavarman.[101] The Raṭṭa chieftain Lakṣmīdeva II, who had succeeded his father Kārtavīrya IV in about 1218 A.D.[102] was also defeated by Vicaṇa[103] and the Raṭṭa territory was incorporated in the Yādava dominions. The Guṭṭas, who were ruling in the present Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency were also defeated, but they were not exterminated and allowed to govern their principality.[104] Vicaṇa also claims to have erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Kāveri[105] and relieved Singhaṇa of the anxieties from the southern part of his dominions. Vicaṇa extended the frontier of the Yādava kingdom so that in the south it reached the river Tuṅgabhadrā and to the west it was bounded by the Arabian Sea.

The struggle closed

By the middle of the second decade of the 13th century the Yādava Singhaṇa established his complete supremacy over the Deccan. The Hoyasaḷas, who were the only powerful competitors in the field were driven away. The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II also realised

97 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135.
98 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XV, p. 387, L. 28.
99 *Kadambakula*, pp. 206-7.
100 Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pt. II, No. 68; *Kadambakula*, p. 206.
101 *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 288.
102 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 557.
103 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XV, p. 387.
104 *Ibid.*, p. 389.
105 *Ibia.*, p. 387.

that any more fighting on that front was a mere waste of energy. His family had made a hard struggle, but in 1215 A.D. they had not an inch of that territory. This probably cannot be taken as the only reason for the termination of this long-drawn and bitter struggle.

A peep into the history of the southern India gives a more definite and weighty cause. The Coḷa kingship had slowly begun its decline. The Pāṇḍyas of Madurā, their feudatories, had begun to strengthen their position, while the king of Ceylon was waging war with the Coḷas. Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara was followed by Māravaram Sundara Pāṇḍya in 1216 A.D.[106] and the Coḷa Kulottuṅga was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III in the same year.[107] The Pāṇḍyas had sufficiently strengthened their position by this time, while Rājarāja III was an incapable ruler. As suggested by Mr. Nilakantha Shastri, 'old memories of help by Kulottuṅga to Vikrama Pāṇḍya vanished away during the new reigns of Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāṇḍya' and according to "the law of life in those days among Indian kings that he who could not be a hammer had to be an anvil,"[108] Sundara Pāṇḍya became hostile to the Coḷa Rājarāja III. Māravarnam Sundara Pāṇḍya had no obligatory scruples towards the Coḷa Rājarāja III and immediately after his accession, he invaded the Coḷa country. Now began a bitter struggle between the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. The Coḷa empire had clearly begun to show sings of disintegration. The Hoyasaḷas grasped the situation rightly. The policy of expansion towards the north met with an utter failure. The south now afforded a better and lucrative field for expansion. The Coḷas were fighting a defensive game against the Pāṇḍyas, who were very aggressive. If the Coḷas could be helped against the Pāṇḍyas some territory may be gained

106 K.A.N. Shastri—*Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 143; *El.*, vol. VIII, App. II, p. 24; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927, para 41.

107 *El.*, vol. VII, pp. 9, 174f.

108 *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 146.

for this and the Hoyasaḷas immediately took the side of the Coḷas and they now began their struggle in the south. The Yādava Simhaṇa also did not continue the struggle when the Yādava dominions touched the river Tuṅgabhadrā. He had also better attractions in the north. The Paramāra kingdom of Mālava and the Cauḷukya kingdom of Gujrāt had merged into chaos and became weak. After he had attained his objective in the south, Simhaṇa turned towards the north. The two combatants, the Hoyasaḷas and the Yādavas, in this way began their struggle in different fields and closed their struggle for supremacy in the Deccan.

SANT LAL KATARE

Contributions to the Bhāsa Question

It is a matter of regret that the evidences in Indological studies are still so unreliable that the age of a certain *pièce de literature* cannot be placed even between centuries, still more regrettable is the persistency with which the literary productions in India try to camouflage the age of a specific work. The plays, ascribed in the years of their discovery to the poet Bhāsa, have been enquired into from the linguistic, grammatical and literary points of view but practically with no definite result. The opinion favoured mostly is that *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Yaugandhārayaṇa* are works from the pen of Bhāsa, and these two dramas, as they are preserved, may be regarded as adapted copies not deviating much from their originals. While for the other plays there seems to exist no sufficient reason to ascribe them to Bhāsa. The main argument advanced against this assumption, consists in the agreements in style and language, repetition of phrases and stanzas. The late Prof. Winternitz tried to show[1] the differences between the plays, the subject of which was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* with regard to their style, metrics, literary merits, and general character. It seems, however, that also these arguments are more or less the outcome of subjective reasoning. Nobody will or can deny that the *Ūrubhaṅga* is superior in language, using the *kāvya* style to the other one-act-plays, thus creating a gap between the former and even plays like *Bālacarita*, *Pañcarātra*.

There exist some possibilities with regard to the claim of originality and adapration respectively. First, these plays believed to be of high quality, like *Y.*, *Sv.*, *Ū.*, are well written originals, the other plays are not well written, but they are also originals.

1 Bulletin of the Rāma Varma Research Institute, V, 1937, 1ff.

Secondly, as for the hypothesis that the plays are adaptations and compilations, it must be concluded that these supposed adapters and compilers have in some cases maintained (*Y.*, *Sv.*, *Ū.*) the beauty of the original, but not so in all cases; in other words, some plays represent the originals fairly well, but not all. Thirdly, the plays believed to be written by a poet of great literary merits are not adapted, the other plays of less literary value are adapted versions, and even the contrary is possible, *i.e.*, the merits of the better plays are due to able adapters. Thus the view, brought forward by Dr. Sukthankar,[2] that Y., and Sv. are by the same author while the authorship of the rest of the dramas is still quite uncertain, is contradicted by the same scholar's list[3] of common passages, in verse and prose, of longer and shorter extent. The explanation[4] that "the coincidences in formal technique are almost certainly to be explained as due to the activity of adapters" leads to the conclusion that the plays, other than Y., and Sv., may represent originals in some way adapted as Y., and Sv., and that becomes obvious if the conspectus of common passages is arranged not only according to the wording, but according to the relation between the single plays. Not only in different plays occur common places, but also in the very same play the wording is repeated *verbatim* in different places. This feature seems to be in accordance with the assumption that the plays are adaptations by some literateurs whose poetical wealth might have been not great and is responsible for these repetitions. Then, of course, the originality of none of these plays can be maintained. To quote some instances:

Sv., 21, 6f. = 34, 5f.; 43, 10f. = 58, 14f.[5]
Dūtav., 32, 5 = 34, 6f.

2 JBRAS., N.S. I, 1925, 143. 3 ABORS., IV, 1923, 167ff.
4 JBRAS., I, 139.
5 Quotations for convenience according to the *editio princeps*.

Pratim., 11, 1f. = 12, 12f.; 67, 3 = 93, 2; 17, 1 = 102, 7; 12, 2f = 14, 2f.; 63, 17f. = 109, 2f.; 29, 16 = 31, 1.
Cārud., 40, 12f. = 46, 13f.
Pañc., 9, 9 = 42, 20.
Abiṣ., 15, 2 = 56, 6f. 11, 9 = IV, 15.

One could object and explain these repetitions by pointing out that they are merely stereotyped formulas originating from a given situation. This argument, however, loses its weight in view of a case like that in Pratim., 66, 8-11 = 110, 10-13, where a whole verse is repeated, or, in view of Ū., verses 41 and 62:

हृतं मे भीमसेनेन **गदापातकचग्रहे** ।
समं ऊरुद्वयेनाद्य गुरोः पादाभिवादनम् ॥
संयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण **गदापातकचग्रहे** ।
समम्ऊरुद्वयेनाद्य दर्पोऽपि भवतो **हृतः** ॥

Still more the homogeneous wording becomes evident from a conspectus of identical passages in two or more plays:

Avim., 45, 1f. Bālac., 10, 1f.
Abhiṣ., 27, 4f. 71, 15f. Ū., 95, 18/96, 1. 99, 16f./100, 1. 110, 13 Dūtav., 28, 4f. Karṇabh., 72, 8f. Pratim., 91, 9-11. Pañcar., 5, 9-11. Cārud., 8, 1.
Abhiṣ., 23, 10f. Sv., 25, 9. 56, 5 (Sukth., 38).[6]
Prat., 63, 15. 65, 15. Ū., 99, 15. Sv., 1, 12. 2, 6. (46).
Sv., 66, 15. Abhiṣ., 42, 16. (8).
Bālac., 7, 7-10. Cārud., 17, 8-10. (39).
Abhiṣ., 6, 3. Ū., 103, 4. Prat., 17, 9. Bālac., 6, 9. Sv,; 9, 5. (49).
Abhiṣ., 30, 15. 59, 5. Pañcar., 30, 5. 31, 22. 32, 1. Bālac., 58, 1, 11f. (29. 58a).
Abhiṣ., 27, 1f. Pañcar., 24, 8. (20).

6 The numbers in brackets refer to Dr. Sukthankar's numbers in his "List of Recurrences and Parallelisms" in ABORS., IV, 170ff.

Sv., 24, 5f. 28, 5. Avim., 105, 15. Pratim., 5, 2. 58, 1.
Abhiṣ., 66, 5. Prat., 63, 3.
Dūtav., 31, 18. Sv., 7, 9.
Prat., 25, 19. Abhiṣ., 43; 14. (60).
Abhiṣ., 16, 11. Bālac., 8, 2.
Avim., 54, 3. Sv., 56, 8. (40).
Abhiṣ., 62, 3. Ū., 87, 14. 88, 15. (47).
Abhiṣ., 54, 12f. Dūtav., 30, 20 (cf. Bālac., 22, 11).
Pañcar., 39, 12. Bālac., 61, 7. (43).
Pratim., 42, 18f. Abhis., 3, 14f. (124).
Pratim., 86, 6f. Abhiṣ., 10, 11f.
Pratim., 86, 11f. Abhis., 10, 14. } (34)
Dūtagh., 52, 4. Pratim., 58, 2f.
Abhiṣ., 12, 4. Ū., 114, 10. Pratim., 38, 14.
Pratim., 73, 3f. Madhy., 25, 1-3. (45).
Abhiṣ., 26, 3f. Pratim., 90, 8f. cf. Abhiṣ., 52, 3f. (31).
Dūtagh., 69, 8. Pratim., 20, 11. (56).
Prat., 62, 8f. Pratim., 25, 10. 86, 13f. 113, 9f.
Karṇabh., 71, 14. 72, 2. Dūtagh., 49, 14. Pañcar., 23, 9. 45, 3. Pratim., 60, 16-61, 1.
Avim., 107, 5. Ū., 93, 3.
Cārud., 8, 10. Sv., 64, 12. cf. 69, 4. Avim., 83, 1f. (42).
Pañcar., 48, 9. Dūtagh., 66, 1. Prat., 67, 8 71, 14. (41).
Madhy., 12, 4. 13f. Dūtav., 32, 5. 36, 4f.

Apart from the recurrences of verses or parts of them at the end of the plays,[7] passages of the *sthāpana*[8] or stage directions, the list shews that practically all the plays are interconnected by repetitions[9] of the expressions of some length. Thus it seems unfound-

7 Sukthankar's List, ABORI., IV, 1923, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 17.
8 Ibid., No. 23. 9 Ibid., p. 179ff.

ed to assert any difference between certain plays like Prat., and Sv., and the other plays.

A further argument raised against the authorship of Bhāsa are passages quoted in sources other than dramas of the same title as the printed texts, but missing in the latter. It must, however, be stated that prejudice or subjective reasoning may have influenced the decision. The materials[10] can be classified under these heads:

A references to Bhāsa or works ascribed to Bhāsa in the printed texts

B quotations from his plays which are not found in the published texts

C quotations which occur in the published texts

(a) without being ascribed to Bhāsa or

(b) a play ascribed to Bhāsa or a specific work.

D Uncertain allusions.

A. 1. A reference to Bhāsa ascribed to Rājaśekhara in the Sūktimuktāvali (1)

2. Kālidāsa mentions Bhāsa in Mālavikāgnimitra (3)

3. Features of Bhāsa's works are described in Harṣacarita (5)

4. Bhāsa is called a "friend of fire" in the Gauḍavaha (10)

5. Bhāsa is mentioned along with other poets like Urva, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, IV (vol. II, p. 113)

6. A reference to *krīḍā* in Sv., in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nāṭyaś., and to a *nāṭaka* Sv.,[11] (13)

10 Collected in C. R. Devadhar's edition of the Bhāsanāṭakacakra. Plays ascribed to Bhāsa (Poona Oriental Series—No. 54), Poona 1937. Appendix C, pp. 573-577 to the numbers of this list mention the numbers given above in brackets. On the verses ascribed to Bhāsa in Anthologies see App. D, pp. 578-580. These verses are not considered here.

11 Ed. GOS. 36, p. 39, l. 106 (?), p. 87 respectively. For an explanation of the word *krīḍā* cf. a forthcoming paper of the late Prof. Winternitz in the Woolner Comm. Volume.

7. A reference to the *artha-* and *kāmaśṛṅgāra* in the Ṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda.[12] (18)
8. The same reference, nearly *verbatim*, is found in the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa (ed. Dillon, p. 117, lines 2826ff.), but Sv., is not mentioned there . (21)
9. An identical verse, occuring twice in Kaumudimahotsava,[13] II, 15 and V, 9, mentions the hero Avimāraka and the heroine Kuraṅgī, but refers perhaps only to the story, and not to the play Avimāraka. (24)
10. Commentary on Śākuntala, attributed to the 14th century A.D.,[14] says that the Sūtradhāra in the play Cārudatta uses Prākṛt, a fact found in the edition of this play. (25)
11. The Nāṭyadarpaṇa (p. 53) mentions a play Darida Cārudatta.

B. 1. A verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from a work of the "great poet Bhāsa" in his Commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra (ed. GOS. No. 36) p. 320. The verse is defective in its first *pāda* and seems to refer to a play the plot of which is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa; the verse contains the prediction of Rāma's revenge. Such a verse could have had its place in Pratim., VI, 16 where Bharata is mobilizing all his forces to help Rāma as well as in Abhiṣ., II, 15 where Hanūmat gets enraged against Rāvaṇa.[15] (11)
2. A passage, occurring in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra, p. 251, seems to quote a poet Hāsa, for which Bhāsa has been proposed as an alternative reading by the

12 No edition of this Commentary on Amarakośa is at my disposal; Devadhar quotes under No. 18 from p. 147, under No. 21 the same passage from the Nāṭakalakṣ.

13 Ed. Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series, 4, Madras 1929.

14 IHQ., V, 1929, 726.

15 Less probable is the passage in Abhiṣ., III, 21, as Hanūmat here is addressing Rāvaṇa directly.

Editor,[16] and a verse of his "in some nāṭaka."[17] This is quite uncertain.

3. The verse, quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka, III, 14, is not found in Sv., but could have stood before V, 7 in Sv. This verse shows some similar expressions: *niṣkrāman, dvārapakṣeṇa, tāḍitaḥ* correspond to the words of the quoted verse: *praviṣṭa, sañcitapakṣmakapāṭam nayanadvāram svarupaṭāḍanena udghāṭya.*[18] (18)
4. The verse *mṛteti* etc. in Kāvyādarśa, II, 230 and Bhojadeva's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa refers to a scene like that in Sv., V where Udayana meets Vāsavadattā, but it is not stated that the verse is taken from Sv., though it would fit in the episode. (14)
5. The verse quoted in Nāṭyadarpaṇa from Sv., (GOS. No. 48, p. 84) is not found in the printed text, but fits in the surroundings of Sv., IV.[19] Both *śilātala* and *sephalikā*-blossoms have been mentioned in the dialogue between Padmāvatī and her maid already, and by the Vidūṣaka addressing king Udayana.[20] (22).

16 This reading has been accepted by P. V. Kane, Pathak Comm. Vol., 394.

17 The verse runs:

दिवं याताश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते अशक्यमस्य पुरतोऽवस्थातुम्।

18 The common picture to both the passages is the *hṛdayagṛha*, not the door of the *samudragṛhaka*, as the late Gaṇapati Śāstri explained in his Commentary; the latter building had hardly any doors. For the beginning of the verse see F.W Thomas, JRAS., 1925, 100ff.

19 See Sukthankar, JBRAS., N.S. I, 1925, 136f.

20 A similar incident with the contrary conclusion is found in Sv., V, after verse 3; when the Vidūṣaka observes that Padmāvatī must have been in the *samudragṛhaka* and left, the king answers she cannot have been there and explains the reason for this surmise by the verse V, 4:

शय्या नावनता तथास्तृतसमा न व्याकुलप्रच्छदा
न क्लिष्टं हि शिरोपधानममलं शीर्षाभिघातौषधैः॥

6. In the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa a verse is quoted (p. 41, line 970/2) from Cārudatta:

शुष्कद्रुमगतो रौति ? आदित्याभिमुखं स्थितः ।
कथयत्यनिमित्तं मे वायसो ज्ञानपण्डितः ।

The contents of this verse appear in the monologue of Cārudatta in the 9th Act of Mṛcchak. in a more detailed description of bad omens accompanying him on his way to the court. The second of the verses there (IX, 11) runs:

शुष्कवृक्षस्थितो ध्वांक्ष आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा ।
मयि चोद्यते वामं चक्षुर्घोरमसंशयम् ॥

The words *vāyasa, animittam* and *mama* are found in the preceding verse (IX. 10) in Mṛcchak.:

रुक्षस्वरं वाशति वायसोऽयमाक्रम्यभूत्यो मुहुराह्वयन्ति ।
स्वयं च नेत्रं स्फुरति प्रमृज्य ममानिमित्तानि हि खेदयन्ति ।

It is nowhere said that the verse belongs to Bhāsa, but it is quoted from a play Cārudatta which, as the printed text of this drama shows, is somehow connected with Mṛcchak. The contents of the verse have to be derived from a general belief in omens like those in Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 95 (*vāyasaruta*) where verses as 2, 19, 38 express similar views about the bad omen of a crow sitting on a dry tree or facing the sun. The verse, however, points to the conclusion that a play Cārudatta existed, of which the edited text would represent a torso only, as Sāgaranandin in other places refers to the Mṛcchak. or to acts 5 and 8 of the same play under special names like Durdināṅka and Motakāṅka (p. 118, lines 2857 ff.; p. 130, lines 3122 ff.; 3130 f.). But Bhāsa is not mentioned as the author. (23)

7. A verse quoted by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka, V (II, p. 251) under the name of the *mahākavi Bhāsa* is found in a

slightly different version in the Mattavilāsa (p. 7, lines 3ff.). Whether this quotation, attributed to Bhāsa, has anything to do with the poet and does not merely range with the alleged quotations of his in Anthologies cannot be decided.

C. a 1. The verse in Prat., IV, 3 which occurs in Kauṭ., Arthaś., X, 3, 150-52 and the last *pāda* of which is quoted in Vāmana's Kāvyāl., V, 2, 28, might have been so famous that it formed a common-place; neither the authorship of Bhāsa is stated nor is the source, while the Nayacandrikā (p. 180) ascribes the verse to a Manunīti (2 and 7)

2. The verse Bālac., I, 15 and Cārud., I, 19, quoted by Daṇḍin, Kāvyād., II, 226 and found again in Mṛcchak., I, 34, seems to be of a general character and is so well known that no author had to be stated. At least neither Bhāsa nor a play of his is mentioned in connection with this verse. (6)

3. In Bhojadeva's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa XII the scene is described as found in Sv., V and takes place in the *samudra-gṛhaka*. (16)

4. Vāmana quotes without stating his source in Kāvyāl., V 1, 3 a verse found in Cārud., I, 2 in a slightly different version which, however, is nearer to Cārud., than to Mṛcchak., I, 9.[21] (8)

5. Vāmana quotes in the same work IV 3, 25 again without indicating the author the verse found in Sv., IV, 7. (9)

6. Śaradātanaya does not mention Bhāsa in his quotation, Bhāvaprakāśa, VIII (GOS. No. 45, p. 239), referring to the incident in Sv., how the king recognizes a peculiar ornament on Padmāvatī's forehead which induces him to

21 Cf. Morgenstierne, Ueber das Verh. zwischen Cārud. und Mṛchak., 12.

believe that Vāsavadattā is still alive. The explanation must be that only Vāsavadattā could have done this ornament, a similar scene is found in Kathāsarits., III., 16, 31ff. 70. 101-103. This scene could have had its place in the last scene of Act IV in Sv., where Uḍayana meets Padmāvatī; in IV, 5 the king agrees with Vasantaka's words that Vāsavadattā is no more. (17)

7. In the Bhāvaprakāśa (p. 239) the author quotes from Sv., the words: *ehi Vāsavadatte; kva kva yāsi?*, a passage which is not found in the printed text, though it corresponds to the prose before Sv., V, 7: *Vāsavadatte, tiṣṭha tiṣṭha, hā dhik*. It is, therefore, possible that Śaradātanaya has not quoted *verbatim;* as both versions have eleven syllables, but that in Bhāvaprakaśa fits in the Śloka, it may be that *metri causa* its author has changed the wording; or. the quotation is taken from another source or version of Sv., (17)

8. Sāgaranandin quotes in the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa (p. 51, lines 1203 ff.) from Sv., the words of the Sūtradhāra after he has heard behind the scene shoutings for help, in a different, more detailed wording than found in the printed text. (20)

C. b 1. Sāgaranandin quotes from Sv., the verse VI, 3. (17)

2. The Commentary on Śākuntala[22] gives the contents of the beginning of Cārudatta where the Sūtradhāra on account of the wish of the Naṭī who likes to have a meal after her fast, looks for some Brāhmaṇa to invite him and seeing Cārudatta's friend Maitreya approaches and invites him. This is in accordance with the *sthāpanā* of the published text; the Naṭī has undertaken a vow, called *abhirūpapati,*

22 IHQ., V, 726.

and wants a Brāhmaṇa who is fit for a meal with people like her, i.e. who is poor, to be invited. The Sūtradhāra is looking for a poor Brāhmaṇa (*dariddabahmaṇa*) and meeting Maitreya invites him for dinner. His words: *nimantido si, āmantaṇassa mā daridda tti maṃ avamaṇṇahi* are reflected in the Commentary's āmantraṇanimantraṇārtham, i.e., for addressing and invitation.

3. The same Commentary[23] quotes the verse 2 from Dūtagh., attributing it to the Sūtradhāra in the *sthāpanā;* the author is not stated.

4. The Commentary[24] quotes the words of the Sūtradhāra from Sv.

D. As uncertain allusions must be considered the following:

1. The verse in Bhāmaha's Kāvyāl., IV, 40ff. seems to contain a reminiscence of Prat. I, prose after verse 8, but no reference is given nor is it certain that the Sanskrit verse has anything to do with the Prākṛt prose-passage. (4)

2. The verse in Bhojadeva's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, V, 411 has nothing to do with the plays ascribed to Bhāsa. (15)

3. The reference in Sarvānanda's Ṭīkāsarvasva (on Amarakośa, p. 305): *kūṇaṃ bāhuyugam iti Bhāsakaviḥ* is in this form not quite intelligible, as in Amarakośa *kūṇa* does not occur and Bhāsa could not have explained like a lexicographer a word by a synonym. (19)

The conclusions arrived at by these references are:

1. A poet Bhāsa is known since Kālidāsa (A. 1. 2. B.1 |2 doubtful|. 5. D. 3.)

2. His works are known since Bāṇa (A. 3. 4), *expressis verbis* ascribed to him is Svapnavāsavadattā (B. 3)

3. Among the works which have been published the t i t l e

23 IHQ., V, 727. 24 Ibidem.

of the following plays, without giving the name of the author, are mentioned in the sources:

Sv., (A. 5. 6. 7|?|. B. 5. [see under] C. a |7, 8. b 1.4]

Cārud. (Daridra°) (A. 9. 10. B. 6)

Dūtagh., (C. b 3); cf. below.

Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī may refer to a play Avim. (A. 8).

Avim., is referred to along with the titles Pañcar., and

Bālac.[26] in the Commentary on Sākuntala, without the author's name.

4. Some verses are quoted which are not found in the printed texts (B. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6, C. a 7, 8) but are not entirely out of place; a scene is referred to, also not found in the present text of Sv., (C. a 6)

5. References to characteristics of the plays, contents, and quotations of prose passages and verses are in agreement with the respective passages in the printed (A. 5. 6. 7. C. a 3. 4. b 1. 2. 3. 4).

6. From the quotations in the Śākuntala-Commentary can be concluded that there existed a play Cārudatta which comprised more acts than the printed text has preserved. (B. 6).

7. From the quotation in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa is to be seen that there existed a version of Sv., with a different *sthāpanā* at least. (C. a 4 but cf. C. b 4). To a more extensive text of Sv., point also the quotations not contained in the printed

25 IHQ., 725.

26 There exists, however a play Bālacarita dealing with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI, 35; the same verse in Nāṭaka lakṣaṇaratnakośa, p. 26, lines 611-13, but further quotations p. 23f., lines 540 ff.; p. 32, lines 751-53.

text. (B. 3. 4. 5., C. a 5. 7). Finally a scene missing in the published version (C. a 6).

That the printed texts are not the only existing versions of the plays is to be seen further from the statement in the Śākuntala-Commentary (p. 726) according to which the Sūtradhāra appears in one-act plays like Dūtagh., without an antagonist like a *naṭa,* etc., but also in plays comprising more than a single act as in Kalyāṇa-saugandhika,[27] in Pañcar., and this play is not considered to be a *nāṭaka,*[28] in Bālacarita. The Commentary refers to the *sthāpanā* in Bālac., and Sv., and to Avimāraka, in the latter, however, the dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī is called *āmukha,* as in the play Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa,[29] which does not correspond to the printed text. The circumstance that with two exceptions (B. 1. 5) the author Bhāsa is not connected with the quotations or plays does not speak against his authorship as the same attitude has been taken and had to be asserted for other authors too, as the Commentary on Śākuntala does not give the name of the author in connection with his quotations, and so does the Nāṭayalakṣaṇaratnakośa too. Lastly, the published texts cannot be taken as the only existing versions.

It has to be borne in mind that the editions are based on a few manuscripts and further finds of them may lead to more complete texts. But even with the material at disposal it can be shown that the existing editions offer some verses missing in the *editio princeps*. Thus Pañcar., (ed. 1917), I contains 57 verses against 55 verses of the first edition (1912), verses 13 and 14 are new. In Act II of the same play verse 57 reads in the 2nd edition *yotra-*

27 Cf. IHQ., V, 726, note 2, where reference is made to the edition of the play by Dr. Barnett in BSOS., III, 33ff. and to a (not yet published) re-edition by Mr. V. Venkataram Sharma; this play, however, contains only a single act. This points again to a different version of this play also!

28 It is a *samavakāra.*

29 Published in TSS., XI.

yitvā against *tulayitvā* of the first edition. Verse 72 of the 2nd edition is new. Whether Prat., IV in the prose portion at the beginning an Āryā is hidden, is doubtful; it would not change the text. In Madhy., (ed. Devadhar) verse 50 is not found in the previous editions:

अज्ञानात् तु मया पूर्वं यद् भवान् नाभिवादितः ।
अस्य पुत्रापराधस्य प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

It is doubtful whether this verse is necessary as its second line expresses the same contents as the following prose: *putracāpalaṃ kṣantum arhasi,* and as uncertain is whether the verse, is not modelled in accordance with the prose or *vice-versa,* though the prose fits closer in with the admonition of Hiḍimbā: *abhivādehi piḍaram...ahaṃ sa ...abhivādaye.* Moreover, Ghaṭotkaca was under the conditions of his meeting the father unable to salute him, still less in the manner appropriate for a son towards a father; in the prose version, therefore, Ghaṭotkaca does not beg his father's pardon for not having saluted him, only for his rashness, and now, at his mother's admonition he salutes his father. This passage is too insignificant to allow conclusions; nevertheless, it shows the incompleteness of the manuscripts, the unreliability of the editions, and gives some insight into the relation of prose and verse, the fabrication of which was so easy.

Unsatisfactory as the result may be, in the present stage of knowledge no more can be asserted. It seems, however, that there exists a possibility to ascertain from the cultural data the standard of life, religion, state organization, science, etc. By comparison with the corresponding conditions in other sources which can be dated definitely or approximately, an upper limit for the age of the plays, an indication even of their genuineness—with regard to the hypothesis of their adaptation in circles of actors—could be arrived at.

One of the most striking features in the plays is the *pratimāgṛha,* after which the *Pratimānāṭaka* got its name. The *pratimāgṛha* is a temple-like special building, containing a central hall (*garbha-*

gṛha). In this central hall there are nest pigeons, as to-day in the Gopuras of South-Indian temples. The outer walls are marked with *pañcāṅgulas* of whitewash mixed with sandal; the doors are festooned with garlands of flowers, fresh sand is strewn on the floor, in front of the building, flowers and fried grains before the entrance indicate an oblation by pious hands. While other temples have as an external sign emblems like weapons and banners, this building has nothing of this kind. The statues within the hall are made of stone. A *devakulika* is in charge of the *pratimāgṛha*, a priest. These statues represent deceased kings, but of a king during his lifetime no statue is made.

The custom to imprint the hand with five fingers spread upwards is known from the Buddhist literature in Pāli and "mixed Sanskrit;"[30] in Brāhmaṇical literature the custom is mentioned in Mṛcchak., X, 4; Kādambarī, 224; 16; the term occurs in Harṣac., (ed. Fuehrer) 92, 2; 201, 3f.; Vāsavadattā, (ed. Hall) 183, 3;[31] in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, I, p. 49, 1; 490, 4; it is known from the basement of a Stūpa- and *caṅkrama*- relief of Barhut.[32] New, as it seems, is the cult of ancestors by erecting statues of them. The fact that the statues are executed in stone refers to a time which cannot be much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[33] In the Nānāghāṭ cave inscriptions the names of members of the Andhra dynasty are mentioned above the position of heads of what were

30 Cf. PTS., Dictionary s.v. Part V, p. 11 and the material collected by Vogel, Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Aft. Letterkunde, R. V, D. 4, 1920, 218ff.

31 Śivarāma's Darpaṇa gives the vernacular word *cuṭaka* and says at festivals they paint the walls for *ātarpaṇa*.

32 Vogel 222f. and Plate.

33 Coomaraswamy, Gesch. d. ind. Kunst 47 refers to the wooden image of Ketu mentioned in the Khāravela Inscription of the Hāthigumphā as to the earliest human image. No passage of this sense is found in the inscription, as the corrected reading of line 11, against JBORS., VI, 155f. 337ff., has been established by Sten Konow, Acta Or., I, 22 and accepted in Ep. Ind., XX 79

relievo figures now entirely destroyed,[34] of the king Simuka-Sātavāhana Sirimat, of the queen Nāganikā, of king Siri-Sātakani, of prince Bhāga, of the prince Hakusiri, and of the prince Sātavāhana. Here are no ancestors represented, as the father of the queen Nāganikā, the *mahārathi* Tranakayira is found among the names, and contemporary personages, apart from the fact that these figures are no statues and not erected in a special building. Historical personages, however, are represented in large statues found in the mound Tokrī Ṭilā near the village Māṭ, nine miles north of Mathurā, the inscriptions on which disclose them as Kaniṣka;[35] in the inscription on the pedestal of the second statue of Vima who is titled as *mahārāja rājātirājo Devaputro Kuṣāṇaputro Ṣahi Vema Takṣama*, a *bakanapati Huma...kṣa* mentions to have erected a *devakula*, garden (*ārāma*), tank (*puṣkariṇī*), and well (*udāpāna*).[36] Prof. Vogel has found the remains of the foundation walls and plinth of a building made of large bricks; about the centre of the building the main body of the statue, the head of which is missing, was discovered. Near the seated statue of Vima the standing statue of Kaniṣka was found inside the building. Close by, an inscribed pedestal of another statue was recovered. This inscription[37] mentions that a *bakanapati* Śaukra, son of the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka Maṣa*, ordered for the increase of the life and strength of the *mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka*, the *devakula* of the grand-father of Huviṣka to be repaired which was in ruins. Lastly, in the same temple the statue

34 Lüders=List Nos. 1113-1118; Smith, ZDMG., 56, 653f. quotes the late Bhagavan Lāl Indraji, JBRAS., XIII, 311, on the custom of Jains and Nepalese Buddhists to have the figures of members of their families carved in their temples known by the name of Sālika. The order: father, mother, himself, wife, brothers, sons, etc., nearly agrees with the order in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions.

35 Vogel, Verslagen en Meded., R. IV, D. 12, 1913, 272ff., recently La sculpture de Mathura, 21f., Pls. I-III.

36 For the reading cf. AR., ASI., 1911/12, 120ff.; Vogel, Versl. 297; Jayaswal, JBORS., VI, 1920, 12ff.

37 Daya Ram Sahni, JRAS., 1924, 401ff.

of Caṣṭana has been found.[38] Thus the *devakula* of the Kuṣāṇa rulers seems to have contained statues of Vima, Kaniṣka, and Huviṣka erected or repaired by a *bakanapati,* besides the statue of Caṣṭana the identity of which has not been established as yet with certainty. The term *devakula* appears in a Śārada inscription from Hund[39a] which record written in a barbaric Sanskrit mentions that the queen Śrīkāmeśvaridevī has caused to be erected something (*satka*) in a *devakula;* the name of the architect and of the scribe of the inscription are given, further, the time within which the building was constructed (168-169, probably of the Harṣa era, i.e. 774-775 A.D.), but no clue as for the character of the *devakula* itself is found therein.

The Moṛā well inscription[39] mentions the erection of the *pratimā* of five heroes (*pañca vīrāṇāṃ pratimā*) by a Bhagavat Vṛṣṇa in the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula's son, the name of which is not preserved; these five vīras are hardly ancestors of a ruling dynasty.[40] Reliefs of two kings of the Pallava dynasty, of Mahendravarman I and of his son Narasiṃhavarman Siṃhaviṣṇu I, each of these rulers accompanied by two queens, have been executed and labelled with inscriptions in the rock-cut temple of Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ at Mahābalipuram which may belong to the time of Parameśvaravarman I,[41] i.e. end of the 7th century A.D.[42] Though these kings are grand-father and father of Parameśvaravarman, the reliefs cannot be called ancestor-statues as also their two queens represented, as the reliefs are found, in a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu-Ādivarāha. In the temple at Tiruvañcikulaṃ, a suburb of

38 Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, JBORS., VI, 1920, 51ff.

39a Edited by Rai Br. Daya Ram Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, 97f.

39 Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, 184.

40 Sir John Marshall, JRAS., 1912, 120 believes this expression of heroes to refer to the five Pāṇḍavas.

41 R.B. H. Krishna Sastri, Memoirs ASI., No. 26, 1926.

42 See Ep., Ind., XIX, 112.

Cranganore the statue of Bhāskara Ravivarman is set up and worshipped.[43] It has been objected that such a statue cannot be compared with those of the *pratimāgṛha*.[44] This is true, as there exists a difference within the locality, a Śaiva temple, containing the statue of one ruler and his consort, on one hand, and a special building containing the statues of all male ancestors of the visiting prince, on the other hand. The custom to install statues of deceased kings in temples is known from South India and countries with Indian culture. Into the 17th century leads the statue of king Tirumal (1623-1659), a Nāyak of Madura, who for the reception of the presiding deity of the place built the Vasanta or Pudo Maṇḍapa (New Hall) the erection of which took more than twenty years (1623-1645). His statue is found in front of the great (eastern) Gopura of the Sundareśvara temple, Madura.[45] The hall has four rows of pillars, and at each side of the central corridor are five pillars representing ten of the Nāyak's dynasty; Tirumalla is distinguished by having a canopy above his statue and two figures at his back, the figure at the left is his consort, a princess of Tanjore.[46] Thus it seems that in later times statues of kings, accompanied by their consorts, and ancestors were erected in temples of deities. This custom of erecting the statues in temples seems to be connected with and based upon a conception according to which the deceased

43 A. K. Pisharoti and K. R. Pisharoti, BSOS., III, 108, n. 2. Cf. Menon, History of Kerala, I, 309.

44 T. Gaṇapati Sastri, ibid., 629f.

45 Fergusson-Burgess, History of Indian Archit., I, 386ff. with plans and a photograph of the building. For the reign of the Nāyak see R. Sathyamatha Aiyar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, Madras, 1924, 110ff.

46 Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archeologie du Sud de l' Inde (Annales du Musée Guimet 26) I, 147ff.; photograph of the entrance and interior of the "Tirumalla-choultri" Pl. XLVI, XLVII A, of the statues Pl. XLVII B. Sewell, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency I, 292.—On horseback is the figure of Āryanātha, the Madaliyar, the prominent general of Viśvanātha who erected the thousand pillar Maṇḍapa in the shrine dedicated to Sabhāpati.

king becomes deified after his decease and identified with the deity of the temple.

Such a custom can be traced in Kamboja from the 9th century to the 12th century A.D.[47] Not only deceased rulers, their ancestors, even living kings, erecting their own statues, were worshipped, or their consorts, or nobles who had sacrificed their life for the king, were honoured in this way; the identification of the royalty with the god, *kamrateñ jagat ta rājya,* the god is the kingship, led to the cult of deification of the king in the form of idols, Liṅgas, statues of Viṣṇu, Buddha, and Bodhisattvas, according to the often tolerant faith of the dynasty. Besides the temples of Bako and Lolei, the Bayon in Ankor Thom represent Hindu deities, Buddha and tutelary deities the majority of which were deified men in two forms: as portraits and as deities the names of which they had received posthumously, thus forming a real gallery of historical portraits and a national pantheon.[48] The same custom prevailed in Java for which the best example is the statue of king Erlangga (1010-1042), worshipped as Viṣṇu at Belahan, erected in 1043[49] besides other kings.[50] In Campā the kings associated their names with Liṅgas or

47 G. Cœdès, Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l' Indo-Chine 1911, 38ff.; 1913, 89f.; B. R. Chatterji, Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia, Calcutta 1928, 93ff., 243ff.

48 Coomaraswamy, l.c. 213f.

49 Coomaraswamy, ibid., 209, Fig. 360.

50 Chatterji, l.c. 245. For the Javanese and Balanese custom of installing the image of a deceased king in a temple as a god of which the royal personage was considered to be an incarnation, see Stutterheim, JAOS., 51, 1931, 1ff. The author is not right in declaring (p. 4) "that in India there has never been found any statue of a deceased king in the guise of a god which was worshipped." On the divinity of kings cf. Hopkins, ibid., 309ff.

51 R. C. Majumdar, Champa (Punjab Oriental Series 16), Lahore 1927, 184ff.

52 Ep., Ind., XIV, 283, lines 20f. Rāchamalla I, in the time of Rāchamalla II, Śaka 1103=1181 A.D. A Liṅga was adored probably in the Bayon under the the title of *kamraten jagat ta rāja* or *devarāja*. On the Liṅga in this meaning cf.

gods, kings and nobles associated the names of their relatives with the gods of temples founded by them, according to inscriptions from the 5th to the 13th century A.D.; they identified or associated themselves with the gods by adding their names to that of the god, and also at times by making the image of the god resemble their own.[51] There are instances of identification of deceased rulers with gods in India also, though statues of the king-god are not used, but they occur in the form of Liṅgas;[52] other instances are met in the time of the Candella king Pṛthvideva, and two queens of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya II, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, installed images of Śiva called Lokeśvara and Trailokyeśvara respectively; the Rājataraṅgiṇī furnishes instances where temples were dedicated to gods named after their founder.[53] In the year 1274 king Narasīhapati of Pagān finished the Mengala-dzedi (Maṅgalacaitya) where besides holy relics, golden images of the disciples of the Buddha, golden models of the holy places, golden images of the king's fifty-one predecessors in Pagān and of the king and his family were deposited.[54] The custom to instal Liṅgas of deceased Gurus called according to their names in a *guru(v)āyatana* perhaps with the portraits of the deceased is testified by a Mathurā inscription of the year 380 A.D.[55]

Bosch, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitg. d. het K. Bataviaasch Genootschap LXIV, 1924, 236ff., who establishes a trinity of ruler, Liṅga and priest the latter being the Purohita of the king and high-priest of the *devarāja* in Kamboja; the author believes that the texts refer to an "original" Liṅga in Southern India (p. 278ff.). Majumdar, 186; Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116; Ep. Ind., III, 1ff.

53 Majumdar, 186; Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116; Ep. Ind., III, 1ff.

54 Marco Polo, 3rd. ed., by Yule-Cordier, II, 114; for the date of the king, the 13th century, cf. vol. III, 87f.

55 Ep. Ind., XXI, 1 ff. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar believes (pp. .f.) the *gurvāyatana* adverted to in the inscription to resemble the *pratimāgṛha*, but in the latter are to be found statues of the ancestors, in the former portraits or Liṅgas only, a carving of an ascetic, perhaps representing Lakuliśa, is found on the pilaster, and a trident; one would expect the portraits of the teachers mentioned in the inscription

The fact should not be overlooked that, though there exists a similarity of ancestor-worship, the *pratimāgṛha* is a special building with statues of deceased rulers, even if the mythological character has to be taken into consideration. This institution of a special hall in a temple without any identification of the ancestors with deities is referred to in Haribhadra's Nemināhacariu.[56] Pṛthivīpāla erected in Vimala's temple a Maṇḍapa in which the statues of seven of his ancestors were represented riding on elephants. The hall and the elephants are still to be seen in the *hāthi khānā* or elephant room of the Dilwārā temple at Mount Abu; but there are only nine elephants of white marble, the figures of which have been explained to represent Seth Vimala (who had built in 1031 the Vimala vasati under Bhima 1022-64), and his family going in procession to the temple; they are destroyed and an equestrian statue of Vimala of stucco and painted has been placed in the doorway. The names of nine of the riders are carved on their seats, six are dated in 1149, and three in 1180. Rāṇā Kumbha (1433-68) erected, as Tod[57] relates, a citadel on a peak of Abu, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara; in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Kūmbha and his father Mokal (1397-1413) received divine honours. It is well known that in Rājputana States the *chattris* or "umbrellas" are erected, of kings, of illustrious dead people and more specially of those who fell in battle. Royal cemeteries, sometimes containing the statues of the deceased, are set apart at one place, as at Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur; in Bikaner the place containing the royal *chattris* is called *devagaḍh* where statues of all the Bikaner rulers are found, from the fourth downwards, being worshipped every day and food being offered to

56 H. Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam, ein Abschnitt aus Haribhadras Nemināthacaritam (Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philos.—philolog. u. hist. Kl. XXXI, 4, 1921) XIf. For a description of the temples see Fergusson-Burgess, History, II, 36f.

57 Tod, Annals (ed. Crooke, London 1920) I, 336.

them.[58] But the *pratimāgṛha* is not a cemetery, nor are there *chattris*. Statues of ancestors, however, are found at Mandor, the former capital of Marwar, 5 miles north of Jodhpur, where, besides some deities the ancestor-statues are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, with their horses, weapons, all painted.[59] "Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described; it is termed *Taintis kula devata ra than*, or 'abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races': in short, the Pantheon of the Rajputs."[60] In a cave in the ground where the statues are installed, there is an altar sanctified by the name of Nahar Rao; a Nai, or barber, performs worship to the manes of this Rajput, while the ancestor-statues seem to be under the care of a priest.

The archæological instances prove the existence of a custom to erect statues of ancestors and sometimes of their worship. The most fitting parallel to the *pratimāgṛha* dates from the time of the Kusāṇas, but the customs prevailed till Rājput times in a modified way.[61] The literary references not so numerous are still not insignificant. To mention first a less important passage: in Dharmacandra's Malayasundarikathoddhāra, a Jaina work of the 14th century, the story is told how king Śatabala, instructed by the nun

58 Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS., V, 1919, 559; cf. Tod, Annals, I, 325 on Raghudeva: "His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf." Further see II, 678 on the worship of the ancestorial manes by the Rāṇā in the cemetary at Ara (Udaipur), the cenotaphs of which are described II, 912f.

59 A description and reproductions of all the figures are given in Tod, Annals, II, 842ff.

60 Tod, ibid., 844; this pantheon is more correctly called *tetis karor devatan sthān* "the abode of the 330 millions of gods."

61 The date of the Mandor statues seems to be unknown.—Newspapers brought not long ago a notice that Sardar Chandroji Rao Angre who is in charge of the Foreign and Political Portfolio, Gwalior intends to erect an imposing statue in memory of his ancestor and founder of the Angre family, Kanoji Angre, on the Kasa Rock, Bombay harbour.

Malayasundarī comes to know that his father has attained *mukti;* he orders a temple to be erected in the place where his father has attained *mukti,* and an image of his father to be installed.[62] More important is the passage in the drama Kundamālā, Act I; Sītā, who after her return from Laṅkā is led into a forest on the Ganges by Lakṣmaṇa and informed that she has been exiled on account of her residence in Rāvaṇa's palace, she asks her husband's brother taking leave from him to salute Ayodhyā and to wait upon the king who is embodied in a statue (*sussūsidavvo paṭimāgado mahārāo*).[63] This points to a statue of Daśaratha; Sītā who did not know personally the other ancestors had no reason to mention them, except her father-in-law. It is curious that Bharata in the Pratim. is not acquainted with the custom of erecting statues of the deceased rulers; the explanation that he lived since his childhood in his uncle's house (Act III), practically as an exile (Act VI, dialogue between Bharata and Kaikeyī), is not quite convincing as the young prince could have learnt even there something about the custom observed in his family; but from the dramatic point of view the author of the play had to eliminate such a knowledge of the prince whose surprise at his return is as great as the reader's impression of this scene. In Varāhamihira's

62 According to the German translation by Hertel, Indische Märchen, 267. The devakula in Mṛcchak. II, is an empty temple in which the Saṃvāhaka tries to pose as a *pratimā,* an idol of a deity; Māthura and his partner discuss the question whether the statue is of wood or of stone.

63 Ed. by Jai Chandra Shastri and translated by Veda Vyasa and S. D. Bhanot, Lahore 1932, p. 36; cf. p. 10 of the translation and p. 14 of the Notes. In the edition of the Dakshina-Bharati Series No. 2 by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri p. 10. The date of the drama the author of which is supposed to be Diṅnāga, in the Mysore Ms., Dhiranāga in the Tanjore Ms., is dated by the former Editors in the 5th century A.D. For a discussion on this passage which indicates nothing more than stated above in the text, cf. ABORI., IX, 333f.; X, 155; 157; XII, 97f; on the date Woolner, ibid., XV, 236ff.; S. K. De, XVI, 158. The expression *pratimāgata* is found in connection with the Ayodhyādevatā which were worshipped in the prescribed temples (*praśastāyatanārcitāḥ*) in Raghuv., XVII, 36. It would go too far to see in this passage a hint to the *pratimāgṛha.*

Bṛhats., 58, 3 the size of a statue (*pratimā*) of Rāma is prescribed: *Daśarathatanayo Rāmo baliś ca Vairocaniḥ śataṃ viṃśam* i.e. the statue of Daśaratha's son Rāma and that of Bali, Virocana's son, should be 120 *aṅgulas* in height. Though Rāma's shrine has to be built in the South-eastern corner of a Viṣṇu temple,[64] thus indicating Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, there existed sculptures and bronzes of Rāma, of Sītā, and of Lakṣmaṇa.[65] The identification of Rāma and Viṣṇu caused the similarity of their representation.[66] The Śilpaśāstras do not mention the statues of Rāma's ancestors as they are not understood as deities the abodes of which belong to the topics of this discipline; the term *pratimāgāra, pratimāmaṇḍapa* occurs in Mānasāra, 34, 24, 27f; a kind of pavilions, where the idol of a god is to be installed. In 34, 24, however, this pavilion (*pratimāgāra*)[67] is mentioned as the fourth among seven pavilions to be erected in front of a *prāsāda,* as the fifth the *sthāpanamaṇḍapa* is prescribed which is again a room for installing the idol of a deity. The *pratimāgṛha* of the Pratim. appears not only to the returning of Bharata like a temple; it is higher than a palace (Act III); the man in charge of it is called *devakulika* who has to fulfil his duty (*naityaka*), consisting probably in daily offerings. The *devakula* is according to the Śilpaśāstra the private temple of the king (*Sam.trāṅgaṇas.* 15, 45) to be built in the North-eastern or South-western corner of the palace, with high pillars and *vedikā* (platform or balustrade?). In the palace of the king representations of all the gods are permitted (34, 5), as in *devakula* also (34, 1) only the god to which the ruler is devoted and

64 Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 191; Mānasāra, IX, 132.

65 Rao, I, 186ff.

66 Bhojadeva's Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, 77, 40 (in 42 Bali is mentioned as in Bṛhats.) prescribes Dāśarathi Rāma to be made with two or eight arms; cf. Rao, I, 203.

67 The translation by P. K. Acharya (p. 340) takes pratimāgāra as a pavilion "for the image (chapel)."

the *kuladevatā*[68] can be represented (34, 21). The term *devakula*[69] used in the Mathurā inscriptions proves that a building like the *pratimāgṛha* could be called a temple, but the Śilpaśāstra do not know a special building with statues of ancestors.

Incomplete as this survey may be, it shows that the custom to erect statues of ancestors, of historical personages, of rulers was known in Northern India since the 3rd century A.D.; since the 5th century A.D. the custom is found in Campā, and later on in other countries which were influenced by Indian culture. The custom of erecting statues was prevalent in mediaeval India as well; monuments and literary sources prove that the custom was not so strange as it appears, though an exact date of the use of a *pratimāgṛha* is not yet possible.

Another custom which occurs in the same play, in the Pratim., seems to be in some way surprising, it is the veiling of women of high rank. Sītā (Act I) is ordered by Rāma when leaving the town with her for his exile, to take off her veil (*avaguṇṭhana*), as Rāma puts it (verse 29): "He, he, you citizens! Listen! Listen!

"Gaze freely on this my wife with your eyes full of tears; for without offence women can be looked at during a sacrifice, a wedding,[70] when in calamity and in the forest."

68 *bhartṛkuladevatā* are mentioned in Śākunt., V when Śakuntalā appears before her husband. *devakulika* occurs in the Mahāvyutpatti, 186, 78.

69 D. R. Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind. XXI, 5 points out that there is a difference between the Kuṣaṇa's *devakula* and the *pratimāgṛha* as the former was "a cluster of *devakulas* commemorating the different Kuṣāṇa rulers"; if one should be so rigorous at all, though the statues seem to have stood on the same ground (see JBORS., VI, 53), their purpose was hardly different from that of the *pratimās* in the Pratim.

70 At the wedding ceremony the bride is covered with a new garment, cf. Winternitz, Das altind. Hochzeitsrituell 45 and 47 (for modern times). With the verse above may be compared Rām., VI, 114, 28:

व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे न क्रतौ नो विवाहे वा दर्शनम् दूष्यते स्त्रियः ।

In Rām. VI, 111, 61f. Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's first queen, lamenting in view of her husband's body, mentions that she is not veiled and the other females have also put off their veils with their shyness.

The widowed queens of Daśaratha, when entering the *pratimā-gṛha* (Act III) and meeting Bharata there, put off their veils; the prince reflects upon this gesture: "The presence (of yours, i.e. Sumantra) at every conduct (of them) reveals you to me."[71] The use of veils by Indian women is known since the classical drama. In Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, V, Śakuntalā appears veiled before her husband, king Duṣyanta, who does not recognize her, even when Gautami unveils her with the words: "Don't be ashamed for a moment!" Perhaps the veiling of Śakuntalā serves the dramatical purpose as the king, though admiring the beauty of his consort, does not recognize her, neither the veiled nor the unveiled. In Mālavikāgn., V, Mālavikā is veiled with a silken veil to give her the position equal to that of a consort of the king (*devī*). An explanation of the value of the veil offers the scene in Mṛcchak., IV when Vasantasenā releases Madanikā, giving her the status of a free woman enabling her to enter matrimony with a Brāhmaṇa; her becoming husband Śarvilaka says that the veil by which Madanikā is entitled to be looked at as a free woman, is difficult to obtain. The same role is played by the veil at the end of the drama where the king confers upon Vasantasenā the title *vadhū*, i.e. lady, free woman, and Śarvilaka veils her. While in Mṛcchak., Vasantasenā gets the veil bestowed upon her by the king as an ornament of her ladyship, she possesses a veil already in Act IV (beginning); may be that this veil is used only for going out by a palanquin. Just so in Cārud., IV (ed. 1922, p. 89) the mother of the courtesan asks her by a maid to put on the veil after having done her finery along with the ornaments. On the other hand, in this play Vasantasenā presents her ornaments to Madanikā, she calls her an *āryā*, neither the courtesan nor Sajjalaka mentions the veil. Perhaps there existed veils

71 Woolner-Sarup translate (Thirteen Trivandrum Plays I, 177): "So intimate on all occasions, that tells me something." Perhaps instead of *māṃ sūcayati* should be read: *tvāṃ*.

of different kinds, one for private use, one bestowed upon a woman of lower rank by the king electing her to the status of a free woman, and one belonging to high class women by birth. The scene in Ratnāvalī, III where Vāsavadattā unveils herself, has no deciding value. The *avaguṇṭhana*, worn over the garment, is mentioned in Kādambarī (ed. Peterson), 10, 20; not only the Caṇḍāla girl, the cloth of which may be used to cover her, the woman of good family uses her veil when meeting secretly her lover (Sāhityad. 3, 77 and verse before). On the other hand, within the house or palace women move freely, at least in the presence of the members of their family or well known officials and friends. Vāsavadattā, still a young princess uses an open palanquin when she left with her nurse as there is no offence for a maiden to be seen in public (Prat., III). When Udayana meets her as his wife (Sv., VI), he sends her to the *abhyantara*, the rooms for the queen (Prat., Act II end).

It would exceed the frame of these lines to give a comprehensive picture of the cultural life as offered by the plays. But just such an enquiry could bring some results as for the question of the homogeneous character of the plays. To quote only one instance: in Prat. III the palanquin is carried on shoulders by men; in Cārud. Vasantasenā uses a palanquin on wheels (Act IV); it may be that both kinds existed or that ladies of the court did not use the latter kind of palanquins. The palace, town, the formulas of addressing, law, art, literature and religion, all that needs a careful consideration and comparison with corresponding sources. At least the discussion on the age and authorship of the thirteen plays would be brought in this way on a more objective ground than that on which it took place hitherto.

O. Stein

Printed and Published by J. C. Sarkhel, Esqr.,
at the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XIV **December, 1938** **No. 4**

Widow in Ancient India

Vidhavā or widow is a woman whose husband is dead and who has not married again. It is a very old word which can be traced beyond the Vedic language to Indo-European origin, and exists with little modifications in most of the languages of the Indo-European family. Thus we get in Latin *vidua,* Italian *vedova,* Spanish *viuda,* French *veuve,* old Slavonic *vidova,* Russian *vdova,* old German *wituwa,* Gothic *widuwo,* old English *widewe* and *widuwe,* and Persian *beva.* In Latin the word *viduus* in the masculine means bereft, widowed, and in Greek the corresponding word ἠ'ιθεος, ēitheos, means an unmarried man.

Sanskrit grammarians derive the word *vidhavā* from the base *dhava* meaning a man or a husband. According to their derivation a married woman whose husband is alive is *sadhavā.* Curiously, *sadhavā* is a comparatively new word, which does not occur in the whole Vedic literature. On the other hand, the word *avidhavā* in the sense of a woman not widowed was commonly used in Vedic times. Again, the word *dhava* meaning a husband is not found in the Vedic literature, and its first mention is met with in the *Nirukta;* but even there the meaning given is a man and not a husband, except by implication. In the *Atharvaveda, Dhava* is the name of a tree mentioned together with *Plakṣa, Aśvattha* and *Khadira.* Thus we see that the word *vidhavā* was neither in general use, nor the basic word *dhava* was known, and that instead of using

a positive word like *sadhavā* a double negative form like *avidhavā* was current. Then again, no word similar to the Sanskrit *dhava* in the sense of a man or a husband is met with in any of the European languages.

This naturally awakens a suspicion that the etymological meaning given by Indian grammarians is not correct. Evidently the *vi* of the word *vidhavā* is not a prefix but part of the main root word. It must therefore be derived from a root like Teutonic *wid,* to lack, Latin *videre,* to separate, as in *di-videre,* and Sanskrit *vidh,* to be bereft. When the true derivative meaning was lost in India, the word *dhava* in the sense of a husband came into existence in the Sanskrit language by a wrong splitting-up of the word *vidhavā.* Yāska is the first writer known to make a suggestion like that, though he gives priority to the views of earlier grammarians who derived it otherwise without reference to *dhava.*[1]

The life of a Hindu widow is hard indeed. A widow, according to the current Smṛti works, is "either to mount the funeral pyre with the dead body of her husband, or to lead the life of a brahmacāriṇī till death.—Like a brahmacāriṇi, she must not indulge in the luxuries of betel-chewing, oiling the body and using bell-metal vessels for eating. She must take only one meal a day and never twice, and must not lie on a couch, nor use scents. She should offer daily oblations to her dead husband. She should observe some religious vow (*vrata*) in the months of *Vaiśākha* and *Kārtika,* and always take ceremonial baths, make gifts and recite the name of Viṣṇu." (Raghunandana, *Śuddhitattvam*). "A widow should either enter the fire with the dead body of her husband, or wear herself by asceticism with the hair shorn." (*Yama Saṃhitā,* II. 53).

Such rigid rules for a widow did not exist in the Vedic period. No aversion is expressed anywhere in the *Ṛgveda* to the remarriage

1 विधवनाद्वा । विधावनाद्वेति चर्मशिराः । अपि वा धव इति मनुष्यनाम । तद्वियोगाद्विधवा । (*Nirukta,* III. 15).

of widowed women. Indeed, the custom of a widow marrying the brother of her deceased husband seemed to be common, and hence the word *devara,* literally meaning second husband (*dvitīyo varaḥ*), according to Yāska, came to denote a woman's brother-in-law. When the dead body was going to be burnt, the dead man's brother seized the hand of the widow lying beside and asked her to be his wife.[2] This custom is again referred to in X. 40. 2, where a widow is said "to draw her husband's brother in embrace in bed." The *Atharvaveda* (IX. 5. 27-28) declares that in case of the remarriage of a woman she would rejoin that husband in the next world who had offered the *Pañcaudanam* oblation in this world. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (VI. 6.4.) regards it undesirable for a woman to have two husbands at the same time. This opinion is repeated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 12), which states that "one woman cannot have more than one husband at the same time." This passage, according to even later commentators like Mitramiśra in the *Viramitrodaya, Adhivedana Prakaraṇa,* and Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata,* I. 195.29, indirectly recognises the marriage of a woman a second time after the death of her husband.[3]

Pointed reference to a chaotic state of society in the Vedic period is made in the *Mahābhārata,* Ādiparva, 122, where the sage Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, is said to have for the first time laid down the law of strict womanly chastity. Another story of lax sexual morals is that of Dīrghatamā (Ādiparva, 104), who was the first to prohibit the marriage of widows by decreeing that "a woman must remain faithful to, and dependent upon, one husband only, alive or dead, and must not marry a second time." These stories may be fanciful but they are clearly reminiscent of a period,

2 X. 18. 8. See *infra,* p. 674.

3 *Ait. Br.,* III. 12—तस्मात् एकस्य बहवो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः। Mitramiśra—सहशब्दसामर्थ्यात् क्रमेण पत्यन्तरं भवति इति गम्यते। Nilakaṇṭha—सह इति युगपत् बहुपतित्वनिषेधो विहितो न तु समयभेदेन।

that of the Vedic ṛṣis, when for a woman to marry a second time was not looked upon as unusual. That it was common for a woman to marry her husband's brother after his death is alluded to in the *Mahābhārata,* Śāntiparva, ch. 72, v. 12: "As a woman marries her brother-in-law after the death of her husband, so the brāhmaṇa having failed to protect her, the earth made the kṣatriya her husband." This passage finds repetition in Anuśāsanaparva, ch. 8, v. 22, which proves that the sentiment underlying it was quite familiar in those days.

One of the grounds of objection to the marrying of a widow in modern times is the feeling of repugnance to taking for wife an *anyapūrvā, i.e.* a woman who had been possessed by another person. Thus Yājnavalkya (I. 52) advises a man to marry a woman "that has as yet belonged to no man." Yet in the age of the Epics virginhood was not always regarded as an indispensable factor in choosing a wife. Thus Kṛṣṇa appropriated the pick of the harem of the slain Naraka. Jayadratha wanted to make Draupadi "his wife." Triśaṅku took the wife of a Vidarbha prince killed by him and had by her a son. King Ṛtuparṇa was eager to marry Damayantī at her second *svayaṃvara* knowing her to be the wife of a former husband. Satyavatī was sought in marriage by king Ugrāyudha shortly after the death of her husband Śāntanu (*Harivaṃśa,* XX). Arjuna accepted as wife the widowed daughter of Airāvata, the Nāga king, and had by her a son. It is not surprising that references to remarriage of women are meagre in the Epic literature. The wonder is that after the successive expurgations and revisions in the hands of later orthodox brāhmaṇas so much evidence of this custom has been allowed to survive. In later times it was declared that "in the sacred texts which refer to marriage the *niyoga,* or levirate, is nowhere mentioned, nor is the marriage of widows prescribed in the rules concerning marriage." (Manu, IX. 65). Those who believe this statement as an authoritative pro-

nouncement may be reminded of the fact that the practice of *niyoga* was quite legal and common in the period referred to, and the two, *niyoga* and marriage of widows, being bracketted together by Manu, may lead to the supposition, apart from other evidences, that one was as much in existence as the other, though brāhmaṇical opinion represented by puritan law-makers like Āpastamba and Manu was growing more and more pronounced against them.

At the end of the Vedic period the remarriage of women was getting out of fashion and was spoken disapprovingly of even in the earlier Dharmaśāstras. Thus Āpastamba decrees that "if a man unites with a woman who had been once married before, or belongs to a different caste, they both commit a sin." (II. 6.13.4). The putting of widow-marriage in the same category with inter-caste marriage by Āpastamba shows that it was still in existence at the time, though its total abolition was a thing to be devoutly wished. Manu, too, indirectly recognises such marriage, for according to him a son born of a remarried widow, *paunarbhava,* by a brāhmaṇa father does not cease to be a brāhmaṇa, and is regarded only as much degraded as a brāhmaṇa living by trade (III. 181). Gautama (XXIX. 8) acknowledges its existence by admitting the right of the son of a widow by her second husband to inherit one-fourth of his father's property in the absence of ordinary legitimate heirs. According to Vaśiṣṭha and Viṣṇu, the son of a married widow by her second husband is fourth in order of preference in the matter of inheritance among the twelve kinds of sons, and is regarded as better than an adopted son (XVII. 18; XV. 7).

Vaśiṣṭha, one of the liberal of the law-givers, lays down: "If a damsel has been abducted by force, and not wedded with sacred texts, she may lawfully be given to another man; she is even like a maiden. If a damsel at the death of her husband had been merely wedded by the recitation of sacred texts, and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again (cf. *Baudhāyana,*

IV. 1.17-18). The wife of a person gone abroad shall wait for five years. After five years have passed, she may go to seek a husband. In this manner (after the death of her husband) a wife of the Brāhmaṇa caste who has issue shall wait five years and one who has no issue, four years; a wife of the Kṣatriya caste who has issue, five years, and one who has no issue, three years; a wife of the Vaiśya caste who has issue, four years, and one who has no issue, three years; a wife of the Śūdra caste who has issue, three years, and one who has no issue, one year. But while a member of her family is living, she shall certainly not go to a stranger (for marrying)" (ch. XVII). These rules show that not only widows but unwidowed wives also could take second husbands and that the marriage tie was dissoluble in certain circumstances. Divorce was recognised by law in ancient India, the equivalent expression used in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* being *mokṣa*. Kauṭilya's rules on the subject will be discussed later on.

Cf. *Nārada*, XII "When the husband is lost, or dead, or turned a recluse, or impotent or an outcast, in these five kinds of distress a woman can take a second husband. The Brāhmaṇa wife shall wait for eight years for her husband who is gone abroad; if she has no issue she shall wait for four years, after which period she may marry another. The Kṣatriya woman having issue shall wait for six years, and without issue, for three years. The Vaiśya woman who has issue, four years, and without issue, two years. The Śūdra woman has no rule for waiting. If it be heard that the husband is alive, the waiting period should be twice as long. Such is the order of Prajāpati. So in these circumstances the remarriage of a woman is not an offence." These rules are given also in the *Devala Smṛti* with little change of language.

It is further stated by Nārada that "women have been created for the sake of propagation, woman being the field, and man the giver of the seed. The field must be given to him who has the seed. He who has no seed is not entitled to possess the field," and that "when a woman after the death of her husband rejects her brother-in-law or other kinsmen who have approached her (for marrying), and goes to a stranger through lust, she is a wanton woman." Kātyāyana, too, follows Vaśiṣṭha and Nārada and

decrees that if the bridegroom be of different caste, an outcast, impotent, of vicious occupation, of the same *gotra*, a Dāsa, a constant invalid, the bride even married, should be given to another." (Quoted in *Nirṇayasindhu*).

Thus it is seen that the well known verse

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवे च पतिते पतौ । पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

occurs not only in the law-book of Parāśara (IV. 30) but also in that of Nārada. It is found also in some of the Purāṇas, such as *Garuḍa* 107.28, and *Agni* 154.5. From the rules laid down by Vaśiṣṭha, Nārada and Devala regarding the remarriage of a woman with or without children in the case of a husband gone abroad, it is clear that this verse was not meant only for girls betrothed and not married, as is sought to be explained by more modern commentators. There are reasons to believe that this verse occurred formerly even in the law-book of Manu, as is noticed by Mitramiśra in the *Viramitrodaya, Adhivedana Prakaraṇa*, though it has dropped out from the modern editions. When we see that Manu enjoined a strict life of asceticism for widows and set his face even against the long standing practice of *niyoga* as in ch. V. 157, 160-61, doubts may be expressed if the above-mentioned passage permitting remarriage of women could find place in his book. But such conflicting statements reflecting differences between ideals and practices, or between past and present usages, are met with in many of the law-books, including those of Manu and Parāśara. Thus Parāśara in the verse immediately following the above-mentioned passage states, "that woman, who when the husband is dead, observes the vow of chastity, goes to heaven after death like a brahmacārin. "This is almost similar to the verse 160 in Manu, V. Even the waiting periods for the wives of husbands gone abroad are stated by Manu, as by Vaśiṣṭha and Nārada, though it is not clear what the wives are to do after the expiry of those periods (IX. 76). The commentator Nandanācārya says that the impli-

cation is that they may take second husbands. The explanation is that the law-givers of the period were trying to set up ideals and at the same time had to acknowledge the existing usages. At a later time when the practices of the higher castes became more and more conformed to the ideals, the necessity of recording conflicting statements disappeared and many of the anachronistic passages were expurgated in the course of time.

Later commentators like Hemādri, Raghunandana and Kamalākara forbid entirely the practice of widow-marriage in modern times on the strength of a passage quoted from *Ādi* or *Ādityapurāṇa* which gives a list of practices forbidden in the Kali age. Therein also it is admitted that in ancient times the marriage of widows, like *niyoga* and inter-caste marriage, was prevalent. The supporters of the custom, on the other hand, quote a verse from the *Vyāsa Saṃhitā,* which states that in case of a difference of opinion between Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa, the authority is first of all Śruti and then Smṛti, Purāṇa being the last (I. 4). In this matter Vedic texts supporting the custom must be given first consideration, prohibition in the Smṛtis notwithstanding. Then it is admitted that of the Smṛtis the *Parāśara Saṃhitā* is meant for the people of the Kali age, Manu being of the Satya age, Gautama of Tretā, and Śaṅkha and Likhita of Dvāpara. (Parāśara, I. 23). The text approving of remarriage of women under certain circumstances in the *Parāśara Saṃhitā* cannot therefore be annulled for the Kali age by a different text from any other Smṛti, not to speak of a text from a Purāṇa, nay, an Upapurāṇa. Moreover, as many of the practices banned by the *Ādityapurāṇa* are known to have currency in the present Kali age, e.g., the Aśvamedha sacrifice, life-long brahmacarya, pilgrimage to distant places, ending one's life by burning in fire, acknowledgment of Putrikā-putra, and sea-voyage, why should the prohibition of remarriage of women given so much sanctity? (Vidyāsāgara, *Marriage of Hindu Widows.*)

There are evidences other than those gleaned from the sacred literatures to show that this custom of a second marriage for women under certain circumstances existed in India even among the highest castes about two thousand years ago. Vātsyāyana admits its existence and sums up the attitude of the religious teachers towards this custom when he states that "union with a woman of lower caste and a twice-married woman is neither desirable nor forbidden (*na śiṣṭo na pratiṣiddhaḥ*)"—*Kāmasutra,* I. 5. 3. Kauṭilya, however, lays down elaborate rules stating the various circumstances in which a woman can legally marry a second time at the death or during the life-time of her first husband. "On the death of her husband a woman wishing to lead a virtuous life shall at once receive not only her endowment money and jewellery but also the balance of dowry due to her. If she is desirous of a second marriage she shall be given on the occasion of her marriage whatever her father-in-law or her husband or both had given to her. If a widow marries any man other than that selected by her father-in-law, she shall forfeit whatever had been given to her by her father-in-law and her husband.... If a husband is of bad character, or is long gone abroad, or is guilty of high treason, or is dangerous to his wife, or has become outcast, or has lost virility, he may be abandoned by his wife....If the wife of an absent husband lacks maintenance and is not taken care of by the well-to-do kinsmen of her husband, she may remarry anyone whom she likes and who is in a position to maintain her and save her from misery....Childless wives belonging to Śūdra, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya or Brāhmaṇa caste should wait for a year for their husbands who have gone aboard for a short time. Wives with children should wait in such cases for more than a year. If they are provided with maintenance they should wait for twice the length of that period. If they are not so provided, their kinsmen should maintain them for four or eight years. Then the kinsmen should leave them to marry after taking from

them what had been given to them at the time of marriage.' (*Arthaśāstra,* III 2-4).

Another evidence of the existence of this custom is supplied by references in the *Jātaka* literature. From the *Asātarūpa Jātaka* we learn that a king of Kośala killed the king of Kāśi and made the widowed queen, who was already a mother, his chief queen. A similar story is related in the *Kunāla Jātaka.* According to tradition as preserved in the introduction to the *Candakinnara Jātaka,* many princes were desirous of marrying the wife of Gautama Buddha, who had already a son then, when he renounced his home and became an ascetic. In the *Ucchaṅga Jātaka* a woman prays for the release of her brother, who along with her husband and son has been sentenced to death, saying that of these three she can get a new husband and a new son but never a new brother, whatever she can do.

An interesting instance of the marrying of a widow by her brother-in-law is known from the history of the Imperial Guptas. Candragupta II Vikramāditya, son of Samudragupta, murdered his elder brother Rāmagupta and made the widow Dhruvadevī his chief queen (Altekar, *JBORS.,* 1928, pp. 223-253; 1929, pp. 134-141). "The conduct of Candragupta in marrying her was thus not at all opposed to the law laid down by the Smṛti. If widow marriage and marrying the wife of a dead elder brother had been prohibited by the Dharmaśāstra, he would not have been able to perform the ceremony and, above all, his son Kumāragupta I by that queen would never have been allowed to succeed him to the throne....But when we find, as we do now, that no less a personage than Vikramāditya, who made the Gupta period a Golden Age in the ancient history of India, himself marries a widow who was again the wife of his elder brother killed by himself, it cannot but shock the orthodox susceptibilities of most of us, howsoever we may like to contemplate his learning and the patronage

he gave to Sanskrit literature. (Bhandarkar, 'New Light on the Early Gupta History,' *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 203).

It is stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV 35-42 that king Durlabhaka fell in love with the wife of a rich merchant, and that the latter gave her up so that the king might marry her. The issues of this marriage were Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa, who reigned successively in Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. and under whom the kingdom rose to the zenith of power and prosperity.

From Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* we learn that king Vīradhavala's mother married her deceased sister's husband though her first husband was alive. Vīradhavala lived for some time in the house of his step-father before he became a ruler in Gujarat in the 13th century A.D. His famous ministers were Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla, who were the sons of a twice-married woman by her second husband, and who achieved great fame for their administrative qualities, learning and righteousness.

Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* gives an account of the marriage of Hāmir, king of Mewar, with the widowed daughter of Maldeo, governor of Chitor. Though Hāmir was ignorant of the fact at the time of marriage, it did not prevent the issue Khaitsi from becoming the ruler of the proudest Rajput clan on the death of his father without any difficulty in 1365 A.D.

It may be remarked that the hard ascetic life prescribed for widows by later law-givers had not come into fashion before the time of Manu. There is no such regulation in the whole Vedic literature. One of the earliest Sūtra-writers, Gautama, does not make any mention of it. Baudhāyana and Vaśiṣṭha prescribe a rigid life for widows for a short period only, and that also in the case of those who seek children by *niyoga*. "A widow shall avoid during a year the use of honey, meat, spirituous liquor and salt, and sleep on the ground. Maudgalya declares that she shall do so during six months. After the expiration of that time she may,

with the permission of her Gurus, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son" (Baudh., II. 2. 4. 7-9). "The widow of a deceased person shall sleep on the ground during six months, practising religious vows and abstain from pungent condiments and salt. After the completion of six months she shall bathe..... Then her father.....shall appoint her to raise issue to her deceased husband" (Vaś., XVII. 55-56). Manu is the first law-giver to regard life-long asceticism as a desirable practice for widows. "Let her rather emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died. Till her death she should remain forbearing and restrained, and live the life of a brahmacāriṇī. A virtuous wife, who after the death of her husband remains chaste and established in the life of brahmacarya, goes to heaven, though she may have no son, as do the brahmacārins. A woman who from a desire to have off-spring proves unfaithful to her dead husband earns infamy in this world and loses her place with her husband in heaven" (V. 157-161). Manu thus condemns *niyoga,* though he could not entirely forbid it, as he states in another place, "A woman without a child can raise a son by her brother-in-law or a *Sapiṇḍa,* if duly appointed" (IX. 59). A life of rigid brahmacarya for a widow being constantly praised by the later law-givers after Manu, such as Yājñavalkya (I. 75), Parāśara (IV. 31), Viṣṇu (XXXV. 14), etc., it gradually became in the course of centuries a religious duty for her from which there was no exemption.

An alternative to such a hard life was self-immolation of a widow on the funeral pyre of the dead husband. Many scholars have expressed their disbelief in the existence of this dreadful custom during the Vedic period. There is no direct reference to it in the Vedic literature. The *Gṛhya Sūtras,* which do not leave any important ceremony of domestic life untouched, are singularly silent about it. While minutest details are given about the cremation

ceremony and the purificatory rites consequent upon bereavement, no directions are given as to how Suttee is to be performed, or what is to be done for a woman thus burnt, though such directions are found in profusion in the later law-books. The authors of law-books up to the time of Manu and Yāñavalkya do not refer to it.

There however is one significant passage which indicates that the performance of Suttee was gone through symbolically in the Vedic period. It did not in ordinary cases have a tragic end, like the practice of human sacrifice which though actually performed at one time in some rites had, as we know, by the time of the *Yajurveda,* the *Śatapatha* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas,* become purely emblematic, The *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (IV. 2) states, "After sacrificial grass and a black antelope's skin with the hair outside have been spread out on the pile of fuel they place the dead body thereon.... To the north of the body they place the wife of the deceased.. . Her brother-in-law, being a representative of her husband, or a pupil of her husband, or an aged servant, should cause her to rise from that place with the verse, "Arise, O woman, to the world of living (of the *Ṛgveda*)." There is no mention anywhere, either in the *Ṛgveda* or in the Sūtras, that this verse was addresssed to a pregnant woman not entitled to immolate herself, as is explained by later commentators supporting Suttee. Originally this verse was addressed to the widowed woman only by her brother-in-law, who ordinarily married or cohabited with her. In the course of time when widow-marriage and *niyoga* had become objects of disapproval the recital of the verse became meaningless, and so a substitute for the brother-in-law might formally recite, "Arise, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone; come to the world of living away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who grasps thy hand and woos thee as a lover." (*Ṛgveda,* X. 18. 8.). This verse occurs also in the *Atharvaveda* (XVIII. 3. 2), and the meaning becomes clear if the verse preceding it be studied along with it. "This

woman, choosing her husband's world, lies down by thee that art departed, O mortal, continuing to keep her ancient duty; to her assign thou here progeny and property." (XVIII. 3. 1). The question is whether the woman who is described as lying by the side of the dead body of her husband was actually burnt and made to follow him to the other world. The above two verses indicate that first of all the blessing of the dead man was invoked for progeny (*prajām*) and property to her in this world (*iha*) and then she was led away from the funeral pyre by her wooing (*didhiṣu*) brother-in-law to fulfil the blessing of the departed husband. The supporters of the practice of Suttee, on the other hand, interpret *iha* as *asmin bhūlokē janmāntare* (in this world on being born again), which is no doubt a laboured explanation and is at variance with the meaning of the verse following. It is referred to as *dharmam purāṇam* in this verse, and was followed only to the extent of the widow lying on the pile but not being burnt at the time when these verses were composed.

Later commentators and law-givers quote a verse of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 18. 7), which also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (XII. 2. 31) and *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (VI. 10. 2), as recommending the rite of Suttee (*vide* Raghunandana's *Śuddhitattva*). Some of them seek to read *agneḥ* (of fire) in place of *agre* (first), while others explain *yonim* to mean 'to fire' instead of 'to house'. The verse is as follows:[4] "Let those women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, applying the collyrious butter to their eyes enter; without tears, without disease, and full of ornaments, let these wives first enter the house." The question is to whom the verse was addressed, is it to the recently widowed wives of the dead husband ready to accompany him by entering into fire, or to the assembled young

4 इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु ।
अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहंतु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥

women around ready to go back home from the cremation ground. If it were addressed to the widow, as is done in the verse following,[5] why is the plural number used without any reason? That it is not so is clearly understood from the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra,* IV. 6. 11-12, which states, "The young women belonging to the house should, with each hand separately, with their thumbs and fourth fingers, with young *Darbha* blades, salve their eyes with butter and throw the *Darbha* blades away, turning their faces away. The priest should look at them, while they are salving themselves, with the verse 'Let these women, who are not widowed'."

Yet we may believe that the custom of Suttee, inspite of the general silence of the early Sūtra-writers, persisted among certain sections of the people, especially among the princely class (Zimmer, *Alt. Leb.,* 331). In many savage communities we find the existence of a custom of sacrificing wives and slaves at the time of burial of a dead chieftain with the intention of securing to him the same service and ministration in the other world as he had been used to in this. "We read in Herodotus (V. 5) that amongst the Thracians it was usual, after the death of a man, to find out who had been the most beloved of his wives, and to sacrifice her upon his tomb. Mela (II. 2) gives the same as the general custom of the Getae. Herodotus (IV. 71) asserts a similar fact of the Scythians, and Pausanius (IV. 2) of the Greeks, while our own Teutonic mythology is full of instances of the same feeling" (Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,* p. 48). From the prevalence of this custom among several branches of the Indo-Germanic race in Asia and Europe, it may be presumed that it existed in some form or other among the early Indo-Aryans. With the advancement of civilisation in the time of *Ṛgveda,* it was regarded with dis-

[5] उदीर्ष्व नार्य्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि।
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि सं बभूव॥ (X. 18. 8).

approval, and the Brāhmaṇa sages of the time began to treat it as a symbolical function and to discontinue the actual execution. The practice, however, persisted to a certain extent among the princely class, with whom it was sometimes a necessity in view of the miserable lot to which the wives of a slain chieftain were consigned by the victor. Almost all the cases of Suttee recorded in the Epic and Paurāṇic literature occurred in the families of kings and generals. The *Mahābhārata* mentions two instances of Suttee, one of Mādrī immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband Pāṇḍu and another of the four wives of Vasudeva, including Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa. But so rare was the custom even among the Kṣatriyas that no Suttee took place after the carnage of Kurukṣetra in which over a million combatants are said to have been killed and in which almost all the princely families of India took part. The widowed women of the Kuru family are seen duly performing the *Śrāddha* ceremonies after the cremation of the dead bodies (Strīparva, 27). The fragmentary Greek accounts regarding Suttee leave an impression that it was a peculiar custom with certain military tribes of North-Western India and not a general custom throughout the country in the 4th century B.C. "A peculiar custom is mentioned as existing among the Kathaians—that the husband and wife choose each other, and that the wives burn themselves along with their deceased husbands." (Diodoros XVII. 91). A similar notice of the custom is made in connection with Taxila along with other "strange and unusual customs."

The first sanction of the custom by a Brāhmaṇa law-giver is to be found in the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* which states that the duty of a woman "after the death of her husband is to observe *brahmacarya* or to ascend the funeral pyre with him" (XXV. 14). Similarly the *Bṛhaspatisaṃhitā* decrees, "A wife is considered half the body of her husband, equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she burns herself with him, or chooses to survive him lead-

ing a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband" (XXV. 11). The reasons for Brāhmaṇa legislators gradually giving religious sanction to this horrible custom after the time of Manu and Yājñavalkya are that probably they found it more difficult to prevent moral lapses in widowed women after they had decreed the abolition of widow-marriage and *niyoga*. The introduction of Suttee is only a logical corollary to the total prohibition of widow-marriage and the maintenance of a high standard of womanly chastity. An additional factor was the great havoc and disruption caused by the barbarian invasions led by the Śakas and Hūṇas in the first six centuries of the Christian era. The princely families at least were sometimes compelled to resort to this dreadful practice to save the honour of their womenfolk from the hands of the victorious barbarians. Moreover, it is likely that such a practice was prevalent among the Scythians or Śakas, as has been mentioned before, and that the attempts of the Brāhmaṇa legislators to establish Suttee in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. were helped as much by the circumstances of the time as by the continuance of this practice in the families of those barbaric chiefs who were admitted into the rank of Kṣatriyas.

Yet it must be observed that the legalisation of this custom by Brāhmaṇa writers was not effected without strong protests. The poet Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī* regards it as "utterly fruitless. This is a path followed by the illiterate, is a manifestation of infatuation, a course of ignorance, an act of foolhardiness and shortsightedness, a stumbling through stupidity, that life is put to an end when a parent, brother, friend or husband is dead. Life should not be ended if it does not leave itself. If it be properly considered, this suicide has, indeed, a selfish object because it is intended to obviate the unendurable sorrow of bereavement." Medhātithi writes, 'One shall not die before the span of one's life is run out'[6] and condemns

6 तस्मादु ह न पुरायुषः स्वर्गकामी प्रेयात् ।

Suttee as an act of suicide and not *dharma* (V. 157). It required a good deal of explanation on the part of later commentators to refute the argument of Medhātithi. Thus Mādhavācārya in his commentary on *Parāśarasaṃhitā* states, "The Smṛti text approving of the self-immolation of a widow remains in force, otherwise it has no use. So the Śruti text relating to suicide has indeed application everywhere except in the case of women desirous of accompanying their husbands to heaven." Raghunandana, as has been mentioned before, following *Brahmapurāṇa* misinterprets the Vedic text *imā nāriravidhavāḥ* to support the self-immolation of widows.

Widows are regarded as inauspicious sights whose presence is disliked at any auspicious ceremony like marriage. This sentiment is a very old one which can be traced to Vedic times. The repeated use of the word *avidhavā* in connexion with such ceremonies, as in *Kauṣītakī Gṛhya Sūtra,* I. 11-12, indicates that widows were not welcomed on such occasions. "Four or eight women who are not widowed after having been regaled with wine and food are to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony." The association of wine and dancing with this part of the ceremony probably became disagreeable to the more puritan taste of later writers, and hence we find the substitution of unwidowed twice-born women by Śūdra widows for this function in the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Saṃgraha.*[7] When the bridegroom has arrived at the house of the bride for marriage, "he is to be ushered into the hall by

7 That the drinking of intoxicating liquor was indulged in by Brāhmaṇa women, not to speak of women of the lower *varṇas,* as late as the seventh and eight centuries A.D. in the central region of Āryāvarta, is known from Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantra-vārtika,* I. III. 4, which states, "Among the people of modern days we find the Brāhmaṇa women of the countries of Ahicchatra and Mathurā to be addicted to drinking." The reformer Kumārila condemns this practice in the case of Brāhmaṇas only, but not of Kṣatriya and Vaiśya men and women, if the liquor was distilled from fruits or flowers (Mādhvī), and molasses (Gauḍī) and not from grains (Surā).

young women of good luck who are not widowed" (*avidhavāḥ subhagā yuvatyaḥ*). In Bengal at the present time the young women who take part in the various rites in connexion with the marriage ceremony are called *eyo* and *suyo*, which is nothing but a corruption of the expression *avidhavā subhagā*, and must not include widows, however closely related they may be to the bride or the bridegroom.[8]

N. K. Dutt

8 For a more detailed discussion of the marriage rules and of the causes of ıe progressive deterioration of the position of women in India reference may be de to the writers' *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*.

Saltpetre Industry of India

(*in the 17th Century*)

Speaking of the industrial organisation of India in the seventeenth century, Moreland writes that "production was carried on by artisans without superior capitalist direction," and that the "first lesson" which the foreign merchants had to learn "was the need of provision in advance."[1] These remarks apply well to the saltpetre industry which was in the "artisan system of production." For saltpetre advances of money must be continually made generally, from September to June;[2] and the supplies came dribbling in all the year. Hence a permanent factory for dealing with the artisans and storage and management of details was found necessary by the Hugli factors in 1665 A.D.[3] Saltpetre also was so much in demand[4] in England that there was a standing order from the Company's authorities there for an annual supply.[5] For procuring saltpetre, the Company had its brokers, e.g. Benidas in Bijapur, Venkata Brahman in Golkonda, Gurudas in Surat, and others.

The *Bohras* or peasant cultivators of Gujrat were famous for its production and refining.[6] The *Banjaras* or itinerant dealers occasionally used to bring it to Ahmedabad from the interior. In 1656 the Surat authorities inquired from Anthony Smith at Ahmedabad about the possibility of getting saltpetre from the *Banjaras*. But owing to adverse administrative influences, like the oppressions of the local Diwan and the officers of Murad Bakhsh, the *Banjaras* gave up the trade and stopped bringing saltpetre to

1 Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, pp. 184-85.
2 Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1668-69, p. 303.
3 *Ibid.*, 1665-67, pp. 138-40; 1668-69, p. 146.
4 I have explained the reasons of this demand in *JBORS.*, 1937, pt. III.
5 *FEF.*, 1665-67, pp. 173-74.
6 *JBORS.*, *op. cit.*

Ahmedabad. So Anthony Smith held out to Surat no hope of procuring it either then or in future (22 October, 1656).[7]

Saltpetre was a state monopoly, of which a reference is to be found in the letter of the Surat factors dated March 15, 1636, which says: "Saltpetre is a prohibited commodity, and hath allwaies in all places paid some acknowledgment to the Governor of the place where it was bought."[8] Again, from the letter of the Ahmedabad factors, dated December 7, 1646 we know that the seller had to pay to the king a duty of 1½%.[9] A new light is thrown on the nature of this monopoly by a vaguely-worded imperial *farman*, referred to in English factory correspondence dated about the middle of December, 1646, that the English could take no more than what was necessary for their "occasions", and "none for their merchandise."[10] Owing to the existence of such a monopoly, the Surat factors were not very hopeful about the prospects of a supply of saltpetre. They wrote to the Company (October 20, 1655) that the king who had "made it his own commodity," had "10,000 double maunds of saltpetre, once refined, very full of salt," costing (it was reported) 6⅞ rupees a md., lying ready at Ahmedabad, and that, so long as any of this quantity was unsold, the English would not be allowed to purchase any saltpetre 'in this kingdome,' or to procure the stipulated amounts from the saltpetre manufacturers.[11] Towards the end of 1655, Anthony Smith at Ahmedabad suffered much trouble in the hands of the 'petulant' Diwan, Rymutt Ckawne (Rahamat Khan) who was "almost mad" as he could not enforce the monopoly by compelling the English or the Dutch to take the king's saltpetre.[12]

State control was exercised in three ways;—(a) claim of purvey-

7 *FEF.*, 1655-60, pp. 75-76, 162-63. 8 *FEF.*, 1634-36, p. 182.

9 *Ibid.*, 1646-50. pp. 57-59. Dealers in indigo and gumlac had also to pay duty at the same rate.

10 *Ibid.*, 63, 78-79. 11 *Ibid.*, 1655-60, p. 15. 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

ance or pre-emption, as shown in control of production, refinement and purchase of saltpetre, either for military or non-military purposes, (b) control of unlicensed purchase and transport, (c) occasional revocation of provincial government's orders.

The Government claim of purveyance or pre-emption in saltpetre is clearly referred to in the letter of the Surat factors to the Company, dated January 1, 1666: "Tis noe currant commodity, nor requir'd by any except this king for his particular occasions, forcing what he hath to be purposely provided; for which, although he pay as much as we, yet the payment is not soe good. Besides it is prohibited to all others to buy any and may lawfully be surpriz'd as the King's commodity, whenever the King's ministers are inclin'd to trouble them, which they are not backward to doe till they have forced them to compound, making their advantages upon them."[13] No reasonable objection could be taken to the government claim of monopoly for its military needs. Thus in 1629 Shahjahan forbade saltpetre to be bought at Agra till he had been supplied with 10,000 mds. of powder ordered to be made there.[14] Similarly, the necessities of the N. W. Frontier and Central Asiatic wars (1647-48) led him to strictly inhibit the export of saltpetre and his officers prohibited "boyling for any but the King's *cirkar* ('*sarkar*', government).[15] But as a result of it the producers were extremely troubled and the Agra factors feared (1647) that they would not be able to procure more than 1,200 mds. of saltpetre.[16]

This sort of control was exercised not only by the emperor, but also by the provincial governors for their own wars. In February 1656, the English factors at Agra feared that, owing to military needs during the Mughal invasion of Golkonda, prince Aurangzeb

13 *FEF.*, 1665-57, pp. 28. 14 *Ibid.*, 1624-29, p. 335.

15 Yule & Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, pp. 637-38. This refers to refining for government purposes. 16 *FEF.*, 1646-50, pp. 121-22, 203.

might capture saltpetre caravans going via Burhanpur,[17] and further apprehended that the amount collected so far should be detained neither at the place of manufacture nor at Agra, but removed to Ibrahimabad near Biana, lest the imperial officers might seize it for "theire masters occasions, as they have heretofore done."[18] Towards the end of 1657, we read of Murad Bakhsh forcibly seizing from the English the saltpetre, "provided by particular persons" at Ahmedabad, probably for his military preparations for the War of Succession. Hence the English factors at Surat thought it "unsafe to count upon procuring any goods from Ahmedabad in time for despatch by the next fleet."[19] In the beginning of 1660, there is a reference in the letter of the Company to the Madras Agent and Council to Shah Shuja's capturing saltpetre for his own use.[20]

Government control was exercised also for non-military purposes. In 1646 Aurangzeb, the then Governor of Gujrat, probably under the influence of *ulemas* or theologians, prohibited the sale of saltpetre to the English, lest gunpowder made from Indian saltpetre be used against a Moslem power. The factors at Swally Marine wrote on March 30, 1646,—"the Prince (very superstitious) possessed by some of his churchmen that it is not lawful for him, to suffer us to export that specie which peradventure may be employed against Moores, he hath strictly inhibited its delivery unto us, notwithstanding it is more than the moiety paid for."[21] This was regarded as a somewhat unusual and 'unexpected impediment' by the English factors. But as Moreland has aptly pointed out, "Christians of the period could have little right to object to his action in view of the fact that not very long before the Portuguese supply of horses to Bijapur had been challenged by ecclesiastics at Rome on precisely similar

17 *FEF.*, 1655-60, pp. 63-64; Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, p. 34.
18 *Ibid.*, 16-55-60, *op. cit.*
19 *Ibid.*, 120-21; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vols. I & II. 20 *FEF.*, *op. cit.*, 397.
21 *Ibid.*, 1646-50, p. 34; Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 122.

grounds."[22] Moreover, it was nothing but a temporary obstruction, as it disappeared with Aurangzeb's transfer. Again, in 1689 at the request of the Sunni Sultan of Turkey, Aurangzeb forbade the sale of saltpetre to Christians, as it was often used against 'good Muhammadans'; and the English lost for a while their saltpetre trade at Patna.[23]

Unlicensed purchase and transport of saltpetre by the English or the Dutch were also forbidden by the Mughal State. In March 1628 the Agra factors wrote to Surat that both they and the Dutch had troubles with the king "for buying and transporting saltpetre without his authority;" that two English factors, Gregory Clement and John Bangham, were imprisoned for a day and a night in the Agra castle; and that after making enquiries the emperor gave license.[24] In 1646 also the caravan carts of the English Company were detained.[25] In 1654 Shahjahan's Diwan prohibited buying and transporting saltpetre from Ahmedabad.[26] In December 1655 the permission to send away the caravan of goods from Ahmedabad and Agra was secured from the Diwan Rahamat Khan.[27]

The royal fiat could at any time override local governor's permission to trade in saltpetre. In 1654, Murad Bakhsh as governor of Ahmedabad had permitted the English to buy as much saltpetre as they wanted. But when part of it was received and being refined, the king's Diwan sent an order prohibiting them from buying or transporting any saltpetre from Gujrat, and the embargo could not be removed.[28]

The Mughal government occasionally farmed out the saltpetre manufacture to particular persons, as for example, Mir Musa got such a farm in Gujrat (1646). But the farmer had no right to grant *dastaks* or license.

22 Moreland, *op. cit.* 23 Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, p. 162.
24 *FEF.*, 1624-29, p. 270; p. xxx. 25 *Ibid.*, 1646-50, pp. 57-59.
26 *Ibid.*, 1651-54, pp. 299-300. 27 *Ibid.*, 1655-60, pp. 17-18.
28 *Ibid.*, 1651-54, pp. 299-300.

Besides seizing saltpetre for local military needs, the provincial governors and Diwans also endeavoured to establish their own monopolies in this article. During 1660-61, the Diwan of Patna, Mirza Lutfullah Beg, attempted to monopolise the sale of saltpetre for the benefit of the imperial revenues. He forced the dealers, inspite of their contracts with the Dutch, to deliver their saltpetre to him. The Dutch, whose Director Matheus Van den Broek at Hugli complained to Mir Jumla and to the English, alleged that these actions were secretly instigated by the English factor at Patna, Chamberlain, and his broker, Ganga Ram, who had promised to purchase saltpetre from the Diwan. The Agent of the English, Trevisa, disclaimed these allegations and agreed with the Dutch Director not to deal with the Diwan and not to purchase saltpetre except as before, directly from the dealers. Moreover as Mir Jumla sent a *parwana* to Lutfullah, forbidding him to hinder the Dutch, who had assisted the Governor in his operations against Bahadur Khan of Hijili, from trading freely in saltpetre, it was expected that the Anglo-Dutch dispute would be settled. But afterwards, Chamberlain was accused of trying to buy saltpetre from the Diwan (who had scraped together about 10,000 mds. of poor quality), secretly in violation of Trevisa's agreement.[29]

Shaista Khan, as governor of Bengal (since December 1663), also tried to monopolise the entire saltpetre trade in his own hands and then to sell it to the English and the Dutch 'at his own rates', as he knew that their ships could not "go from the Bay empty". In 1664, his *darogha* or agent came to Patna with a commission to buy 20,000 mds. of saltpetre, and orders to prohibit the Dutch and the English from advancing any money to the manufacturers. He prevented the English from weighing and receiving the stipulated saltpetre from them, and put his 'seal on the several places of produc-

29 Batavia Dagh Register, 1661 (Letters, 29 January and 10 October) in *FEF.*, 1661-65, pp. 69-71.

tion'. So great was the oppression of the *daroghas* on the manufacturers and merchants that they used to run away daily, (without fulfilling their contracts to the English Company) and so the English factors held that the Nawab would not be able to procure more than four to five thousand maunds that year. On the other hand, Shaista Khan demanded of the English 20,000 mds. on the pretence of "buying for the king" and of "carrying on the king's wars" (i.e. Arakan wars).

The nature of his monopoly can be realised from the letter of Blake, at Hugli, to Surat (21 June, 1664). ".....Upon our late complaints, in reply (he) tells us positively that he will not suffer us to weigh, buy or to bring downe any petre, unless we give him a writing enjagin (g) ourselves not to sell *any* goods or silver that our ships may bring into this countrey unto any person but to him, and the price must be what his agents thinke or make; and then doth not say we shall have liberty to buy that commodity as formerly, but that he will furnish us with it. The stop of said trade hath been neere two months, being the only time to get in petre.....If your worship doth not procure a remedy for these abuses from the King, the trade of these parts will be quite lost. The Nabob is a person most addicted to covetiousnesse, and it is verrily beleeved that he will engross all goods in which he conceives a benefitt may be had(he) demands English and Dutch men to serve him in said warrs, and doth expect to be furnished. So dishonnerable and covetious a person never came into the parts for a governor."[30]

Monopolies of saltpetre existed also in the Golkonda and Bijapur states. Thus the Golkonda state sought to control the production and trade of saltpetre for military purposes. The letters of the Masulipatam factors to Bengal dated July 16, 1666 and September 3, 1666 noted that owing to Aurangzeb's wars with the Golkonda

30 *FEF.*, 1661-65, pp. 394-97; 1665-67, pp. 134, 257.

king, the latter had monopolised all available saltpetre from the producers, including a large part of what the English factors had contracted for over two years and already secured. Besides, fresh sales to others were also stopped.[31] Similarly the king of Bijapur claimed a monopoly of saltpetre there and he farmed it out to any contractor who offered a large sum.[32]

The result of the government control on the organisation of the saltpetre industry, as excercised in 1665-66, was as follows: — (i) The manufacturers did not keep any saltpetre in stock beforehand, and hence it took some time before raw saltpetre could be produced and refined. (ii) The manufacturers did not contract with the English factors except on such terms as would cover their expenses. (iii) The English factors had to suffer troubles to clear the saltpetre from the king's ministers. (iv) There was a corresponding rise in price of saltpetre.

The Surat authorities wrote to the Company on January 1, 1666, "...You may not expect any from hence but what will cost you deare, especially the first yeare, untill all things be settled; whereas afterward you may have it more reasonable, provided you yearly enorder a quantity to be sent from these parts. Otherwise 'twere better you lay downe the thoughts of it and thinks of something else for the kintlage of your ships."[33]

But the monopoly was at times evaded in actual working. The producers and purchasers, who suffered on account of it, naturally tried to get rid of its rigours; and the state officers also were sometimes seduced by the lure of private gain. Thus in March 1628, with a 'little judicious bribery' and present to the royal minion the English factors were released from prison, and were licensed to purchase an additional quantity of 2000 mds. of saltpetre and their

31 *FEF.*, 1665-67, pp. 245, 247. Possibly this might be a Mughal reply to Golkonda's help to Bijapur in 1665-66.

32 *Ibid.*, 1651-54, p. 36; 1655-60, p. 375n.

33 *FEF.*, 1665-67, p. 28.

caravan was allowed to proceed.[34] Similarly in 1647, the Agra factors hoped to procure saltpetre (in spite of monopoly) easily by "corrupting with small bribes," "were the time for the yeare fitt for their action.[35] In 1648 also the Swally Marine factors hoped to supply 300 or 400 bales of saltpetre "by the meanes of friends."[36] In 1655, inspite of the imperial monopoly in Ahmedabad, Jesson promised to send some quantity from Agra, while the Surat factors hoped to smuggle away a small amount with the indigo.[37] In 1666, inspite of government monopoly in Golkonda, the English factors were sanguine of suddenly clearing their amount which had been seized by the government.[38] But so long as that was not done, and the required amount of about 200 tons not secured, the Masulipatam factors requested the Bengal factors to send them 100 tons or more, 'under cullour (colour) of some Moore, with all the secrecy imaginable.'[39] Occasional evasion of authority, was, however at best, only a negative and immediate remedy. A positive and a more permanent remedy was felt necessary and in Golkonda the factors of the English Company tried to acquire a monopoly of saltpetre trade; while in Bijapur, they tried to secure a partial exemption from customs on any saltpetre they might buy in future.

As the Bengal factors did not send down any saltpetre to Masulipatam, and as that provided locally had been seized for the use of the Golkonda state, the Company's Masulipatam factors were in a sad predicament (January 7, 1667). Their difficulties were increased by the evil of the farming system in Golkonda, and the consequent impediments to internal trade. They had already de-

34 *FEF.*, 1624-29; xxx. Foster suggests that the royal minion was Reza Bauder. Possibly he was Radia Bahador who murdered Shahjahan's rivals. *Ibid.*, 240n.

35 *Ibid.*, 1646-50, pp. 121-22.

36 *Ibid.*, 203.

37 *Ibid.*, 1655-60, p. 15.

38 *Ibid.*, 1665-67, pp. 245, 247.

39 *Ibid.*, 1665-67, pp. 245, 247. This is an early example of clandestine trade which became so rampant in Bengal in the mid-18th century.

puted a man named Niclaes to Golkonda for two objects: (i) first, to secure the release of the captured saltpetre, in which he had been by then partially successful, and (ii) second, to get a *farman* from the king of Golkonda, giving the English a monopoly of the trade in saltpetre. This seems to be the first attempt of the E. I. Company to establish a monopoly in saltpetre. The terms of Golkonda officials were as follows: (a) that the English should pay 500 *pagodas* (or Rs. 1750) and deliver to Golkonda State 500 *candies* (or 10,000 mds.) of saltpetre within two months.[40] This quantity was due to the Golkonda king from some merchants from whom the English could realise whatever possible.[41] (b) That the English should supply the king with 500 *candies* (10,000 mds.) each year, on payment of the cost. The Masulipatam factors, while regarding these as 'hard termes', considered that they would soon compensate the outlay involved, for they expected to get saltpetre 20% cheaper than before and to procure it freely in future.[42] But the E. I. Company's authorities in England considered (January 24, 1668) these negotiations with the Golkonda government for monopoly of saltpetre "to be unwise" and expressed the hope to the Fort St. George authorities that they had been abandoned.[43]

In Bijapur the English E. I. Company's factors attempted to procure the remission of the duty on any saltpetre the English might buy in future, by selling to the Bijapur authorities the Company's 'granadoes', mortars and shells during Shivaji's invasion of Bijapur (1660). Already the Rajapur factors had suggested to the Company towards the end of 1659, that they could lower the price of saltpetre if there was a remission of customs.[44] When during his invasion

40 *FEF.*, pp. 249, 253-55, 319-20. A *pagoda* is a South Indian coin generally gold equivalent to Rs. 3½., and the *candy* is a South Indian weight roughly equal to 500 lbs. or 20 mds. Hobson-Jobson, pp. 498-502, 119.

41 *Ibid.*, 1665-67, p. 255n. 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 253-55. 43 *Ibid.*, 1668-69, p. 129.

44 *FEF.*, 1665-60. pp. 240-41.

of Bijapur, Shivaji was compelled to retire to Panāla (March 2, 1660), Revington, the Rajapur factor, quickly seized the opportunity of offering to sell his mortars and shells to the Abyssinian Commander of the Bijapur forces, Siddi Johar (Salabat Khan) for the reduction of the fortress. As the latter gave a favourable reply, Revington started on April 2, 1660 for his camp with one of the mortars and a quantity of shells.[15] Moreover, on March 19, 1660 the Rajapur factors informed the Surat authorities that they could sell the Company's 'granadoes' to Rustam Zaman, governor of Rajapur, at a 'great profit'—not in cash, but by deduction of the price from customs of Rajapur as the governor himself suggested.[16] It was rumoured that the king of Bijapur (Ali Adil Shah II) was much displeased with the English for this action and intended "to remove the English from all ports and entertain the Dutch," and some clothes and articles were despatched to the latter at Vengurla. But the Rajapur factors did not believe that this would actually come to pass (April 5).[17]

This incident throws a lurid light on the political weakness of the Bijapur government. It suggests that the king realised that the action of the English factors was not in the best interests of the state but that, at the same time, he had to agree to barter away a portion of the state's legitimate revenue for immediate military gains, and so could not afford to adopt a strong attitude against the English.

By a letter dated April 23, 1660, the Rajapur factors agreed with Revington's suggestions about the sale of 'granadoes' in return for remission of customs, on condition that the bargain or agreement was "made authentic" by the Dowager-Queen's sanction, which would be necessary for the effective maintenance of right of the English, in the event of (i) any change of government in Bijapur, (ii) in case any enemies of the general Siddi Johar should in future

45 *FEF.*, p. 370; Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, 200. 46 *Ibid., op cit.*, 366.
47 *Ibid.*, 371.

maliciously allege that he had "abused his trust with those blanks the Queen had given him her *chop* (chhap, seal) to." or (iii) also in case Shivaji became master of Bijapur, and might plead the same, (though the latter held it to be unreasonable). Commenting on this transaction, the Rajapur factors significantly remarked: ".....The putting off so dull a comodity here at present upon soe good termes will doubtless prove a very acceptable peece of service to our honourable imployers." Great were the material gains of the English. If the factors had sold the shells and mortars for ready money, they would have got 35000 *pagodas* or Rs. 12,250. But since the E. I. Company required 2,000 *candies* a year or 40,000 mds. it would have to pay customs at the rate of 1¾ *pagoda* per *candy* (or Rs. 49/8 for 20 mds.) i.e. Rs. 12,250. So the advantage of the transaction would be over in one year. But the method of sale, as suggested here would mean no additional strain on the Bijapur treasury and so financially welcome to that government; while to the English it meant a source of great financial gain. The price of the mortars and shells was perpetual remission of half the customs, i.e. Rs. 6,125 (@ ⅞ *pagoda* per *candy* Rs. 4 9/16 per 20 mds. So in two years the price could be met and the Company would thereby save Rs. 6,125 in customs every year after the first two years.[18]

After his escape from Panāla, Shivaji plundered Rajapur, and confined the English factors in the beginning of 1661, on the charge of having assisted Siddi Johar with mortars and shells against himself. The English factors proposed to open negotiations with Shivaji, one of the clauses of which was that the English should be allowed to buy saltpetre freely.[19]

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

48 *FEF.*, 1655-60, p. 375.

49 *Ibid.*, 1661-64, pp. 4-7. The above details show how the foreign companies secured or attempted to secure political and economic advantages by participating in political affairs in different parts of India.

Post-Vyāsarāya Commentators

34. *Kambālu Rāmacandra Tīrtha*
(*c.*—1627-30)

Rāmacandra Tīrtha was a distinguished Pontiff of the Vyāsarāya Maṭha (of Sosale) and the fifth in succession from Vyāsarāya. He is said to have belonged to the Kambālu group of Karṇāṭaka Brahmins and is therefore known as Kambālu Rāmacandra Tīrtha. His ancestors are said to have come from the village of Kāvilippālayam in the Satyamaṅgalam taluq of the Coimbatore district. His father's name is given as Kuppācār and that of his grandfather as Muṣṭiparimita-Svarṇamālālaṃkṛta Venkaṭanarasiṃhācārya. He was the eldest son of his father, and the descendants of his younger brother Rāmacandrācārya[1] are still living.

DATE

(1) Rāmacandra Tīrtha tells us in one of the introductory stanzas to his commentary on the *NS.*, that he was a student of Vijayīndra Tīrtha (1539-95).—

पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञान् मौशीत्याद्यु पशोभितान् ।
विजयीन्द्रयतीन्द्राख्यान् सेवे विद्यागुरून्मम ॥

Assuming that he was about thirty years old at the time of his teacher's demise, we may fix 1565 or thereabout as the probable date of his birth. (2) In 1627 (Śaka 1549) he received a copperplate grant from Immaḍi Kempayya Gauḍa[2]. (3) Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha (1619-31)

1 He too is said to have become a Sannyāsin and succeeded his brother as Pontiff of the Vyāsarāya Mutt. He was presumably the same as Lakṣmivallabha Tirtha. For my information re. the ancestry of Rāmacandra Tirtha, I am indebted to K. Vyāsācār, Annamalai University (1934-8) and a descendant of Rāmacandra Tirtha's family.

2 *Ep. Car.*, Suppl. iii-iv.

of the Uttarādi Mutt, has a passage in his commentary on the *NS*[3] critising the interpretation adopted by Rāmacandra[4] for a certain passage in the original. These three facts enable us to place Rāmacandra between *c.* 1570-1630 and treat him as a close contemporary of Vidyādhīśa.

The successors of Vyāsarāya seem to have followed closely, the fortunes of the Vijayanagara empire. Rāmacandra Tirtha lies buried along with his Guru Śrīpati Tirtha, at Vellore, which was the capital of Rāma (deva) II (1616-30).

The outstanding event in the pontifical life of Rāmacandra is said to have been the (mass-) conversion to Mādhvaism of a number of Karṇāṭaka Brahmin families of his own native district.[5] This conversion is said to have taken place at Pennāttūr at some distance from Vellore, where Rāmacandra was then staying for his *Cāturmāsya*. The converts who seem to have adopted the name of the village at which they were converted, for their group-name, still flourish in the Coimbatore district.

WORKS

Rāmacandra's works include (1) a lucid and instructive commentary on the *Nyāyasudhā* (published at Dharwar) and (2) a gloss on the *Ṛg Bhāsya-ṭikā* of Jaya-tirtha, the first two chapters of which are preserved in MS. in the Mys. O. L. (B 122 and B 127). Of the other works of this author, may be mentioned (3) a commentary on the *Aitareya Bhāṣya*[6] and another on the *Tattvaviveka-ṭikā*.[7]

The gloss on the *Ṛg Bhāṣya-Ṭikā* is full of grammatical disquisitions (see p. 108) and passages are quoted from the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, *Uṇādi Sūtras* (p. 300), *Kavikalpadruma* (p.

3 Vide his *Vākyārtha Candrikā*, p. 268b (Dharwar).

4 Cf. *Sudhā-Ṭippaṇi* of Rāmacandra, p. 79 (Dharwar).

5 The conversion, it is said, was the outcome of a series of disputations at which the leading Pandits of the district engaged Rāmacandra Tirtha.

6 M. M. Saṅgha List.

7 Called *Tātparyadīpikā*. MS. Pejawar Mutt, 295 Tulu, Palm leaf.

335) and the *NS* of Jayatīrtha. The total number of granthas is 4000. In this as well as in his comy. on the *NS*[8] the author describes his Guru: Śrīpati Tīrtha as "the grandson (spiritual) of Vyāsarāya". This is somewhat curious as Śrīpati, according to the tables of the Vyāsarāya Mutt, is the fourth in succession from Vyāsarāya. But *his* teacher: Lakṣmikānta Tīrtha is believed to have been a student of Vyāsarāya, in which case the use of the term "पौत्र" may be justified.

The commentary on the *NS* too, is a learned work and it has been quoted and criticised, as already pointed out, by Vidyādhīśa. One of Rāmacandra's pupils: Vātivāla Narasiṃha son of Upendra Bhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on the *Tattvaprakāśikā* of Jayatīrtha, of which a fragment is preserved in the Madras O. L. (T. C. ii, 1a. R. No. 866).

35. *Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha* (1619-31).

The most celebrated pontiff of the Uttarādi Mutt, after Raghūttama Tīrtha, was his grand-disciple Vidyādhīśa. The Mutt lists place his pontifical rule between 1619-31. This is supported by such evidences as could be gathered from his own works as well as from external sources:—

(1) He criticises Appayya Dīkṣita[10] and Vijayīndra Tīrtha[11] in his commentary on the *NS*. He is therefore much later than those two writers.

(2) His criticism extends also to Vijayīndra's pupil Rāmacandra Tīrtha,[12] who, as we have seen, figures in an inscription of 1627, and was evidently a close contemporary of Vidyādhīśa.

8 As well as in the colophons to his works.

9 इति श्रीमत्सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्रीमद्वृषासतीर्थमुनिवर्यपौत्रश्रीपतिपूज्यपादानां शिष्येण रामचन्द्रभिक्षुणा विरचितायां.....(colophon to the com. on NS.)

10 *Vākyārtha Candrikā*, p. 236 (Cf. *Madhvamata-vidhvaṃsana*).

11 *Ibid.*, where Vidyādhīśa rejects the particular defence of the position of Madhva attempted by Vijayīndra, in his *Madhvādhvakaṇṭakoddhāra*, as roundabout.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 263 b.

(3) That this must have been so, is clear from the evidence furnished by Koṇḍubhaṭṭa, who in his *Bhūṣaṇasāra*, claims that his father Rangoji Bhaṭṭa defeated Vidyādhiśa in a debate which took place at the court of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keḷadi (1582-1629)[13] and obtained from the ruler, the honour of the present of a palankeen, in token of his victory[14]:—

विद्याधीशवडेरुमंज्ञकयति[15] श्रीमाध्वभट्टारकं
जित्वा केलदि[16]वेङ्कटप्प्य[17]सविधेऽप्यान्दोलिकां प्राप्तवान् ।
यश्चक्रे मुनिवर्यसूत्रविवृतिं सिद्धान्तभङ्गं तथा
माध्वानां तमहं गुरूपमगुरुं रङ्गोजिभट्टं भजे ॥

Raṅgojibhaṭṭa was the brother of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita[18] who composed one of his works in 1635, and who was consistently opposed by the famous Ālaṃkārika Jagannātha Paṇḍita, a protégé of Dārā Shukoh who was in power between 1637-59. It may therefore be conveniently assumed that Vidyādhiśa's encounter with Rangoji took place about the year 1625 when he was about forty and his opponent

13 *Ep. Car.*, vii, p. 43 (1902).

14 Vidyādhiśa's partisans (*S.K.*, 1896, p. 36) on the other hand, claim the victory for their side. There can be little doubt however that there was a meeting. The subject of the disputation my have been either Grammar or Vedānta. Vidyādhiśa was a profound scholar in Vyākaraṇa and Rangoji has left a work on Advaita Vedānta, entitled *Advaitacintāmaṇi* (S. S. Bhavan Texts). The *S.K.*, further adds that the meeting took place at Veṇupura (Bidrūr or Bednūr) in the Keḷadi territory.

15 As in Tanjore Ms. (T.P.L., X. 5837). The printed text in Benares Skt. Ser. 1900, p. 325, misreads. मति for यति. The *India Office Cat.*, pt. ii, p. 188(No. 708) reads पति ।

16 This is also misread in the printed texts as केवल। The Tanjore Ms. has 'केलति' for the correct केलदि ।

17 I. O. Cat. has more precisely: केलदिवेङ्कटप्प (no. 708).

18 भट्टोजिदीक्षितमहं पितृव्यं नौमि सिद्धये (*Koṇḍubhaṭṭa, Bhūṣaṇasāra*) Bhaṭṭoji can be placed between 1600-50. *Indian Culture*, Jan. 1938, pp. 321-322 gives Bhaṭṭoji's date as 1575-1650 and Aufrecht (*Cat. Catal.*, p. 395) points out that Bhaṭṭoji is quoted by Vatsarāja who wrote in 1641 A.D. There can be no truth in the tradition which makes him a contemporary and disciple of Appayya.

some years younger. The Mutt list may therefore be accepted as correct in placing Vidyādhiśa's pontifical rule between 1619-31.

LIFE

According to the *S.K.*, Vidyādhiśa belonged to the Pāṇḍurangi family and bore the name of Narasiṃhācārya. His father's name is given as Ānandabhaṭṭāraka[19] (*S.K.*, 1896, p. 81). He had two brothers, of whom the elder was Śrīnivāsa and the younger Keśavācārya, (pp. 81, 96 *S.K.*). He was probably a native of Pandharpur and a contemporary of the celebated Rāghavendra Svāmin whose commentary on the *NS.* (*Parimaḷa*) was highly commended by him. But no reference to the *Parimaḷa* is to be found in Vidyādhiśa's own commentary on the *NS.* He professes very great respect for Vyāsarāya and quotes often from his *Candrikā*[20] and *Nym.* He seems to have taught many disciples, the most prominent of whom[21] was Keśavācārya, who completed his master's commentary on the *NS.*

The one outstanding event in Vidyādhiśa's regime was the mass-conversion[22] of the Hindi-speaknig Brahmins of Gayā (Gayāpālas or Gayā-wālas) from the faith of Śaṅkara, to that of Madhva.[23] The Gayāpālas have ever since remained staunch followers of Madhva, owing allegiance to the Uttarādi Mutt.

19 Presumably the same as wrote the *Nym-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* now published in the Calcutta Skt. Ser. IX. See ante under Rāmācārya.

20 The *Candrikā* is declared to have been his *forté* by Keśava:—

विद्याधीशं चन्द्रिकाब्धिविक्रीडनविशारदम् ।
विद्यागुरुं कुलगुरुं नौमि तं मे जगद्गुरुम् ॥

(*Candrikā Prakāśa*, introd. verse 7).

21 Timmaṇṇācārya (Tanjore O.L. XIV, no. 7352) author of *Candrikodāhṛta-nyāyavivaraṇam* was another. A third one was Narasiṃha Yati who wrote Khaṇḍārthas on the *Ait. Ā.* (ii-iii) (T.P.L. III, 1590); *Taitt. Up.* (T.P.L. 1591) and *Muṇḍaka* (T.P.L. III. 1673).

22 Like the other one in S. India at the time of Rāmacandra Tirtha.

23 *Satkathā*, 1896, p. 36.

The *Vidyādhīśa-vijaya*[24] of Janārdana Sūri professes to describe in detail the life and exploits of the teacher. The author claims to have been a contemporary of Vidyādhīśa's successor Vidyānidhi Tirtha (1631-5). It is however very unreliable and does not appear to have been a contemporary work as it makes Vidyādhīśa meet and vanquish in a debate Vādindra Tirtha (1728-43) of the Rāghavendra Svāmi Mutt.[25]

WORKS

Some ten works are attributed to Vidyādhīśa the most important of which is his gloss on the first five adhikaraṇas of the *NS.* (2) His commentary on the *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa-ṭīkā* of Jayatīrtha, in 32 granthas, has been published from Dharwar.[26] His commentaries on (3) the *VTN-ṭīkā*,[27] and (4) the *KL-ṭīkā*[28] and (5) the *Taḷavakāra bhāsya*,[29] are yet to be attested by Mss. The same is the case with his (6) *Dvitvavādārtha* (a tract devoted evidently to a discussion of the concept of duality). His other minor works are (7) the *Janmāṣṭamī-nirṇaya* and (8) *Viṣṇupañcaka(vrata)-nirṇaya*. His (9)*Tithi-trayanirṇaya* is noticed in Bhandarkar's Rep. 1882. In *Madras T.C.* II. pt. i, b. no. 1432, in *Oṃkāravādārtha*[30] is attributed to him.

Vidyādhīśa's commentary on the NS. is a critical and scholarly exposition of the original. The way in which the author has accomplished his task, makes one wish that he had completed his labour of love. It was however left to his disciple Keśavācārya to do so, in a manner worthy of his Guru. Vidyādhīśa quotes from

24 Poona, 1926.

25 वादीन्द्रनामयतिरेष दुराग्रहेण
तं जातु कश्चन जगद्गुरुसार्वभौमम् ।
वादे जितः.....(VI, 47-48). Vide his own commentary: वादीन्द्रनामा यतिः सुधीन्द्रतीर्थमठीयो वैष्णवयतिः (p. 66).

26 Karnataka Press, Dharwar.

27 *S.K.*, p. 55.

28 M. M. Saṅgha List.

29 G. V. L. Cat.

30 Similar to the *Praṇava-darpaṇa-khaṇḍana* of Vijayīndra Tirtha.

the *Nayavīthi*[31] (pp. 146-7), the *Ṭakkurā* (p. 149b), the *Vivarṇa* and other standard works of the various systems of philosophy. Replying to the criticism of Appayya Dīkṣita, that Madhva and his commentators have misunderstood and misinterpreted the Mīmāṃsaka attitude with reference to वाक्यभेद in "Aruṇayā.....", Vidyādhīśa says that the viewpoint referred to by Madhva and his commentator is actually to be found in certain Mīmāṃsaka works[32] (we are not told in which particular one, it is so) and in this connection rejects the particular defence of Madhva put up by Vijayīndra Tīrtha in his *Madhvādhvakaṇṭakoddhāra,* as being *round about.*[33]

36 Keśavācārya (c. 1605-60)

Keśava was the favourite disciple[34] and according to the *S.K.*, the younger brother of Vidyādhīśa (p. 81, 1896). In addition to Vidyādhīśa, Keśava refers to two other teachers of his: Ānandabhaṭṭāraka (ver. 10, of his com. on *NS.*) and Śrīnivāsa[35] who scored several victories over the Māyāvādins (ver. 11). These, according to the *S.K.*, were his father and elder brother respectively.

31 Which is another name for the fourth chapter of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* of Śālikanātha.

32 ननु, मीमांसकैरन्वयभेदाङ्गीकारेऽपि "क्रीणाति" पदार्थभूतक्रयभावनाया एकत्वेन पदैकवाक्यताया एव स्वीकृतत्वात्, वाक्यभेदस्य च भावनाभेदनिबन्धनत्वान्न वाक्यभेदापत्तिरित्यतः क्रियाभेदस्यापि क्रियान्वयभेदद्वारैव वाक्यभेदप्रयोजकत्वात्.....इत्याह·ततश्चेति । एवं च, यत्कस्यचिन्मतमित्यन्यथानुवाद इति वल्गनं, तदेवान्यथावादरूपमिति बोध्यम् । तस्य च तद्ग्रन्थपर्यालोचनायां स्पष्टत्वात् ॥

33 एतेनैव च—एतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया 'अभ्युपगतम्' इत्येतदभ्युपगमनीयमिति व्याख्याय केषांचित् समाधानं निरस्तम् ॥ (P. 236). With this cf. *Madhvādhvakaṇṭakoddhāra.*

34 श्रीमद्विद्याधीशमुनीन्वन्दे गुरून्मम ।
तेषामाज्ञां पुरस्कृत्य करोमि सौधगूढार्थ शेषवाक्यार्थचन्द्रिकाम् ।
(Verses 12-14, of his com. on *NS*).

35 To him are ascribed in the G. V. L. Cat., (1) a com. on the *T.P.* and (2) another on the *NS.* of Jayatirtha, (p. 125).

Keśava expresses regard for his teacher Vidyādhīśa whom he doubts as an incarnation of Vyāsarāya.[36] He also applies to him the epithet "Guru-rāja", and his own works are sometimes for this reason, designated "Guru-rājīya"[37]—an appellation which has led to some confusion between him and Vādirāja Svāmin,[38] who is also at times referred to as "Guru-rāja."

Sixteen works are attributed to Keśava in the catalogue of the G. V. L. (Kumbakonam, p. 109). These include commentaries (glosses) on the Ten Prakaraṇas. In the Mys. O. L. have been preserved Mss. of his glosses on (1) the *Tattvodyotaṭīkā* (A-388) in 2000 granthas; (2) the *VTN-ṭīkā* (C. 2329) and (3) *TS* (4334). The G. V. L. Cat. also attributes to him two commentaries on the *Candrikā* (one short and the other long), (6) a com. called *Vākyārthamañjarī* on the *NS.* in addition to his *Śeṣavākyārthacandrikā* on the *NS.* to be mentioned anon, and glosses on (7) the *Prameyadīpikā;* (8) *TP.* and the (9) *Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkā* of Jayatīrtha.

Keśava's com. on the *Tātparyacandrikā* of Vyāsarāya has been published along with that of Rāghavendra Svāmin, from Bombay. The original name of the com. is *Prakāśa;*[39] but, it is generally designated "Gururājīya" to distinguish it from that of Rāghavendra bearing an identical name.[40] The former is much less diffuse than the latter. It runs to 6000 granthas and the printed text covers the I Adhyāya alone of the *Candrikā.*

36 निष्कास्याद्रुनखण्डनव्ययमुखव्याख्यानरत्नोच्चयं × × × श्रीव्यासर्तार्थो वुधः ...विद्याधीशमुनीन्द्रमद्गुरुवरः किं नावतार्णः स हि ! (Introd. verse in com. on *NS.*).

37 Vide remarks on T.P.L. XIV. no. 7849 (p. 6081).

38 The Gururājiya" attributed to Vādirāja on p. 316, of the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*, is an instance in point.

39 चन्द्रिकायाः प्रकाशोऽयं केशवेन प्रकाश्यते । (Ver. 8).

40 Cf. विस्तरस्तु चन्द्रिकाप्रकाशे ध्येयः (*TP-Bhāvadipa*, Bombay p. 39). The Mysore Govt. Edn. of the *Candrikā* does *not* include the *Prakāśa* of Keśava, as wrongly stated by the Editor on p. 6029 of the *Des. Cat. of the T.P.L.* (vol. XIV).

Besides displaying his acquaintance with the Vyākaraṇa (pp. 11-13) and Mīmāṃsā (pp. 77-8; 21-22) systems, the author quotes from the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra (p. 122, lines 5-9) and the commentary of Viśvakarma thereon (lines 9-10), as well as from the *Upasaṃhāravijaya* of Vijayīndra Tīrtha.[41]

His *Śeṣavākyārthacandrikā* is a continuation of Vidyādhīśa's commentary on the *NS.*, from the sixth adhikaraṇa onwards of the AV. The commentary has been published (together with the *NS.*) from Dharwar. The author has made free use of earlier commentaries[42] on the *NS.*, especially that of Yadupati, which he does not always acknowledge.[43] He exhibits a thorough knowledge of Grammar, Logic and Mīmāṃsā and in the course of a discussion on the accentuation of the term 'Pañcajanāḥ' (in B. S. II. 4, 11), quotes from the *Bhāṣika-Sūtras* dealing with the system of accentuation in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*.[44] His com. is in many places based upon that of Yadupati[45]—the author enlarging upon topics briefly dealt with by the other.[46] He carries on many abstruse discussions on grammatical issues (see III, 4, adh. 4, pp. 36, 50) and quotes from the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti*, the *Mahābhāṣya* and *Kaiyaṭa*—not to speak of the *Prakriyākaumudī*. Among the other works and authors quoted by him are the *Tantraratna* (Mīmāṃsā), the *Nym.*

41 एतच्च विशये प्रायदर्शनात्.....प्रायपदार्थ इत्यादिरूपेण उपसंहारविजये विवृतम् ।। (p. 189, 2-4.)

42 II. 3, p. 5; 30 b; iii, 2, p. 110. Including the *Parimala* of Rāghavendra Svāmin. ' See III, 1, p. 1 and p. 370 of *Parimala*.

43 Cf. Keśava, IV. 2, p. 49 with Y; K. IV, 2, 35; Y, IV, 2, p. 17, b; K. i. 2, 9: Y. p. 135; K. i. 2, 12: Y, 135; K. III. 4 adh. 4. Y. p. 324, line 16; K. III. 2, 136: Y. 302.

44 भाषिकसंज्ञके तु शतपथब्राह्मणस्वरविधायक ग्रन्थे—"स्वरितोदात्तो वा," इति सूत्रेण यो मन्त्रदशायामनुदात्तः स्वरितो वा, स ब्राह्मणावस्थायामनुदात्तो भवतीत्यपवाद आश्रितः (i. 4, p. 52). For Mss. of the *Bhāṣika-sūtras* see Aufrecht, p. 410. (*Cat. Catal.*)

45 K. III, 3, adh. 29: Y. p. 318. See also discussion on 'अदि भूभ्यां डुतच्' (*Uṇādi Sūtra* v, 1) in both.

46 Vide Y. III, 3, adh. 29, p. 218; 321 and III, 4, adh. 7, p. 333:—K. 86.

and the *Taraṅgiṇī*, the *Tarkatāṇḍava* and the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭikāpariśuddhi* of Udayana (III, 2, p. 35), a commentary called *Tattvabodha* on the *Nyāyavārtika* (III, 2, p. 65), Yāska's *Nirukta* (III, 2, adh. 8, p. 110b), Vardhamāna Upādhyāya's commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* etc., as well as his own teacher Vidyādhiśa (under the title of "Svāminaḥ" II, 3, p. 44 and III, 2, p. 65). His com. is the most discursive one on the *NS.* and seems to have been commented upon by Nṛsiṃha (Mys. O. L. c 2207).

37. *Bidarahaḷḷi Śrīnivāsa Tirtha* (*c.* 1590-1640).

Śrinivāsa Tirtha is a prolific glossator of the early seventeenth century. He was the disciple,[47] and according to some,[48] a cousin of Yadupati. He was not a Sannyasin at any time in his life; and the title "Tirtha" is said to have been bestowed on him by Rāghavendra Svāmin, in appreciation of his great learning and distinguished service to the cause of Dvaita Vedānta and its literature. He is known as "Bidarahaḷḷi Śrīnivāsa" to distinguish him from his namesakes bearing the surname of "Śarkarā" and "Liṅgeri."[49] His native village of Bidarahaḷḷi (not Bidurahalli as it is called on p. 318 of the *Vij Sex. Com. Vol.*), is in the Dharwar district, some fifteen miles from the junction of the *Tuṅgā* and *Varadā* rivers.

Nearly thirtyseven works have been attributed to him. They are mostly commentaries and enjoy the widest popularity among the followers of Madhva, both in view of the simplicity and directness of their exposition.

(1-10) *Daśa-Prakaraṇa Glosses.*

Śrinivāsa has left glosses on all the ten Prakaraṇas and all save the one on the *KL.* have been printed. (*Bombay*, 1895-8). The

47 यैरहं शुक्लवत्सम्यक् शिक्षितोऽस्मि कृपालुभिः ।
तान् वन्दे यादवाचार्यान् सदा विद्यागुरून्मम ॥ (*VTN*-gloss, 6).

48 *S.K.* p. 190. The *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*, p. 318, makes him a nephew of Yadupati. The *S.K.* gives his father's name as Kṛṣṇappayya.

49 For his works See *Appendix* III.

gloss on the *PL.* known as *Vākyārtha-kaumudī* runs to 3000 granthas. That on the *VTN-ṭīkā,* known as *Vākyārtha-dīpikā* is a voluminous gloss running to 6700 granthas. The *KN*-gloss has 700 granthas. His com. on the *Tattvodyota-ṭīkā* (Bombay 1898), is claimed to be a supplement to that of Vedésa's—explaining passages not covered by the latter as well as those which remain stiff even after the explanations of Vedésa.[50]

Sūtra Prasthāna

Of his commentary on the *Aṇubhāṣya* (G. V. L.) no Ms. has hitherto been found. (12) His gloss on the *TP.* of Jayatīrtha is attested by two Mss. from Madras (R. no. 39285 and 754). His commentary appears to go by the name of *Tattvabodhinī* or *Vākyārthamuktāvalī.* (13) His gloss on the *NS.* has been published from Dharwar. It is a sort of complement to the commentary of Yadupati[51] and is much indebeted to it, following it rather closely.[52]

(14-19) *Upaniṣad-Prasthāna*

Commentaries on six out of the ten Upaniṣads: *Īśa, Praśṇa, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Aitareya* and the *Taittirīya,* by Śrīnivāsa, are reported. But only the last three are actually available. The glosses on the *Māṇḍūkya* and the *Taittirīya,* have been printed while that on the *Aitareya* (*Aitareyabhāṣyārtharatnamālā*) in 7000

50 वेदेशतीर्थटिप्पणयामव्याख्यातानि यानि च ।
व्याख्यातान्यपि दुःस्थानि वाक्यानि विवृतान्यलम् ॥

This, coupled with the acknowledgment of Yadupati as his Guru, shows that Śrīnivāsa belonged to the end of the 17th century. He cannot therefore be the glossator on the *Nym.* criticised in the *Nym. Kaṇṭakoddhāra* C.O.S. IX. p. 62. Fantastic dates (1300 nd 1800 respectively) have been proposed for Śrīnivāsa and his Guru by Vāsudeva Sastri Abhyaṅkar in his introd. to the edn. of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha,* Bombay, p. 517.

51 Called "यादुपत्यत्यक्क" or अगृहीतसुधावाक्यार्थविवरणम् ।

52 Cf. *Ś.* III, 4, adh. 5-6 and *Y.* p. 330 b.

granthas, is preserved in the Baroda O. L. (No. 10373). The com. on the *Taittirīya* refers to Vidyādhirāja (ver. 5).

(20-22) *Gītā Ṛk-Prasthānas*

The author's commentaries on the *Ṛgbhāṣya* and the *GT-Nyāyadīpikā* are not available. Extracts from his commentary on the *GB-Prameyadīpikā* have been given in T. R. Krishnachar's edn. of the *Prameyadīpikā* with the *Bhāvaratnakośa* of Sumatīndra. A Ms. of this gloss of Śrīnivāsa, is recently reported to have been acquired for the T. P. L. (gr. 3500). (23) His commentary on the XI Skandha of the Bhāgavata has been published from Dharwar. Skandhas IV-V are available in Mss. *(Pejavar Mutt, Coll.,* Udipi). Nothing is however known of his (24) commentary on the *Bhāgavata-Tātparya* of Madhva, mentioned in the M. M. Saṅgha list.

The author's commentary on (25) the *Pramāṇapaddhati*,[53] and the *Nym*[54] have been printed, though not those on (27) the *Vādāvalī*[55] and (28) the *Bhedojjīvana.*

Miscellaneous Works

Śrīnivāsa's (29) *Adhikaraṇārthasaṃgraha,* is probably a summary of the Adhikaraṇas of the B.S. It is difficult to say what can precisely be the subject-matter of his (30) *Vikṣiptakhaṇḍārthasaṁgraha.* An incomplete Ms. in 900 granthas, is preserved in the T. P. L. (no. 7899) of his (31) *Mahābhārata T. N.—Bhāvacandrikā.* His (32) *Mantroddhāra* (com. on *Tantrasārasaṁgraha*); and com-

53 This is complementary to that of Vedeśa:

वेदेशमुनिसन्त्यक्तवाक्यार्थो लिख्यते मया (ver. 1).

It stops with II, 61, of the original (Poona, 1934).

54 Bombay, 1907. The commentary quoted and criticised by Anandabhaṭṭāraka in his *Nym-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* (C. O. S. IX) cannot of course, be Śrīnivāsa Tirtha's (as has been assumed by Anantkṛṣṇa Sastri) but most probably one which the latter followed closely.

55 Ms. G. R. Savanur, Dharwar.

mentaries on (33) the *Puruṣasūkta*, (34) *Vāyustuti;* and (35) *Sadācārasmṛti* (*Āhnikakaustubha*) are not available.

38. *Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa* (*c.* 1590-1640).

He is another of Yadupati's disciples, who has left us some four works in all. The chief of these is a fairly elaborate commentary (*Vākyārtha-mañjarī*)[56] on the *TP* of Jayatīrtha, in 5500 granthas. It is widely read and is by far the simplest gloss on the original, free from digressions. It is quoted and criticised by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyadīpikā*.[57] Once by mistake, Śrīnivāsa attributes to Rāmānuja (under B. S. 1, 1, 2), a view[58] which is the very reverse of what is to be found in the *Śrībhāṣya*.[59]

His other works are (2) a com. on the *Bhedojjīvana;*[60] one on the (3) *Sadācāra Smṛti* and another (4) on the *Tantrasāra* both mentioned in the M. M. Saṅgha List.

The next important writer after Śrīnivāsa, is Rāghavendra Svāmin. Between the two, however, may be mentioned one minor author of the period: Satyanidhi Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Mutt (1638-48) to whom are attributed a com. on *Bhedojjīvana* and a *Vāyu-Bhāratī Stotra*.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA

56 Belgaum. 57 Cf. Śarkarā, p. 35 and *Bhāṣyadīpikā*, p. 93.

58 जन्मादि यस्य पालनस्येत्यतद्गुणसंविज्ञानबहुव्रीहिणा पालनकर्तृत्वमेवोच्यत इति रामानुजव्याख्यानसंग्रहः ॥ (p. 23).

59 It is evidently from the *NS.* that Śarkarā derives its information, where, it would appear to be attributed to certain Vaiṣṇava interpreters other than Rāmānuja. See also the Notes to my edn. of *Madhva's Catus-sūtrī-Bhāṣya*, Madras 1934, p. 117.

60 Bombay, 1901.

Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenue under Akbar

Sher Shah's land revenue system

Humayun returned to India in 1555, defeated Sikandar Sur, and soon became the master of the Punjab and the Doab. At Delhi, one of the most important changes, which he must have noticed, in the method of administration, concerned the assessment of the land revenue. As the *Āīn* has it, Sher Shah gave up 'sharing' and introduced 'measurement' as the basis of assessment.[1] Sher Shah could not introduce measurement everywhere and thus 'sharing' the crops had not everywhere been abandoned as the method of assessment of the land revenue.

Sher Shah seems to have adopted a simple method of assessment. Some areas probably near the capital were selected, where the produce of one Bigha of good, middling, and bad land under each crop was ascertained. The average of the produce of three kinds was taken and constituted the normal produce per Bigha of every crop. The state demanded one third of this average produce and thus a set of rates of assessment per Bigha of different crops was prepared.[2]

Every season, then, in the areas where this system prevailed, the surveyors went to the different villages, entered the area under cultivation, collected the details of every crop, and fixed the state demand in kind. The cultivator thus had to pay in kind about one third of his produce.

This was probably the method which Humayun found in vogue in certain parts of his newly acquired dominions and which he did

1 The *Āīn-i-Akbari*, I, 347.

2 For details, See *Āīn*. Cf. 'The Administrative System of Sher Shah by the present writer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1936, pp. 588ff.

not like to change. Akbar found this method customary in certain areas.[3] The *Āīn* has preserved statistics proving thereby that Akbar took these rates for granted and concerned himself[4] with the task of translating grain rates into cash rates. For this purpose he made several experiments which we shall now consider.

Akbar's early experiments

During the first four years (in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th year) a uniform set of prices seems to have been adopted for the purpose of converting grain demands into cash demands. This is obvious from the fact that the state demand in cash per Bigha of various crops is about the same in all parts of the empire.[5] How the set of prices was prepared is more than we can say. It is likely however that it represented the average of the prices prevailing in different localities. The process of averaging, it seems, had been adopted by Akbar's revenue officials in arriving at the total produce of one Bigha of land under different crops. There is no reason to believe with Moreland that the prices represented the artificially high prices prevailing in the imperial camp.[6] That would have been grossly unfair to the cultivators. The areas selected for the purpose of ascertaining varying prices were very likely near the cities. The average prices must have been prepared every year in the Imperial Secretariat and sent to the local revenue authorities.[7]

Provincial rates of crops

In the tenth year we find the demand in cash per Bigha for various crops differing from province to province. In the same province again we find varying rates within certain limits were allowed.[8] It is rather difficult to understand what the limits indicated. Obviously they implied that in the same province for some

3 The *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 297. 4 *Ibid.*, I, 297 to 300.
5 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 303 to 347. 6 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 84.
7 Cf. the *Āīn*, I, 347. 8 *Ibid.*, I, 303 to 347, cf. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 270.

commodities a varying rate of charges per Bigha was levied. Instead of a uniform rate of prices throughout the empire based on an average as before, the province was now adopted as the unit for fixing prices. This is borne out by the fact that for most of the articles the same rate of demand per Bigha is charged throughout the province. But there remains the question as to why the rates differ for certain commodities only in the same province? Were these commodities such for which a uniform set of prices for the whole province would have been manifestly more unjust than for other commodities which show no such variations? Then there is the other question, when a range of demands is shown for a province, how was it applied? Of course we know that these tables record the rates actually levied in those years and were prepared at the time the *Āin* was being compiled. They are statements of facts rather than a guide for assessment.

Adoption of Nasaq

In the thirteenth year Shihab-ud-Din, the new Diwan for the crown lands is said to have given up annual Zabti and introduced Nasaq.[9] As I have shown elsewhere[10] this meant the adoption of a demand in cash irrespective of the area cultivated or the crops sown based on the average demand for a number of years. This was supposed to be a sort of permanent settlement which need not have varied even over a long period.

Taqsim-ul-Mulk

In the fifteenth year another change seems to have been introduced. Qanungos of every Parganah (?) were ordered to prepare

9 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 333.

10 *Indian Culture*, January, 1937, pp. 543 ff. Nasaq as a system of Land Revenue Assessment in Mughal India.

Since writing the above I have come across a similar description of the Nasaq in another Ms. *Farhang-i-Kārdāni* in the Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

a *Taqsīm-ul-Mulk* for the area concerned and send it to the Secretariat. There in the Ministry of Revenue, by estimate (of the area under cultivation?) and computation (for conversion of demand in kind into demand in cash?) land revenue demand was fixed anew.[11] What the *Taqsim-ul-Mulk* meant can be inferred from what had been said before. When the Nasaq rates were adopted in the crown lands, it is likely that the records of the area of the land under various cultivators ceased to be compiled. Divisions of the country were recorded anew i.e. records of individual ownership of land were once again compiled giving the area under cultivation of different crops. Moreland's interpretation of *Taqsimat-ul-Mulk*[12] is too fanciful to be adopted. There is no reason to suppose with Moreland that there was any change in the method of calculating the demand in kind. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* quotes an Imperial Schedule of Rates in kind as if it was current when the *Āīn* was compiled. "The revenue levied by Sher Khan.....generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."[13] All exeprimenting on the part of Akbar concerned the commutation of rates in kind of Sher Shah's period into rates in cash. There is no indication to suggest any widespread operations in every Parganah for the purpose of ascertaining average local produce. Parganahs were not geographical areas of equal fertility and it would be out of the way to suppose that an average of produce applicable to the varying fertility of the Parganah was considered more reasonable by the state or by the cultivators. What the Qanungos did was simply to send in full particulars of the areas under cultivation and suggest a rate for commutation of the grain demand into demand in cash every year. It seems that the Ministry

11 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 117, 118; *Iqbal Nāma*, 213.

12 *Agrarian System*, 244.

13 *Āīn*, I, 297.

of Revenue then obtained the sanction of the emperor for the price schedule.

The Zabti System

This sytem prevailed till the 24th year when a change was introduced. Sanctioning of the schedule of prices by the emperor caused delay, besides the prices suggested were not always equitable throughout the whole Parganah. A way out had to be found for a satisfactory method of the conversion of the demand in kind into demand in cash. This was done by adopting the Zabti system. "From the beginning of the 15th year to the 24th of the Divine era an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the same was fixed as the annual assessment."[14] This is a much simplified statement in the *Āīn* of what must have happened. Two changes were involved in the new set of rates. First, the provinces were subdivided into Dastūrs i.e. the areas were defined within which the same rate of demand prevailed. It might be argued, as Moreland does,[15] that the varying rates of certain demands recorded in the same province in the nineteen years' rates in the *Āīn* might have a reference to the previous existence of the Dastūrs. This would imply that though the rates for the provinces as a whole are given, the provinces were divided into smaller areas. This however is negatived by the fact that for many articles only one rate is given. It would have been strange to find one uniform price prevailing throughout the province for several articles and varying rates for some of them. As said above, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion about the interpretation of the varying rates of assessment for certain commodities. But there can be no doubt about the fact that the Schedule of Rates could not have been an average of the varying demand in the various Dastūrs in the province. In the province of Oudh, for example, black sugarcane is recorded to

14 *Āīn.*, I, 347, 348.

15 *Agrarian System*, 89.

have been assessed at 200 dams a Bigha from the 10th to 24th year.[16] If the Āīn-i-Deh Sāla involved addition of the aggregate of the demand per Bigha from the 15th to 24th year and then taking its average, we should have found a uniform rate of 200 dams for the 12 Dastūrs of Oudh. Unfortunately we find no such thing. The demand varies from 203 dams and 15 jatals in Firuzabad to 240 dams and 9 jatals in Gorakhpur.[17] Naturally then the account of the *Āīn* must bear some other meaning. What happened in the year 24th I think, was a two-fold process. The areas in various provinces were first grouped together in Dastūrs i.e. areas wherein usually the same prices prevailed—what we should call markets in modern economic terminology. In the Schedules of Rates preserved under the heading Āīn-i-Deh Sāla several provinces are shown as divided into so many Sarkars, (e.g. 9 in Allahabad) and so many Dastūrs, (e.g. 15 in Allahabad) i.e. assessment circles. Now for every one of these circles, prices current for the last ten years were ascertained and an average price was determined upon to serve as the basic rate of conversion for individual crops.[18] As I have maintained above. Akbar made no attempt at changing Sher Shah's assessment in kind. After ascertaining the average price of a crop, the demand in kind of Sher Shah's time was translated into demand in cash which finds a place in the Schedule of Rates contained in the *Āīn*. These rates seem to have been permanently fixed in the 24th year.

16 *Āīn*, I, 320. 17 *Ibid.*, I, 355.

18 See *Akbar Nāma*, III, 282.

Mr. Moreland's interpretation of the word, حال Hāl, in this passage though possible, is however open to grave doubts; I understand this word to mean 'condition' as it ordinarily does in Persian literature.

The Persian text of the *Akbar Nāma* reads:—

حال ده ساله هر پرگنه را از مراتب کشت و کار و مدارخ ازرش شناخته دهم بخش را
مال هر ساله مقرر فرمود *

To sum up, the system introduced by Akbar in the 24th year involved two processes. The cultivated lands under various crops were surveyed every season. This did not always necessitate actual measurement of the land under crops. Then as now, the holdings of every cultivator were divided into subsections the areas whereof need have been determined only once. What the surveyors did was to record, like the modern Patwari, that area no such and such of a cultivator's land was under sugarcane. He would then refer to his original survey papers and find out the area of those numbers. Thus the surveyors performed what is called Girdāwarī in the Panjab today and recorded the state of crops. The revenue officials in every Dastūr were furnished with detailed tables giving the demand of the state in cash for every Bigha of different crops. Thus if he were dealing with a cultivator of Firuzabad in Oudh who had four Bighas under sugarcane, the revenue official would consult his Schedule of Rates, find sugarcane assessed at dam 240 jatal 9 and demand dam 961 and jatal 11 from the cultivator. These rates in their turn were based on two operations. The rates were uniform in what we may conveniently call assessment circles. The empire was thus divided into areas where the same or nearly the same prices prevailed. There were 119 assessment circles in all in the provinces of Lahore, Multan, Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, and Delhi. The system also prevailed over the greater part of the province of Malwa for which three rather imperfect Schedules of Rates are given. To 138 Parganas of Bihar as well the system was applied for which we have no Schedules of Rates. It prevailed in a part of Ajmer as well. Throughout an assessment circle the rate of assessment per Bigha for the same crop remained the same. This rate was based on the average prices prevailing in that area during ten years i.e., 15th to 24th and the average yield per Bigha arrived at by calculating the produce of a Bigha of the good, middling, and bad lands, during

the reign of Sher Shah, as preserved in the *Āīn*. The arrangements introduced in the 24th year were revised in the 27th year by Todar Mal to whom the system owes its final form.[19] Fateh Ullah Shirazi perfected the system of auditing the revenue accounts in the thirtieth year.[20] We find two new principles introduced in the working of the system later on. In the years 30, 33 and 35 the rates were lowered on account of a very serious fall in prices.[21] When Akbar moved to the Punjab in 1001 A.H. the rates were raised on account of the higher prices. They were again lowered when Akbar left the Punjab in the forty-third year.

Difficulties in Survey and Measurement

Zabti however was only one of the several systems prevalent in Akbar's times. But this was the system he wanted to see introduced in all parts of his empire. It was not found possible to carry out survey operations in those parts of the country which were held as Jagirs conferred by the Emperor in payment of the salaries of their Mansabs. We have to remember that when any Raja or chief submitted, his lands became theoretically a part of the imperial domain and were usually given back to him in satisfaction of the salary of the Mansab which was then conferred upon him. The entries in the *Āīn* show that such areas were left alone. In the province of Ajmer, e.g. no Dastūrs are given for the Sirkars of Sarohi and Bikaner and no returns of any kind have been included. Obviously here the system of land revenue was what the Rajputs had been maintaining there from times immemorial. Akbar's conquests made little difference to their internal government. Similar must have been the case in Amber (modern Jaipur), Jodhpur and certain other parts of Rajputana. Details for Jodhpur are given

19 *Akbar Nāma* III, 381.
20 *Ibid.*, III, 457 to 459.
21 *Ibid.*, III, 463, 533, 578.

because for some time it was under imperial officers who may have tried to introduce the system. I cannot, however, explain the presence of the figures for Amber (Jaipur). It accepted the Mughal domination much earlier than the introduction of this system and at no time was it ever placed under a Mughal governor. It is unlikely that its people voluntarily accepted measurement and survey and changed their old system.

Ghalla Bakhsh and Batai

Ghalla Bakhsh was another system of land revenue assessment. It involved the sharing of the grain between the state and the cultivator. The state claimed from ⅛ to ⅓ of the produce as the land revenue.[22] Various types of Batai were also practised. Some of them were meant to minimise the inconvenience inherent in the Batai system. Sometimes the cultivated fields were demarcated the state probably making its own arrangements for watching the growth and cutting of the crops of its own part of the fields. Appraisal was also resorted to when agreed upon, assessors examining the state of the standing crop and estimating its probable yield. The cultivator undertook to pay one third of the yield thus determined upon to the state.[23] An attempt was made to persuade the cultivator to pay the state its share in cash rather than in kind. The cultivator was allowed to pay in cash at local rates.[24] But this gave so great a latitude to the local officials if the rates had not to receive imperial sanction, and so great a delay if they did, as to make the system almost unworkable.

Nasaq

There was the system of Nasaq. The revenue was determined upon on the average of the land revenue paid for the last ten to twelve

22 *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 297, 508.

23 *Dastūr-ul-Amal*, Ram Pur; *Farhang-i-Kārdānī*, 32b to 33a; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 285 to 288.

24 *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 285 ff.

years keeping in view any improvements that might have been made in land. Thus assessed it did not vary with the area under cultivation or the crops cultivated. It did not thus involve any survey or measurement of the land nor did it necessitate any periodic preparation of the statement of the crops.[25]

Group Assessment

Then there was group assessment. A sum was agreed upon between the revenue officials and the Muqaddam who was to realise the total from among the cultivators.[26] This may have increased the status of the Muqaddams but they had to collect the revenue from the cultivators according to the prevailing custom in the village probably in kind, and converted it into cash before payment to the treasury. How was the amount agreed upon arrived at? For how long was the agreement operative? It is likely that all these questions were settled locally and individually just as the rent payable by the tenants to their landlords is settled today. The state claimed one third of the produce.

Some writers talk of a separate system—Naqadi. It is probably either a misreading for Nasaq or simply refers to the option to pay in cash. No such system of assessment of land revenue existed in the Mughal times.

Jagirs

The land revenue of the lands held in Jagirs was also similarly assessed. There was no difference between crown lands and the Jagirs in this respect. The Jagirdar received the land revenue assessed by the Imperial officials and collected by the Muqaddams. Papers as usual were sent to the Imperial Secretariat.

25 Cf. 'Nasaq as a method of Land Revenue Assessment in the Mughal period' by the present writer in *Indian Culture*, January, 1937, where original authorities have been cited and discussed.

26 Cf. the letter of acceptance which a Muquddan was required to sign.

A Jagirdar was a civil or military servant who was paid his salary by an order which authorised him to realise the amount due to him by collecting the land revenue of the area assessed to yield the exact amount. Akbar is said to have discontinued the grant of Jagirs at one time but not long after the system was in full swing again. The Jagirdar was never allowed to stay long in any one place. Frequent transfers emphasized the fact that he was usually a bird of passage in the place he was stationed in. The Muqaddams paid the land revenue to him instead of paying it to the imperial collectors. If the emperor granted any remissions of land revenue for any cause whatsoever, the Jagirdar was also bound to decrease his collections accordingly.[27] Thus the Jagirdar was not a feudal baron having any 'rights' of his own over the cultivators. He did not stand between the cultivator and the king, he simply took the position of the royal officers who would have otherwise collected the land revenue had it not been assigned to him.

The various Systems in Operation: The Province of Allahabad

The Zabti system prevailed in the whole of the Mughal province of Allahabad. Moreland suggests that the Sarkar of Bhatkhara 'seems to have been left entirely in the hands of chiefs.'[28] It seems more probable that it had not yet been conquered and occupied. Its name is not mentioned in the list of nine Sarkars in the *Āīn*. 15, the names of its Parganas are missing from the Account of the Provinces.[29] The entry of its revenue figures does not mean much. Similar entries are to be found for many unconquered districts of Bengal. No record of surveyed area is to be found for seven other Parganas, though the schedules of rates include them in their respective assessment circles. In the Parganas of Mahoba in the Sarkar of Kalinjir, the *Ghalla Bakhsh*

27 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 463, 533, 578.

28 *Agrarian System*, 118.

29 *Āīn*, I, 424 to 433.

system seems to have been prevailing. 120,000 betel leaves are included in the figures for land revenue (*Āin*, I, 430).

Oudh

Oudh was entirely Zabti and was divided into twelve assessment circles. The Schedule of Rates for the spring harvest omitted the figures for the last six assessment circles (*Āin*, I, 354). The omission cannot imply that they had no spring crops.

Agra

Agra, divided into 28 assessment circles, was also assessed according to the Zabti system. Land had not been measured in 16 Parganas, some MSS. suggest that the system of Naqadi (Nasaq?) prevailed here.[30] The Sarkar of Mandasor is missing in the Schedule of Rates in the *Āīn* 15. But in the Account of the Twelve Provinces,[31] the areas of its various Parganas are given and so is the land revenue. The absence of a Schedule lead us to infer either that it was conquered or surveyed after the *Āīn* 15 had been compiled, or that it was assessed in some other way.

Ajmer

Ajmer is said to have been divided into 7 assessment circles.[32] In the Account of the twelve provinces it is said that in this province 1/7 or 1/8 of the produce was given as the land revenue.[33] It means that the rate of revenue per Bigha for different crops was less than the rates prevailing elsewhere. The Schedule does not favour such a suggestion. The province can be said to have been paying revenue according to the prevailing local systems. This is still more likely to be the case because the greater part of the province was occupied by the various Rajput states. No figures either of areas or of rates are available for Bikaner, Sarohi and Jodhpur. It seems that

30 *Āin.*, I, 442, 443.
31 *Ibid.*, I, 442, 443.
32 *Ibid.*, I, 364.
33 *Ibid.*, I, 505.

the local custom must have been prevailing. The other states form parts of various Sarkars. Of course the area under cultivation may have been ascertained in other states when they were conquered and for some time administered by the Mughals. But it would be rather too much to hope that the restored Rajas of these states would have been strong enough to set up and maintain— or to continue if the Mughals had already introduced it—a system of land revenue assessment radically different from the one prevailing there previously.

Delhi

Delhi was divided into 28 assessment circles. For Kumaon however, there is no Schedule of Rates. It is divided into 21 mahals. The revenue for five of these mahals is shown as yet 'undetermined'.[34] The revenue for the remaining sixteen is given in round figures. Moreland suggested that Kumaon might have been under chiefs. But we know that Kumaon did not form a part of the Mughal empire at this time.[35] The figures of its land revenue probably represent what was known of the revenue potentiality of the district as then administered by its own chiefs. In any case they do not represent revenue figures according to the Zabti system. Probably Ghalla Bakhsh was the system of assessment and collection in the conquered parts, if any, of the districts.

Lahore

Lahore consisted of eight assessment circles.[36] Some of the Parganas had not been measured and might therefore have been assessed according to some other system, that is either by sharing of crops or Nasaq. No figures for the area of the parganas beyond the five rivers are given. One of them, Kehlor, modern Bilaspur, was, as now, a state under its own Raja and must have

34 *Ain.*, I, 521.

35 It was conquered by Aurangzeb.

36 *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 377, 378.

had its own system of land revenue assessment, probably sharing of the crops. The *Akbar Nāma* mentions besides some states under their own chiefs in the Punjab including Raja Budhi Chand of Kangra, Raja Parsram of Jammu, Raja Basu of Mao, Raja Anurodh of Jaswal, Raja Jagdish Chandra of Goler, Raja Shashpal Chand of Dadyal, Rai Sansar Chand of Sibba, Rai Pratap of Mankot, Raja Bhonor of Jasrota, Balbhadhar of Laganpur, Daulat of Sher (?) Kot, Krishna of Paladyo; Raja of Bhairiwal and Raja Krishna.[37] There was a raja of Chamba[38] as well.

Multan and Malwa

Multan was mostly Zabti. In Malwa, Mandal Garh was an independent state. There Sarkar of Gogran seems to have been Naqadi (Nasaq?); six of the 12 mahals had not been measured, the figures for the first and last Pargana are shown by cash figures (i.e. Nasaq). The Sarkar of Mandasor also seems to have been 'Nasaqi.' The assessment circle Raisan and Chanderi alone has a workable Schedule of Rates. In the remaining two circles rates exist for very few crops. In the Ujjain circle they are expressed in Mahmudi coins, Dams and Jatals.[39]

There was cultivation of cereals in two-third parts of a province. It may be argued then that 'Mixed' system of assessment prevailed here, Zabti rates for selected crops and some other system for the staple crops. Probably Sher Shah's assessment rates in kind prevailed here. The selected crops are mostly those for which cash rates were common under Sher Shah.

Bihar

In Bihar Zabti was common. Out of 199 Parganas 138 were thus assessed and about 81% of the revenue was thus collected.

37 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 583.
38 *Tuzak-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 346.
39 *Āin*, I, 457 to 473 and 383 to 385.

The entire Sarkar of Monghyr yielding 109,625,981 dams and several Parganas in the Sarkar of Bihar, yielding 8,130,120 dams were not measured. In the Sarkar of Rohtas the entries of the area in the Parganas of Dinarah, Patanpur, Kot Prin and Mongror yielding 313,185 dams are doubtful where ditto (") alone signifies that the area was equal to that of the two preceding Parganas. The area of Nannor is given but its land revenue of 2,000,000 could not have been based on any Schedule of Rates. Similar entries are to be found for Garhsanah (876,200 dams) in the Sarkar of Hajipur, Chulra (400000 dams) in the Sarkar of Saran, Aubhi (60,000 dams), Basin etc., (1,125,000 dams), Namwa (40,539 dams), Jabdi (45,025 dams), Koradi (90,000 dams), and Nauram (288,140 Dams) in the Sarkar of Tirhut.[40] All these do not account for more than one half of the land revenue of the 61 unmeasured Parganas as given above. Again the fact that the revenue is stated in dams does not preclude the possibility of the old system of sharing the crop still prevailing. Or the system of Nasaqi might have been prevailing here at least in some of the Parganas.

Bengal

Bengal and Orissa present special problems. To begin with, not all the lands described in the *Āīn* as forming part of Bengal and Orissa had been conquered at the time the *Āīn* was written. The larger part of the conquered portion as well was yet under Bengal chiefs. Usman, the leader of the Afghans and the chief of Bhatti, Raja Satarjit of Bhusna, Raja Indar Narain of Pachet, Salim Khan of Hijilli, Raja Bir Hamir of Mandaran, the Bhumya zemindars of Bhawal, Bikrampur, Bhalava, Chandra Dip and Khizrpur, Raja Raghu Nath of Shushing, Majlis Oub of Fathabad, Musa Khan of Jatrapur, Pahalwan of Matang, Ram Chandra of Bagula, Bayazid of Sylhet, and several others are mentioned in two contemporary

40 *Āīn.*, I, 417 to 423.

memoirs of Jahangir's reign as some of the independent chiefs.[41] As described in the *Āīn* the system of Nasaq seems to have been current in Bengal in the areas that were under the Mughals. There is nothing in the contemporary records to support Moreland's statement that the older system in vogue was continued by Akbar and that no detailed information about the province was collected.[42] Now Nasaq, though it did not involve any measurement of the land, did necessitate the preparation of 'Record of Rights' wherein the holdings of every cultivator and the land revenue assessed thereon were mentioned. We know of no older system known as Nasaq. Nasaq and Zabti were two new terms introduced by Akbar's land revenue officials. Thus what Todar Mal did was to obtain information about the land revenue paying capacity of every cultivator. He then imposed the system of Nasaq on the cultivators. This implies that figures were collected for the preceding ten or twelve years and the average thereof was fixed as the revenue payable by every cultivator. This presupposes the existence of a detailed register of Revenue accounts before Akbar's conquest of Bengal. Todar Mal then had to do this task viz., to collect land revenue figures as paid by the cultivators during the preceding ten or twelve years, strike an average, and fix the land revenue for every cultivator on that basis. If it had been in kind so far, he had to arrange for its equitable conversion into revenue in cash. Todar Mal's report to the emperor as contained in the *Āīn*[43] does not therefore imply that he had taken steps to continue the existing practices only. It is easy to understand that *Ghalla Bakhsh*, sharing of crops, had ceased to be practised in Bengal under Sher Shah who

41 Cf. 'Bengal under Jahangir,' the English abstract with notes of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* of Nathan by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History* and also *Safar Nāma Abdul Latif* (MS) Persian.

42 *JRAS.*, 1926, 48.

43 *Āīn*, I, 393. The A.S.B. text has Naqadi but Moreland's reading Nasaqi is preferable.

probably introduced survey there. On the basis of that survey and with the help of the Schedule of Rates in kind given in the *Āīn* the land revenue might have been fixed in Bengal. As time passed, however, the Rates were forgotten, the records for areas disappeared, but the assessment in kind without resort to sharing was continued. Todar Mal changed it into assessment in cash.

Gujarat

In the province of Gujarat lay the states of Idar, Baglanah, Rajpipla, Dungarpur, Sirohi, Sorath, Jhalawar, Cutch, Nawanagar, Nazarbar, Mohan, Lonavah, Barya, Bahrai, Ranabad, Jahapa, Jabarmandi, Banswara, Soni and Ram Nagar.[44] Some of them had accepted Mughal sovereignty; others were still independent. We are told in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* that out of the 16 Sarkars in Gujarat in six the ruling chiefs paid the provincial governors a yearly tribute and undertook to send a contingent of horses for military service. They were left to carry on their administration as best as they could. In the Imperial territories as well there were many chiefs. In Idar (feudatory) the system of appraisal flourished. The measured area of Jhalawar is given. In the Sarkar of Sorath the system of Nasaq seems to have prevailed. There were besides the imperial districts of Gujarat for which revenue figures are given. In the Sarkar of Ahmadabad 7,28,61,792 dams were realized from unmeasured Parganahs as against a total of 20,83,06,994 dams. Sarkar of Godhra does not seem to have been occupied by the Mughals. Though the area under crops and revenue in dams is given, no other details are available. The Sarkars of Surat, Champaner, Broach, Baroda, Nandad were all measured. It is curious that no area figures either for Pattan or Ahmadabad are available.[45] It is difficult to understand the system

44 *Mirāt*, I, 188.

45 *Āīn*, I, 493 to 508

that would measure land in the suburbs but leave Pattan and Ahmadabad alone. There is no reason to doubt, however, the statement that the system of Nasaq prevailed in the Imperial territories. But neither the text nor any other authority supports the statement of Moreland that the system of Nasaq had prevailed in the country at the time when Akbar conquered it. The *Akbar Nāma* (III. 65) and the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (I, 131-2) both suggest that it was introduced by Todar Mal who was left in Gujarat to carry out revenue assessment in 1571.

Khandesh

In the thirty two Mahals of Khandesh all that Akbar is said to have done is to increase the existing assessment by 50%.[16]

Berar

In Berar there were many chiefs. Chatwa, Dadhi Rao, Bija Rao, Nahar Rao, Wailah, Sarkoth, Medani Rao, Kamjeo, Indarjeo, Chaman Rai, Ram Garh, and Babjeo were some of the most important of them. There were the chieftainships of Baojarah, Basin and Manikdrug.[17] We do not know how many of them had been subdued by the Mughals. Akbar seems to have continued the existing system, only he increased the incidence of taxation.

Thatta

In the province of Thatta, sharing of crops was common, ⅓ being claimed as the state's share. The cultivators had the option to pay in kind or in cash but were encouraged to pay in cash. Here again a very large part of the country was under chiefs who collected the land revenue from the cultivators and paid a tribute to the Mughals.[18]

46 *Āin*, I, 474. ff.
47 *Ibid.*, I, 478 to 492.
48 *Ibid.*, I, 556 ff.

Kashmir

In Kashmir appraisal and division of the crops is said to have formed the usual method of land revenue assessment. One half of the produce was claimed by the state as its share. A part of the assessment was also made in cash probably where valuable crops like saffron were concerned. But the general account given in the *Āīn*[49] is contradicted by the definite description of the system which Akbar continued here and which is described in the *Akbar Nāma*.[50] We are told there that ⅓ of the produce was claimed here as the revenue. The settlement was made with the village as a whole which undertook to pay a certain amount of rice as revenue. This was based on a rate of demand assessed in kind based on immemorial custom.

The State and the Cultivator

The cultivator in Akbar's reign dealt directly with the state. He paid land revenue in cash usually. The demand of the state varied with the area under cultivation and the crops cultivated. He was supposed to pay from one eighth to one half of his gross produce. The ascertainment of this share in cash must have been fair to him because he had the right to challenge the state demand and had the option of paying in kind if he felt himself aggrieved.

The cultivator was better off under Akbar than the tenant of to-day. He paid only one third of the gross produce whereas the tenant parts with from 40 to 50% of his gross produce to-day for his landlord. But on the other hand the state got a higher percentage of the produce of the land under Akbar, 33% of the gross produce, whereas now the state claims to be receiving not more than 20% of the gross produce. This was because the state recognized no landlords other than cultivators and also because the land revenue was the main, if not quite the only, tax on the masses.

49 *Āīn.*, I, 570. 50 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 548.

Rent or Tax?

The cultivators and not the state owned the land. They could sell, mortgage, and give away their lands in gift.[51] Their lands were inherited like all other property. The state had an interest in the landed estates of a cultivator who ran away after defaulting in the payment of the revenue just as now. It would make temporary arrangements for the cultivation of the land instead of applying to the cultivator the modern methods of attaching his estate for the satisfaction of its claims.

The Agricultural Policy of Akbar

We have seen above that the land revenue collected depended upon the actual area under crops and the quality of those crops. In order to draw a larger revenue the only method open to the state was to get the area under cultivation increased, and encourage the sowing of the crops yielding a better cash value.[52] The encouragement of agriculture then was a necessary duty of the state. Akbar performed it by granting advances to the cultivators which were repayable within a year.[53] These were usually made with a view to encourage the introduction of better crops or help the cultivator towards defraying partial expenses of bringing new land under cultivation. In order to make it profitable for the cultivators to break new lands a very low rate was fixed in the beginning. Such land only paid 1/26th part of the produce in the first year and it was only in the fifth year, that the normal demand was reached. In the case of the land which had been left uncultivated for less than 5 years, the demand began at 2/15 and rose to ⅓ in the fifth year. When better crops were introduced there was a reduction of 25% in the beginning on the sanctioned rates.[54] To guard against

51 *Nigār Nāma-i-Munshi*, 123 ff.
52 *Āin*, I, 285.
53 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 381.
54 *Āin*, I, 284.

damage to standing crops in times of warfare, a special staff was recruited for the purpose of assessing such damage and paying the cultivators its assessed value. (Cf. *News Letters of Aurangzeb's Reign.*)

For pastures, separate rates prevailed. The gardeners paid garden rates from the time of planting the trees, except in the case of two rather valuable crops, almonds and grapes, where probably there was a danger that trees planted might not always survive to bear fruits. Here a cash rate of Rs. 2¾ per Bigha was charged only when the trees began to bear fruits. When agricultural land began to be built upon, a flat cash rate was charged upon their superficial area and the parks attached to them if any.[55]

Survey and Measurement

Akbar introduced certain mechanical and administrative changes in the method of the survey and measurement of land. The *Jarib* ceased to be a string liable to be stretched. Bamboo poles with iron rings at both the ends were introduced. A *Jarib* of a uniform length was introduced throughout the Empire presumably in the districts where the Zabti system was in vogue.[56]

Collection of Land Revenue

The collection of land revenue was made systematic. When the survey operations were complete the demand for land revenue was computed. Demand-slips were prepared and distributed either through the Patwari or the Muqaddam. Then the collections started. Every season an attempt was made to clear off the arrears first. They formed the first charge on the land. After the arrears, if any, had been cleared, the dues for that particular season were collected. Akbar improved upon the existing

55 *Mirāti-i-Ahmadi*, I, 268 to 272.
56 *Āin*, I, 296; *Akbar Nāma*, III, 117, 118.

practices by ordering that the Muqaddam be paid 2½% of the collection by the state.[57] The board and lodging expenses of the surveying parties were also paid by the state in accordance with an imperial decree.[58] Any excess realized was to be credited against the next season's demand. There was a Qanungo in every Paraganah who was paid at the rate of Rs. 20 to 50 per mensem.[59] The Karori was at first appointed to be in charge of the revenue units each producing one crore of Tankas, but he soon became the Revenue Officer for the Sarkar.[60] It is difficult to understand accurately what Badayuni's complaints about these officers imply. His Persian text obviously states that when auditing of their accounts took place, many of them were found to be negligent or guilty and thereupon were punished.[61] Smith has perverted the sense of the passage in discovering therein a breakdown of Akbar's revenue arrangements.[62] There was a Treasurer who issued collective receipts to the Muqaddams and individual receipts to the cultivators. There were besides accountants, surveyors, measurers, Thanadars, Shiqdars and Karkun. In every village, or a group of villages, there was a clerk maintained by the state and a patwari maintained by the cultivators.[63]

When the collections started,—on the *Holi* in spring and on the *Dasehra* in autumn[64]—daily reports of collectors were to be sent by the Recorder to the Collector. Every month receipts were sent to the ministry of Revenue. Any damage to the crops by unforeseen factors was to be reported to the Emperor who would then order necessary remission of land revenue due.[65] The regulations

57 *Āin*, I, 285.
58 *Ibid.*, I, 286.
59 *Āin*, I, 300.
60 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 117.
61 *Badāyuni*, II, 192 cf. the English translation. The translator is responsible for Smith's error.
62 Smith's *Akbar the Great Mughal*, 140, 141.
63 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 381 and 63; *Āin*, I, 287.
64 *Āin*, I, 287.
65 *Ibid.*, I, 286 and 287.

for the collection of land revenue and the preparation of necessary papers remind one very much of a modern manual of Land Revenue Administration or the Standing Orders issued by the Boards of Revenue or Financial Commissioners.

A large number of taxes usually paid by the cultivators was remitted by Akbar. We have seen how he released them from the payment of many additional burdens which even now are borne by them. Besides this, presents, harvest fees, Nazars of various sorts and several taxes on the supplementary sources of income of the cultivators were remitted. The remission of the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax took away a very heavy burden from over the heads of the poorer among them. Taxes on cattle and trees, sale and purchase of horses, testing and exchange of money and similar other charges were also remitted.[66]

Akbar's Land Revenue

The total amount of land revenue said to have been assessed, if not actually collected, under Akbar has been estimated at Rs. 14,25,09,318 and 12,00,000 betel leaves, by Abul Fazl in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.[67] This figure excludes income from salt mines, the customs revenue and some miscellaneous taxes mentioned separately in the *Āin*. Muhammad Tahir writing in the thirty first year of Shah Jahan placed the total revenue of Akbar and Jahangir at Rs. 17,50,00,000 a year.[68] This is borne out by the chronicle of the Mughal Empire by Palseert who based his figures on the account book of 'the late king' and placed the total revenue at Rs. 17,45,00,000.[69] Even the earlier and lesser figure of Rs. 14,25,09,318 includes the land revenue of several places which

66 *Ain.*, I, 287 and 301.

67 Total of the land revenue of various provinces as given in the *Ain.*

68 Tahir, 248a.

69 Page 213 of the Dutch text & page 57 of the translation by Prof. Brij Narain. (MS.).

had not been conquered yet. Further it includes the estimated revenue of various states and chieftainships, the revenue resources of which were never at the disposal of the Mughal Emperor. It is difficult thus to evaluate accurately the revenue resources of Akbar. It would not be too low an estimate if we placed it at Rs. 10,00,00,000 for the territories directly governed by the Emperor. The income from the crownlands alone has been estimated at Rs. 70,00,000 under Jahangir by Quazvini.[70] This only implies that Jahangir was very lavish in the grant of Jagirs. Tahir places it at Rs. 3,000,000 under Shah Jahan.[71] Abul Fazl tells us that when in the year 30, Akbar granted remission of 1/11 in Rabbi in the provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, of 1/6 in the autumn harvest in Oudh and Allahabad, they amounted to Rs. 17,68,676 11/20 in the crown lands alone. This included a special remission of 1/5 in the neighbourhood of Allahabad in Rabbi as well.[72] Similarly in the thirty-third year by the remission of 1/6 in Agra, Oudh and Delhi in Rabbi and of 1/9 in Allahabad and ¼ in Agra, Oudh and Delhi in the Kharif, the State lost Rs. 48,32,001 35/40 in the crownlands.[73] Interesting as the figures for the crownlands are they do not carry our information about the land revenue very far. A larger income from the crownlands only implied the payment of cash salaries to a larger extent.

Todar Mal and Akbar's Land Revenue System

When Zabti was introduced Todar Mal and Shah Mansur were joint Diwans of the empire.[74] After the system had been laid down, Todar Mal was sent to Bengal. Naturally the task of applying the new regulations fell to Shah Mansur. There is every reason to believe, however, that Todar Mal must have done his work of laying the foundation of the system

70 *Bādshahnāma*, 297b. 71 Tahir, 248a. 72 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 463.
73 *Ibid.*, III, 533. 74 *Ibid.*, III, 282.

well. He had been several times employed earlier for the purpose of solving knotty problems of land revenue administration in the various parts of the empire. It is probable that the appointment of Shah Mansur with Todar Mal was a concession to Muslim feeling. His administration of the revenue ministry created many practical difficulties and Todar Mal who was in Bengal had to defend the officers stationed in that province against the meticulous demands of Shah Mansur.[75] In the year 26 Todar Mal was appointed the Vazir on his return from Bengal.[76] In the 27th year he was exalted to the High office of the Vakil.[77] It was now that the task of modifying the system that had been started in the year 24 fell on his shoulders. It was discovered that sometimes the collections had exceeded the limits of the revenue demand laid down by the ministry. The actual measurement of the land under cultivation every year created difficulties. Arrears of land revenue had accumulated, the granting of advances had complicated accounts. Various other problems of detail also demanded attention. Todar Mal therefore issued a comprehensive order covering almost all phases of land revenue assessment and collection. Thus the system set up in the year 24 was now modified to a very large extent.

It was now decided to station a clerk in every village. Wherever excessive payments were exacted, the extra amount collected was ordered to be credited to the next crops' revenue. All cultivable land was to be measured once for all. The cultivators undertook to stand security for one another and it seems the whole village community was also made responsible for the regular collection of land revenue. To encourage the bringing up of land lying fallow for 4 years or more it was decided that in the first year ½ of the ordinary assessment be realized, in the second year ¾ thereof and in the third the full demand should be realized. Land lying fallow for two

75 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 316. 76 *Ibid.*, III, 372. 77 *Ibid.*, III, 381, 382.

years was to pay ¾ of the assessment the first year and the ordinary land revenue in the second year. From the barren land it was decided to collect a nominal amount in kind till it was able to pay the full demand. Taqavi was to be granted on the security of people known to the revenue officials and was to be recovered in two instalments.

The relief to be granted to the cultivators was also regulated. In case of excessive rain a deduction of 2½% was ordinarily allowed which could be raised to 7½% in sandy tracts or forests. Extraordinary damage to the crops was reported to the Emperor and his orders obtained about the necessary reduction in revenue.

The reports of daily collections were sent every week to the provincial secretariat and the revenue collected sent at the end of every month to the treasury. The treasurer issued receipts to the cultivators. The collector was paid his salary every quarter. Yearly reports were submitted (by the provincial Diwan) about the work of the collections. If the total receipts for a revenue circle as a whole showed an increase, no explanation was to be demanded about decrease, if any, in any Parganahs therein. To facilitate the work of collection, tables for the conversion of old coins with those in use were supplied.

The work of survey and measurement was also put on a better footing. The area under cultivation was ascertained after making enquiries at the time when the crops were standing. The survey parties were to complete 250 Bighas daily in summer and 200 Bighas in winter. Their board allowance was also regulated.

In the areas where sharing was in force an allowance for guarding the crop was allowed at the rate of half a Dam per Bigha.[78]

These detailed orders issued by Todar Mal prove that he was called upon to solve the difficulties arising out of the land revenue

78 *Akbar Nāma,* III, 381, 382.

regulations issued in the 24th year. We have already referred above to the work that Todar Mal did in Bengal. Thus there is every reason to connect Todar Mal with the land revenue system of Akbar. It was not Khafi Khan who in the eighteenth century created legends about Todar Mal as Moreland suggests. Almost a century earlier Chandar Bhan praised Todar Mal.[79]

In the 30th year another aspect of the question received some attention without changing the fundamental basis of the Mughal land revenue system. Amir Fath Ullah Shirazi was appointed Amin-ul-mulk and was called upon to put aright the relations between the audit department and the collectors in the muffassil. As a result of his investigations it was decided to hold collectors responsible for the sums actually collected by them, to appraise their work for the entire area under their charge by comparing their collections with those of the last year. The allowance and the staff allowed to them were also put on a more satisfactory basis. From every Parganah one Qanungo was retained at the court.

Two minor changes were introduced in the collection of land revenue. Any excess realised from the cultivators was to be given credit in the collections for the next crop. If the Malba (a local cess) was ever realised against instructions issued by the Emperor, the amount realised was to be given credit to the cultivators for the next crop. The treasurers in the Parganahs were recruited from among a better class of people.[80]

A Retrospect

The Imperial territory under Akbar was divided into three classes: the territory under Zamindars i.e. ruling chiefs, the

79 Cf. *Chahār Chaman-i-Brahman* by Chandar Bhān for several anecdotes about Todar Mal and his revenue administration. Mr. Moreland is wrong in holding that the legends about Todar Mal arose late in the eighteenth century. Chandar Bhan wrote in Shah Jahan's reign.

80 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 457 to 460.

areas held by the Jagirdars and the crownlands. The term Zamindars should be strictly applied only to those ruling chiefs who had not accepted any Mansab in the Imperial system and were content with retaining their position as hereditary rulers of the territories under their control. To them Akbar's revenue reforms meant little. They collected the land revenue from their cultivators as they had been accustomed to do and paid a tribute to the Mughal Government. These were the persons who had been able to escape Sher Shah's system of measurement as well. In most of their territories various forms of *Batai* prevailed, sharing of crops, sharing by appraisal, sharing of the area under crops. The share of the state varied from ⅓ to ⅛. Then there were the hereditary Rajput Jagirdars and other ruling chiefs who had accepted the Mansabdari system, turned into Imperial Mansabdars and received their homeland as perpetual Jagirs. Naturally in their homelands the old systems of collection of land revenue were left in tact. For sometime some of these states formed a part of the imperial domains and as such it was possible for the Ministry of Finance to preserve some records for them. As their states were given back to them as Jagirs, their rental value had always to be entered in the revenue registers. Whether it represented the land revenue actually collected is a difficult question to decide. Rana Amar Singh's son Karan Singh was created a commander of five thousand when Amar Singh submitted to Jahangir. The homelands of the Kachwahas were always shown as bringing in enough land revenue to support a Mansabdar of 2000. The land revenue of several of these states could only be stated approximately and that imperial methods of assessment and collections were as much resented then as the modern method of assessments are to-day. The position here was further complicated because there were Jagirdars under these ruling chiefs who collected the land revenue in their charges and owed their chiefs only the performance of certain feudal

duties. The second sections of the Jagirs consisted of the areas assigned to various Mansabdars in lieu of salaries. This was a varying quantity. The Jagirs of various Mansabdars were changed from time to time, sometimes a Mansabdar was paid in cash instead of by Jagir. The same Jagir would now be held by one Mansabdar; on his transfer to another part of the country, it was probably held by another. The Jagir was granted in place of a cash salary and hence the state was interested in seeing that it paid no more than the cash salary granted to the Jagirdars. Naturally the system of land revenue assessment in such Jagirs did not differ from the system of assessment in crownlands. The land revenue assessment and collection here were regulated by the state as in the crownlands. They formed a part of the system prevailing in the neighbourhood. Thus in these Jagirs as well as in the crown-lands four systems of land revenue assessment prevailed. Crop sharing of various types, Zabti, Nasaqi and group assessment were some of the systems in vogue. In all these systems except Nasaqi the cultivators had the option of paying either in cash or in kind. In the areas where *Batai* of various types was prevalent, the imperial officers were ordered to encourage payment in cash at local rates. In the Zabti areas they had the option to pay in kind if they thought the code rates were unfair to them. The system of Nasaq however was bound up with payment in cash only and in areas where it prevailed no choice was allowed. Generally speaking it can be said that Akbar aimed at introducing the Zabti system in all parts of his empire, but he and his advisers were too much of practical administrators to insist on enforcing it uniformly everywhere. Akbar desired payments in cash above everything else. This could be secured under all the systems in vogue. Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad and Bihar, were mostly Zabti except in the areas under independent rulers or Zemidars i.e. ruling chiefs who had been able to contract out of the Mansabdar system. Ajmer is also said to have been

Zabti but it is difficult to believe that Jagirdars whose successors are clinging to their parochical rights so tenaciously even today would have allowed their lands to be measured and land revenue assessed on them in this fashion. In Bengal, Orissa and Behar, Nasaq was introduced though a very large part of these provinces was either unconquered or under chiefs who continued their own arrangements. In Kashmir and Sind sharing of the crop was practised. In Khandesh the local custom was continued though the incidence of taxation was raised. Gujarat again was largely held by chiefs, many of whom were allowed to continue their own methods of administration on payment of a tribute to the provincial government. In the rest of the province Nasaq is said to have been current. In all parts of the country there were exceptions and in some of these, group assessment might have been practised.

The cultivator paid direct to the state. There were no zemindars in the present sense of the term. The cultivators were owners of the lands they cultivated. The prosperity of the state was bound too much with the fate of agriculturists. There was enough uncultivated land to satisfy the land hunger of would be cultivators who were encouraged to break new lands by special low terms of land revenue.

The land revenue was not a very just tax at the time. The state singled out one class of producers alone for payment of a general tax. The burden on the peasants was lighter in Akbar's reign than now though the state then got a larger share of the gross produce of the land than it does to-day.

SRI RAM SHARMA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES

Akbar Nāma by Abul Fazl, A.S.B. edition of the Persian Text.

Ain-i-Akbari, by Abul Fazl, A.S.B. edition of the Persian Text.

Muntkhib-ut-Tawārikh by Abdul Qādir, Persian Text.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Bakhshi Nizām-ud-Dīn, Persian Text.

Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī by Mutmid Khān, Lucknow edition of the complete work.

Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī by Jahangir. Cawnpore edition of the Persian Text.

Bādshāh Nāma by Tāhir written in 1657. MS.

Bādshāh Nāma by Quzvini, a contemporary account of Shah Jahan's reign. Persian MS.

Cahār-Caman-i-Brahman by Munshi Candar Bhān, an official who served under Dara and Shah Jahan. MS.

Nigar Nāma-i-Munshi, a collection of letters official and non-official mostly concerning Aurangzeb's reign.

Baharistān-i-Ghaibi by Mirza Nathan written under Shah Jahan. An English abstract of its major portion has been published by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras and the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta. MS.

Safar Nāma of Abdul Latif the Dewan of Bengal early in Jahangir's reign. MS.

Mukhtasir by Bāyazid. I have come across no manuscript in India and have used Beveridge's abstract published in the *JASB.*, in 1898.

Farhang-i-Kārdānī by Jagat Rāi, a unique Manuscript in the Muslim University, Aligarh, describing various systems of Land Revenue. It was written in 1690.

Dastūr-ul-Amal, MS. in the State Library, Rampore, gives a description of the various systems of Land Revenue Assessment in Mughal India under Shah Jahan.

Chronicle of Mughal India by Palsaert was completed in Shah Jahan's reign in Dutch. I have used the English translation made by my friend Prof. Brij Narain.

MODERN WORKS

Revenue Resources of the Mughal Emperors, Thomas.

Akbar, The Great Mughal, by Smith.

Articles by Mr. Moreland:—

(i) 'Akbar's Land Revenue Assessment' (in conjunction with Mr. Yusaf Ali).

(ii) 'Land Revenue Administration of Bengal under Akbar.'

(iii) 'Sher Shah's Land Revenue Administration,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

Agrarian System of Muslim India by Mr. Moreland.

'Sher Shah's Administrative System' by the present writer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1936.

'Nasaq as a System of Land Revenue Assessment under the Mughals', by the present writer, in *Indian Culture*, January, 1937.

The Bhulua Chiefs and their Literary Works

The history of the *Śūra* kings of Bhulua, who held sway over the major portion of the district of Noakhali in Bengal for more than three centuries, is still shrouded in legends and traditions. According to local traditions, Rājā Viśvambhara Rāya, a *Kṣatriya* prince of Mithilā belonging to the *Śūra* family of *Vātsya-gotra,* migrated at the time of Bakhtiyar Khilji's invasion along with his preceptor and priest, a retinue of 200 soldiers and a fleet of 149 boats and, on his way back from the shrine of Candranātha in Chittagong, founded the kingdom of Bhulua round a place, where he romantically discovered the image of *Vārāhī*[1] in the year 610 B.E. (*ṣaḍ-daśa-śatābdīya-varṣe*). The family subsequently entered into the fold of the *kāyastha* community of Bengal. Bhulua up till now contains a very large number of *Śūra* families,[2] the more respectable ones distinguishing their royal blood by a term *Ādiśūra.* The recent attempt to connect this family of undoubted Maithila origin with the legendary Ādiśūra of Bengal is as misconceived as it is unfounded. The traditional date of Viśvambhara, as we shall presently see, is not supported by any evidence. Viśvambhara probably migrated about the middle of the 14th century A.D. after the conquest of Mithila by the Tughlak kings. The genealogy, at any rate, cannot place him before the 14th century.[3]

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Viśvambhara, who were practically independent rulers till the beginning

1 The image is still worshipped as a Hindu goddess, though it is really a fine specimen of the Buddhist Mārici, and was removed to its present temple at Āmisāpārā by the last member of the royal family Rāṇi Śaśimukhi.

2 Cf. the current Bengali saying:—'Śūr śūyar māndār/
tin e Bhulua āndhār

3 The genealogy is as follows:—Viśvambhara, Gaṇapati, Śūrānanda Khan, Śrīrāma Khan, Kavicandra Khan, Rājavallabha.

of the 16th century. Bhulua does not form a part of the extensive conquests of the Tippera king Dhanyamāṇikya (1490-1526) and is for the first time mentioned in the chronicles of Tippera in the reign of Devamāṇikya (1526-1536) who extended his dominion over Bhulua.[4] It was probably Rājā Rājavallabha Rāya who suffered defeat at the hands of the Tippera king. Rājavallabha's eldest son was Durlabhanārāyaṇa whose conflict with the Tippera kings is narrated in detail in the *Rājamālā*.[5] Durlabha, who admitted that he was a Zemindar under Vijayamāṇikya (1536-1567), rose in rebellion against the usurper Udayamāṇikya (1568-1573), whom he successfully defied by assuming himself the very name of the usurper.[6] He was thus the first *Śūra* chief to appropriate the independent title of *Māṇikya* which was not given up till the last. In the reign of the powerful monarch Amaramāṇikya (1577-86) of Tippera, Durlabha was peremptorily asked to give up the title of 'Māṇikya' which he refused to do and in 1578 the armies of Tippera overran Bhulua. Durlabha fled to Bakla where he was killed by Kandarpa Rāya.[7]

4 *Rājamālā:* Vidyāvinoda's ed. p. 123. Devamāṇikya's coins, recently discovered, contain the date 1448 Śaka. We are indebted to Dr. Bhattasali for this information.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88. It is a pity, vol. III of the Royal ed. of the *Rājamālā* containing this important chapter of the chronicle, though completely printed, is rotting, now for about a decade, with the book-binder, due to the almost criminal apathy of the Agartala authorities. The discovery of coins of Vijayamāṇikya dated 1458 Śaka and of Jayamaṇikya dated 1495 Śaka, both examined by us, settles the dates of these monarchs more accurately.

6 আপনে ধরিল নাম উদয়মাণিক্য। (Old *Rājamālā* in Ms.). The printed *Rājamālā* which is the so-called 'revised' version of Ujir Durgāmaṇi is full of mistakes here as elsewhere.

7 কত বর্ষে অমরমাণিক্য রাজা হৈল।
মাণিক্য না ধর নাম তাহাকে লিখিল॥
* * * *
উদয় মাণিক্য তবে বাকলাতে গেল।
কন্দর্পরায় জমিদারে তাহারে মারিল॥ (*Rājamālā* in Ms.).

Durlabha or Udayamāṇikya was succeeded by his younger brother Gandharvamāṇikya who had a glorious reign. He, also, rose in rebellion against Yaśomāṇikya (1600-23) of Tippera who brought him to submission. Fortunately, there are glowing panegyrics on him in the drama *Kautuka-ratnākara* (vv. 7-10), which mostly refer to his military exploits[8] :—

"जनकस्तु यस्य
आसीन्मनोजाधिकरम्यमूर्त्तिः श्वेतातपत्रीकृतचारुकीर्त्तिः ।
शूरान्वयाम्भोनिधिपूर्णचन्द्रो गन्धर्व्वमाणिक्यमहीमहेन्द्रः ॥
अपि च आभूमण्डलमा सुरेन्द्रसदनादा सप्तपातालकाद्-
आसप्तार्णवमा धराधरकुलादा पद्मसद्मालयात् ।
आवैकुण्ठमजृम्भि यस्य समरप्रस्थानलीलाविधौ
भेरीभाङ्कृति-कुम्भिचीत्कृति-धनुष्टङ्कार-वाजिस्वनैः ॥
अपि च गजेन्द्रजीमूतमदाम्बुवृष्टिभिर्म्महीपतेर्यस्य पुरस्य सन्निधौ ।
नितान्तदूरेऽपि विपक्षभूभुजां प्रतापवह्निः प्रशमं समागतः ॥
अपि च भ्रमति युधि करीन्द्रे तस्य संरूढपक्षः
क्षितिधर इति मोहादग्रहीद्वज्रमाशु ।
तदनु दशनबीक्षापास्ततातङ्गभ्रमोऽयं
सुरसदसि सलज्जो वज्रपाणिर्बभूव ॥

By Act XIX of 1793, article 25, all owners of revenue-free lands were required to produce their original deeds (*sanads*) and have them duly registered and copies of several hundreds of them are still preserved in the Tippera Collectorate.[9] Among these uncared for and ill-preserved records we came across a copy of what appears to be the only copper-plate inscription discovered in the district of Noakhali, referring to the reign of Gandharvamāṇikya. It was produced in April 1796 when Bhulua was included in the Tippera district and as the original plate remains yet untraced we give below

8 Ms. No. 41 of the Agartala Palace Library, fol. 2. We are indebted to the late Mr. Kaliprasanna Sen for facilities to examine the manuscript. Cf. also Eggeling: *Ind. Office Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, p. 1618.

9 We thankfully acknowledge here the debt we owe to the Collector of Tippera for kindly allowing us facilities for examining these interesting records.

ed in the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*. Not long after the conquest of Bhulua by Islam Khān the *Pargana* was divided into three parts perhaps in the life time of Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya and settled with the ancestors of the Zemindar families of Khilpara, Dattapara and Maijdi. Only a small *jaigir*, subsequently known as "*Taraf Gopālanagara*," remained in possession of the '*Māṇikyas*.'

Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya, the son of Gandharvamāṇikya, was the successor of Ananta. He was reputed to have been a warrior of uncommon physical strength, but he became the most renowned prince of the family apparently for his attempting to revive the *belles-lettres* in his kingdom. He granted lands to one Rāmadāsa Cakravarti by a *Sanad* in Bengali, dated 10th Māgha, 435 *Parganāti* (= 1637 A.D.), of which a copy exists in the Tippera Collectorate (No. 3049). He was thus living still in the second quarter of the 17th century. By an almost universal tradition he was one of the twelve *Bhuiyās of Bengal* and as early as 1791 C. W. B. Rouse in his *Dissertation concerning the Landed Property of Bengal* (p. 50) gathered that 'Luckken Manik of Beluah' was among the five of them who enjoyed the Zemindaries of Dacca. But, as we have seen above, the son was shining in the glory of a forgotten father; or, perhaps, the son had a large share in the military achievements of the father. According to a well-founded tradition current in Bhulua, Lakṣmaṇa emulated his name-sake of the independent Sena dynasty of Bengal by adorning his court with 'five jewels' (*Pañcaratna*). The foremost of the jewels was one Raghunātha Kavitārkika of Srirampur and the names of the remaining four, as far as we gather, are as follows:—Rāmacandra Tarkapañcānana of Khilpara, his son Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma, Ratideva Tarkasiddhānta of Bais-sindur (a cousin of Rāmacandra) and Ratneśvara Vidyāvāgiśa, son of Kavitārkika. Kavitārkika was by far the most renowned of them all and was by tradition the genius behind the poetical works passing in his patron's name.

Kavitārkika, who, as his title shows, combined dialectics with the poesy, has left a small farcical drama in Sanskrit passing in his own name the *Kautukaratnākara*. The plot has been summarised by Eggeling in his *Catalogue* (p. 1618). The poet, however, has given in the prologue to his drama glowing descriptions of the capital of Bhulua, exploits of his patron's father (which we have cited above), panegyrics of his great patron and of his own father. He has not hesitated to extol Lakṣmaṇa in the highest terms as a poet:—

तथा हि सस्नेहं जनिता सुकोमलपदा हालमोकिना तत्परं
वात्सल्याद्विविधै रसैर्भगवता व्यासेन संवर्द्धिता।
माधुर्य्यं गमिता सुवर्ण सदलङ्कारैर्मयूरादिभिः,
संप्राप्ता दयितं चिरेण कविता श्रीलक्ष्मणक्ष्मापतिम्॥ (v. 15)

Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya is credited with the composition of a large number of poetical works in Sanskrit. It is written in the prologue to his *Vikhyātavijaya*:—[12]

यद्यपि महामहनीयमहिम्ना तेनोपनिबद्धानि दृश्यकाव्यानि बहून्यनुवर्त्तन्ते तथापि विशिष्ट-विशेषणैर्विख्यातविजयं नाम नाटकं कण्ठोत्थमिव सम्भावितं भावेन।

At present besides the *Vikhyātavijaya* only one more drama of his has been traced, so far as we know, the *Prasaṇṇakuvalayāśva* in 9 Acts on the love story of Kuvalayāśva and Madālasā.[13] It appears from another verse in the prologue to the *Vikhyātavijaya* that Lakṣmaṇa partly inherited his literary talents from his own ancestors:—

यत्पूर्व्वाभिजनीय काव्यमुदधिं संश्राव्य दिक्सुभ्रुव-
स्तस्मान्मौक्तिकमालिकाः प्रतिदिनं गृह्णन्ति तेनापि तत्।
प्रागल्भ्यादुपहृत्य वृत्तवणितावैधव्यदीक्षागुरो-
रेकैकेन परार्द्ध मौक्तिकलिपेरासादिताः प्रीतयः॥

12 We quote from a copy of the drama in Ms. dated 1696 Śak in our own possession. Cf. H. P. Śāstri: *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, II, pp. 160-62.

13 H. P. Śāstri; *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, IV, No. 60.

The *Vikhyātavijaya*, a drama in 6 Acts on the story of Arjuna's conflict with Karṇa, was his masterpiece and was fairly popular in some of the eastern districts of Bengal. It is an imitation of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* and reflects great credit on the author's poetical talents in an age of decay. The royal author had the supreme satisfaction of staging the drama at the historic site of Kurukṣetra before an assembly of royal princes from different parts of India and the tradition still survives at Bhulua that the author himself played the role of Karṇa. The martial spirit of the independent chiefs of Bengal lived through this representative piece of literature. The second Act containing superb passage-at-arms between Karṇa and Śalya on the one hand and Nakula on the other is justly considered to be the best part of the drama. The classical style has been throughout adopted successfully, though phrases like किमनेन क्षत्रियक्षत्ररेणुतिरस्कारेण and अरे पाण्डवद्वयनुक्र ! (both from Karṇa's lips in Act II) are fully reminiscent of the prevailing tendencies of his age when there was an overflow of *Navya-nyāya* studies in Bengal.

The following reference in the prologue to Kavitārkika's *Kautuka-ratnākara* proves that Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya also wrote a work named *Satkāvya-ratnākara* (Ocean of bright poems) for the recreation of the over-strung intellects of the schoolmen:—

न्याय-व्याकरणादिशास्त्रनिवहस्वाध्याय-मध्यन्दिन-
प्रोद्दाम-द्युमणिप्रभाभिरभितः सन्तापितानां सताम् ।
धीराणामवगाहनाय गहनस्वच्छै रसैः पूरितः
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मण-भूभुजा विरचितः सत्काव्यरत्नाकरः ॥ (v. 17)

It is apparently from this lost work of his that Kavitārkika cited this verse in the same prologue:—

अत्र नरपतिकुलमुकुटमणिश्रीलक्ष्मणमाणिक्यदेवस्य पद्यमेव प्रमाणम् ।
तथा हि "सभ्याः सदर्थं कलयन्ति काव्ये दिशन्ति दोषान् पिशुनाः प्रयत्नैः ।
मधूनि पुष्पे मधुपाः पिबन्ति कुर्व्वन्ति कीटाः किल वृन्तवेधम् । (v. 23)

Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya was succeeded in his dominion by his eldest son Dhanyamāṇikya, whose immediate younger brother named

Candramāṇikya wrote a century of gnomic verses called *Apadeśa-śatakam*. The first two verses are as follows:—[14]

धैर्य्योद्रे कादगहनजलधिर्भीमकल्पो बलीयान्
विद्योद्रे कात् सुरगणगुरुः पार्थतुल्यो धनुष्मान् ।
दानोद्रे कात् त्रिदशविटपी धर्म्मतो धर्म्मभूभृज्-
ज्ञानोद्रे काज्जनकनृपतिर्धन्यमाणिक्यभूपः ॥१
सहजस्तस्य कनीयान्निदेशकारी प्रियान्वेषी ।
तनुतेऽपदेशशतकं श्रीचन्द्रमाणिक्यभूपः ॥२

Candramāṇikya proves himself a worthy son of his poet-father and some of his stanzas are refreshing and vigorous. We cite a typical stanza below:—

अन्तर्बहिःसुमलिने बत नीरसेऽस्मिन् स्नेहं प्रयोजयसि शुद्धमते वृथैव ।
कस्मै फलाय तु भवेद् वद भस्मराशौ भागीरथीविमलवारिवराभिषेकः ॥ v. 36.

Both Dhanyamāṇikya and Candramāṇikya were childless and the third son of Lakṣmaṇa named Vijayamāṇikya succeeded to the *Jaigir;* he is not known to have left any literary work. He was succeeded by his fourth and youngest brother Amaramāṇikya who was the last great poet of the family. He emulated his distinguished father by writing a drama named *Vaikuṇṭha-vijaya* on the loves of Ūṣā and Pradyumna;[15] it was written when his brother Dhanyamāṇikya was still reigning. To remove all doubts about the identity of the latter prince, it should be mentioned here that he is definitely stated in the prologue to the *Vaikuṇṭha-vijaya* to be the son and successor of Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya. Amaramāṇikya made large gifts of lands to Brahmins and several of his *Sanads* are referred to in old records. There is a copy of a *Sanad* in Bengali preserved in the Tippera Collectorate (No. 1070) by which 'Śrī-śrīyuta Rājā Amaramāṇikya' made a gift of land to one Manohara Śarmā on 3rd Caitra, 494 *Parganāti* (corresponding to 1696-97 A.D.). He died in the first decade of the 18th century and was succeeded by his son

14 We quote from a Ms. copy of the work belonging to our own family collection.

15 H. P. Śāstri. *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, IV, No. 283.

Rāmamāṇikya who also died soon after. The last scion of the family was a son of Vijayamāṇikya named Rudramāṇikya who was a born invalid and the estate was efficiently managed by his wife Rāṇī Śaśi-mukhī whose ability and virtues are still fondly remembered in Bhulua. Copies of several of her land-grants are found in the Tippera Collectorate. One of them is dated 10th Māgha, 534 *Parganāti*.[16] She retired soon after to Benares and with her death the royal line of the *Śūra* family became extinct.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

16 No. 2553 of the Sanad Register: the grantee was one Nilakaṇṭha Cakravarti.

Identification of some Ancient Indian Place-Names*

Devasabhā-Dewas

Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* summarily indicates the five divisions of India by naming four towns viz., Bārāṇasī, Māhiṣmatī, Devasabhā and Pṛthudaka as the respective limits of the Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern divisions, the tract lying between these four places being described by him as the middle division (Madhyadeśa). There is no doubt about the location of the first, second and fourth of these towns; but with regard to that of the third, there is a great deal of uncertainty. S. N. Mazumdar Sastri makes the following remark about it in his notes to his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (p. 690): 'Devasabhā is a city on a mountain (not identified) referred to in *Arthaśāstra* as producing red sandal.' In the first and second editions of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* no suggestion is made about its identification; but in the third edition of the same (revised and enlarged by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani) we are told that 'Devasabhā may be identified with the mountainous parts of either the Dewas State or Udaipur where the Dhebar lake is situated.'[1] Several considerations lead one to lend support to the former of the two suggestions. First, there is a great deal of similarity in the two name forms. Dewas is the name of the curious twin states situated in the Malwa Agency, political charge of the Central India Agency, lying roughly between 22°24′N. and 75°77′E. It is also the name of the capital of these states; the author of the *Western States (Malwa) Gazetter* (vol. V, pt. A) informs us that the states as well as their capital derive their name from the hill of Dewas, probably a contraction of Devī vāsinī, which stands close to the capital. In the

* Read in the second session of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad, October 1938.

1 *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, 3rd. ed., Appendix I, p. 294.

Imperial Gazetteer, vol. XI (p. 281), we are informed that Dewas town is situated between 22°58′N. and 76°4′E., 1784 feet above sea-level, on the Bombay-Agra road, 24 miles from Lahore, and it lies at the foot of a conical hill, known as Cāmuṇḍā Pāhāḍ. A reference to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* will show that Devasabhā was not only the name of one of the janapadas of the western division (*Paścāddeśaḥ*) but was also the name of one of the hills of the same. Mazumdar Sastri's remark quoted above, that Devasabhā is a city on a mountain does not follow from Rājaśekhara's description of it. But what is of importance here is that as Devasabhā is the name of a town, a janapada as well as a hill, so also is modern Dewas which is not only a town but also the twin states as well as a hill. Another interesting factor to be noted in this connection is the marked similarity between the descriptions of the various janapadas of the western division in relation to Devasabhā as recorded in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and the same of the modern towns and districts identifiable with some of them, in relation to Dewas. The constituents of this division are mentioned thus: *Devasabhā-Surāṣṭra-Daseraka-Travaṇa-Bhṛgukaccha-Kacchīy-Ānartt-Ārvuda-Brāhmaṇavāha-Yavana;* with the exception of a very few in this list, all the others have been identified correctly with modern place-names.[2] A reference to a good atlas will show that all these are to be placed to the immediate west, south-west or north-west of modern Dewas. It may be observed here that Rājaśekhara's naming of these janapadas does not seem to be in correct order, though it is certainly not so mixed up as the enumeration of the various constituent countries of the different divisions of India by the author of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā.* The problem

2 Surāṣṭra=Surat. We know from the Ghāṭiyālā inscription of the Pratihāra king Kakkuka that he attained a great renown in such countries as Travaṇi (referred to in Mātākisāl inscription as Tamani; the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka also mentions Travaṇī) Valla, Māḍa (Jaisalmer) etc. Arbuda=Mount Abu. Brāhmaṇavāha=Brahmanabad in Sind. Yavana=the tract further up the Indus valley, probably acquiring this name from the long settlement of the Greeks in this region.

of this identification could be further satisfactorily solved if one could refer to the antiquarian remains of Dewas, if any, and if it could be shown that among the products of the Dewas states could be included some form of red sandal.[3]

Indrapura-Śvetavatālaya, Bhīmā-Bhīṣaṇā, Śivapura-Śiva in the Kāpiśa-Gandhāra Region.

Indrapura has correctly been identified with Indor (Khera); the Indor copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta dated in the Gupta Year 146 records 'a perpetual endowment, by a Brahmin named Devaviṣṇu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the sun at Indrapura or Indrāpura, i.e. the modern Indor, which is now the name of a large and lofty mound about 5 miles to the N. W. of Dibhai in the Bulandshahr district, U.P. But another Indrapura can be located far away from the Indor of Bulandshahr, in the Kāpiśa region (of modern Kafiristan) to the extreme north-west of India. In the *Mahāmāyūri* list of the Yakṣas, the titulary divinities of particular localities of India, we are informed in verse 29, that Indra was the Yakṣa of Indrapura.[4] This Indrapura is mentioned along with such well-known localities of the extreme north-west of India such as Varṇu, Gandhāra, Takṣaśilā and Chardaśaila,[5] and thus will have to be identified with some place in that region. Now, Hiuen Tsang informs us that about forty *li* (roughly 6 to 7 miles) south from the capital of Kāpiśa was situated the city of *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu*. Julien suggested *Sphitavaras* and St. Martin *Śvetavaras* as the Sanskrit base of this Chinese name-form. Watters appends the following interesting note to this passage of Hiuen Tsang, 'The last character *sse* or *tzu*.....is

3 *Daivasabheyaṁ raktaṁ padmagandhi* (*candanaṁ*); Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*) p. 78.

4 *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 38.

5 Correctly identified by Sten Konow with Chaḍaśilā mentioned as a place-name in the copper-plate inscription of the year 134, found in the course of excavations at Kalawan, near Taxila. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, p. 253.

probably a Chinese word in the sense of temple.' The other character may stand for *Śvetavat* one of the epithets of Indra the god who rides a white elephant. Thus, the name of the city would be Śvetavatālaya, the Abode or Shrine of Indra.[6] On the basis of Watters' interpretation of the Chinese name for a suburban city of Kapiśā, we would propose to identify it with Indrapura mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*. Numerous instances can be quoted in which the same locality is described under various names which are synonymous in character; thus, Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus, is referred to in indigenous literature in various ways such as Gajasāhvaya, Nāgasāhvaya; Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Magadhan empire, as Kusumapura, Kusumadhvaja and Puṣpapura.[7] This proposed identification can be further supported by the evidence of the interesting coin device showing Indra enthroned in the manner of Zeus, but with the full or partial representation of his mount Airāvata before him, described in the coin-legend as *Kavisiye nagara devata,* used by Eukratides and a few Bactrian Greek and Scythian rulers of India in this region. This particular numismatic datum shows that Indra was the titulary deity of this place and thus effectively supplements the information supplied to us by Hiuen Tsang, as also the author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*.[8] Thus, this Indrapura-Śvetavatālaya is to be located very near the capital city of ancient Kapiśā, which has been located by Cunningham near modern Charikar, about 45 to 50 miles north of Kabul.

In the same *Mahāmāyūrī* list of the Yakṣas, we are told in verse 28 that Śiva was the Yakṣa of Śivapurāhāra and Śivabhadra was the one of Bhiṣaṇā (*Śivaḥ Śivapurāhāre Śivabhadraśca Bhīṣaṇe*).

6 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 129.

7 Dr. Fleet mentions the interesting practice of the Pandits in reference to sampgaum and Ugar gol in the Belgaum district as Ahipura and Nakhapura; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 79, f.n. 2.

8 For my detailed observations on this coin device, cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XIV, 1938, Winternitz Number, pt. I. pp. 95-99.

Śivapurāhāra, i.e., the *āhāra* (an administrative district) of Śivapura has not been identified. Sylvain Lévi rightly refers to the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 3, which mentions Śivapura as a village of the north (Udīcyagrāma).[9] But this does not help us in definitely fixing the locality. Cunningham noted in his account of Shorkot that according to the local Brahmins, the original name of the place was Śivanagarī or Sheopur (Śivapura), which was gradually contracted to Shor.[10] We could have attempted to identify with some justification the Śivapura of the *Mahāmāyūrī* with modern Shorkot on the basis of this local tradition recorded by Cunningham. But the latter will be topographically too far from the possible location of the Śivapura of the text and as Vögel has rightly shown from the Shorkot inscription (engraved round the neck of a metal cauldron) of the Gupta period (83 Gupta era) that the ancient name of Shorkot was Śibipura, the site of the capital of the well known ancient Indian tribe of the Śibis.[11]

So, we shall have to seek for the sites of Śivapura and Bhīṣaṇā far towards the north-west. Now, here also Hiuen Tsang comes to our aid. We learn from his *Si-yu-ki* (that section of Chuan II which deals with his peregrinations in Gandhāra), that he visited the shrine of Bhīmā-devī, the consort of Īśvara-deva (Śiva) which was situated on the top of a high mountain about 50 *li* or so to the north-east (should be east-north-east) of Po-lu-sha, modern Shabazgarhi. Foucher correctly identified the Bhīmādevīparvata with the lofty peak of Karamar, 1030 metres high about 39 to 40 *li* east of Shahbazgarhi.[12] The Chinese traveller further informs us

9 *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 70.

10 *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. V, p. 97.

11 *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, 1921, p. 16. The identification of Shorkot with the capital town of the Śivis, based on epigraphic data, finds corroboration from the classical source. Curtius definitely locates the town of the Siboi (Śibis) not far from the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Akesines a position very nearly agreeing with that of Shorkot.

12 Foucher, *Notes on the Geography of Gandhāra*, p. 33. The Chinese pil-

that there was a self-wrought image (Svayambhūmūrti) of dark blue stone of the goddess in the shrine on the summit and "at the foot of the mountain was a temple dedicated to Maheśvara-deva in which the ash-smearing Tīrthikas (evidently the Pāśupatas) performed much worship." That these two shrines were very important ones in the seventh century A.D. and had long history before that period is fully proved by Hiuen Tsang's explicit statement that they were 'great resorts of devotees from all parts of India'. Moreover, their importance is further substantiated by the fact that Hiuen Tsang went out of his way to pay visits to these places which were in no way connected with Buddhism. In the *Mahābhārata,* we find a reference to a tīrtha named Bhīmāsthāna beyond Pañcanada, in the account of the various sacred places of India in the following lines: (here *tato* means from Pañcanada)

ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र भीमायाः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।
तत्र स्नात्वा तु योन्यां वै नरो भरतसत्तम ॥
देव्याः पुत्रो भवेद्राजन् रत्नकुण्डलविग्रहः ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः[13]

This Bhīmāsthāna of the *Mahābhārata* beyond Pañcanada is evidently identical with the Bhīmā-devī shrine of Hiuen Tsang; what additional information we gather from this extract is that in the shrine was also situated the Yonitīrtha, a dip into its *kuṇḍa* being regarded as highly auspicious in character.[14] Now, this Bhīmāsthāna can justifiably be identified with the Bhīṣaṇā of the *Mahāmāyūrī* text, (the terms being synonymous, a few observations made

grim's 50 *li* is in excess of 10 or 11 *li;* this excessive estimate has satifactorily been accounted for by Foucher.

13 *Mahābhārata,* Calcutta edition, Vanaparva, Ch. 82, Verses 84-5.

14 Nandalal Dey in his *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India,* 2nd edition, also notes the identity of Bhīmāsthāna of the epic with the Bhīmādevi shrine of the Chinese pilgrim, and finds a reference to the same shrine in the *Padma Purāṇa,* Svarga Khaṇḍa, ch. 11. But he did not utilise the useful information supplied to us by Foucher in definitely locating this shrine, and thus his indentification of it with Takht-i-Bahai is evidently incorrect.

previously by me in connection with the location of Indra-pura in the north-west also applying in this case) and the Śivapura of the latter may be located at the foot of the hill. Foucher offers a very interesting suggestion that in the name of the present village of Shewa not very far from the foot of Karamar peak one may find the reference to the shrine of Maheśvara deva (Śiva) mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim.[15] It is our further suggestion that this modern site also marks the ancient one of Śivapura. It may well be presumed that populous cities once grew up round these shrines and the way in which the author of the Buddhist text refers to these localities leaves little doubt that these were contiguous to one another. It is true that there is no reference to the goddess Bhīmā in the *Mahāmāyūrī;* but it must be observed that the author refers only to the titulary gods in his long list and those of Bhīṣaṇā and Śivapura are one and the same, referred to as Śiva in the case of Śivapura and Śivabhadra in the case of Bhīṣaṇā.[16]

Po-Fa-To-Parvata

Hiuen Tsang tells us in his *Si-yu-ki* that he went north-eastwards for above 700 li from *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* (almost unanimously identified with Multan) to the *Po-fa-to* country. The identification of this country has taxed the scholarship of many indologists but up till now no satisfactory solution of this problem has been arrived at. A brief summary of the various suggestions by a number of

15 Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

16 It will not be out of place to note here that the epic reference to Bhīmāsthāna and its Yonitīrtha as well as Hiuen Tsang's mention of Bhīmādevī, her Svayambhūmūrti and the shrine of Śiva is of outstanding interest and importance from the religious point of view. We know Yonitīrtha is now situated at Kāmākhyā near Gauhati in Assam and her particular Bhairava is Umānanda a few miles distant from the Devī shrine there on the top of the hill. In the early centuries of the Christian era there was a similar Devī shrine in the heart of ancient Gandhāra with the adjacent shrine of the Bhairava (Śiva). Again, the self-wrought image of Bhīmā of the place can be profitably compared with the principal object of veneration in the Kāmākhyā shrine, which though the public are not allowed to see it uncovered, seems to be also a virgin rock without any particular shape or form.

scholars is given here along with some additional observations of mine. Cunningham at first emended *po-fa-to* of the D text of *Si-yu-ki* (the *po-lo-fa-to* of other texts) into *So-lo-fa-to* and located its capital at Shorkot. But he subsequently gave up this view and placed it at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab. This latter suggestion of his was accepted by Dr. Fleet. V. A. Smith, in his notes on the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang appended to Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, volume II, suggested that Po fa-to indicated the region of Jammu, in the Kashmir State as at present constituted. Mazumdar Sastri remarks that 'as Jummu is about 250 miles away from Multan, the identification of Smith cannot be accepted.'

Po-fa-to has rightly been assumed to be based on the Sanskrit *Parvata*, an early reference to which has been correctly found in Pāṇini, iv. 2, 143. The author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* speaks of one Malayaketu, the son of Parvataka, and the king of Parvata deśa which is presumably the same country as *Po-fa-to*.[17] In the Ghāṭiyālā inscription of the Pratihāra king Kakkuka we are told that he obtained great renown in the countries of Travaṇī, Valla and Māḍa, amongst the Āryas, in Gurjjararātra, in the Laṭa deśa and in Parvata.[18] This Parvata is evidently the same as the Chinese

17 A few round copper coins with a bull on the obverse and a few symbols and a legend *Pavatasa* in early Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C. on the reverse were found by Cunningham at Kauśāmbi, modern Kośam, near Allahabad: the form of the coin-legend does not necessarily prove that Parvata was the name of a person; it may as well be the name of a locality. But then the definite location of these coins at Kośam by Cunningham would militate against its being equated with Hiuen Tsang's *Po-fa-to*.

18 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, pp. 278-80. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited this inscription there, translated the passage—*Yena prāptā mahākhyatis tvavaṇyām vallamāḍayoḥ! Āryeṣu Gurjjararāṭṭrāyāṁ Lāṭadeśe ca Parvvate*—as 'great renown obtained by whom in the countries of Travaṇi, Valla and Māḍa, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjjararāṭṭra and in Parvata in the Lāṭa country.' But he correctly translated it in his *List of North Indian Inscriptions*, p. 7, where in a footnote he suggests that Parvata is perhaps identical with *Po-fa-to* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

pilgrim's *Po-fa-to;* from this epigraphic datum it may be observed that the locality could not be far removed from the zone of activities of the Pratihāra king Kakkuka, and thus would lend some support to Cunningham's second identification endorsed by Fleet. The latest reference to Parvata we find in a 15th or 16th century A.D. inscription engraved on the upper part of the face of a pillar of the stone railing at Bodh-Gaya. The epigraphic record informs us that one sage Jinadāsa hailing from Parvata (*Parvatādāgata Paṇḍita Jinadāsa*) was responsible for some benefaction to the Bodh-Gaya shrine. B. M. Barua thinks that this Parvata may be the same as the Chinese traveller's *Po-fa-to,* but this identification also, if accepted, does not help us in fixing its location.[19]

Siṁhala, a place in the Deccan

J. C. Ghosh and M. V. Kibe discussed the problem of locating Laṅkā-Siṁhala somewhere on the border of or adjacent to the Madhyadeśa of the Buddhists.[20] Watters, also drew the attention of scholars to the probability of locating the *Chih-shih-tzū kuo* or Siṁhala country mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in connection with his observations about the legend of Deva Pusa and Gaṅgādvāra in India, preferably South India.[21] There is a tradition recorded in the bardic tales of Mewar that Ratansiṁha, ruler of Mewar, married Padmiṇī, the daughter of Hamir Saṅkh of Siṁhala (cf. *Padumāvat*); this Siṁhala was identified with Ceylon by Todd (*Annals*, vol. I)

19. B. M. Barua, *Bodh Gaya*, vol. II, p. 73.

20 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. V, pp. 355-6; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol.XVII, pp. 371 ff.; *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, pl. I, pp. 84-86. A locality somewhere near Amarakantaka, a place near Damoh in C.P. will mark the ancient site of Laṅkā—Siṁhala according to Kibe and Ghosh respectively.

21 *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 321. "The *Chih-Shihtzū Kuo* or Siṁhala country of this passage has been taken to be Ceylon, the country generally so designated, but it may be here the name of a country in India. Yuan Chwang, as will be seen hereafter, probably knew that Deva was a native of South India and not of Ceylon." See also in this connection *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 99-100; IX, pp. 742, 745, 972f.; X, pp. 138f., 368f., 780f.

as well as Gauri Sankar Ojha (*Rajputnekā Itihās*). Ojha discredits the story of Ratansiṁha's marriage with Padmiṇī on the ground that the Raja of Mewar could not have married the daughter of one Hamir Saṅkh who could not have ruled over Ceylon. S. C. Dutt in a Bengali article recently published in one of the issues of the monthly Bengali Journal, *Vicitrā*, has shown on the authority of a manuscript entitled *Udepur rājavaṁśāvali*, finished about 1840 A.D. and now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, that there was a Siṁhala situated in Western India. We read in the folio 10 of the same manuscript:—

"राजा रतनसिंघजि..... समलद्वीप पाटन सहरमे
चोहान राजसंघ राज करतो हो जठ जाइने राजरी वेटी
पदमनी ने परनी"..... ।

Dutt thinks that this Samaladvīpa is to be located in the kingdom of Anahilwara Pātan in Kathiwar Peninsula.[21] Rājaśekhara includes Siṁhala among the various constituent janapadas of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, such as *Mahārāṣṭra Māhiṣaka Āsmaka Vidarbha Kuntala Kratha Kaiśika Surpāraka Kāñcī Kerala Kaveramurala Vānavāsaka Siṁhala Coḍadaṇḍaka Pāṇḍyapallava Gāṅga Nāsikya Kauśika Kollagirivallāra*. The editor of the *Kāvyamīmāṁśā* (third edition) in the Appendix I of the work distinguishes Siṁhala from Laṅkā and identifies the former with Ceylon while locating the latter island on the eastern side of the Peninsula beyond Travancore. But the express mention of Siṁhala by Rājaśekhara among the various countries of the Dakṣiṇāpatha would preclude its location outside the Deccan Peninsula.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

21 Prof. S. C. Dutt has kindly supplied me with all this information about Samala-Siṁhala. Now, Patan of the manuscript may also be identified with the modern locality of Patan near Jubbulpore where a sati record dated in 1361 V.S. was found; Hiralal pointed out that at about 1308 A.D., portions of the Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were being governed by a Mahārājaputra Vāghadeva, a Parihāra chief under the suzerainty of the Chauhāna kings. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVI, p. 11. Mr. J. C. Ghosh has kindly drawn my attention to this reference.

22 *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, 3rd edition, p. 93.

Raja Ramnarain*

III

Robert Orme, a fellow councillor and friend of Clive, and the contemporary English historian of Hindustan, writes that Aliwardi had adopted a deliberate policy "of preferring the services of the Hindus in every office of dignity of the state, excepting the ranks of the army for which neither they wished nor were fit;[91] and seemed to regard the increase of their wealth as his own." Among his special favourites were Rai Durlabh or Durlabh Ram and the opulent Seth brothers "whom he admitted to his innermost secret councils." Most of us know the part played by these people in the overthrow of one whom their benefactor loved more than his own life. The same cannot be said about the Hindu officers in Bihar, specially Raja Janki Ram and his successor, Raja Ram Narain. They present a decidely favourable contrast and to them is truly applicable the remark of Orme that the "Gentoos (Hindus) did not ever deceive their benefactor but co-operated to strengthen his administration."[92] We shall find, for example, that Raja Ram Narain not only tried to carry out, to his utmost, the injunctions of his master, communicated through the Parwanah of his appointment received on the 15th Rabi I of 4th year of accession i.e. 1752,[93] but he alone remained faithful to his grandson when practically everyone else had turned against him in 1757.

It was, according to *Seyar*,[94] in recognition of his devotedness and old services, specially the ability he exhibited in clearing up

* Continued from p. 95, vol. XIV.

91 Orme, *History of Indosthan*, II, 53. This remark is too sweeping to be accepted or to be even seriously considered. We find even a member of the writer class being praised for his prowess by a veteran like Knox (*S.M.*, 687). Raja Ram Narain was not wanting in courage and his gallantry in battle has been referred to by Colonel Ironside (Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 77 f.n.). His father, Ranglal, died fighting for his master. *Vide ante.*

92 Orme, II, 53.

93 Dastūr, 197b; 216. 15. 3. 1165 = 2. 2. 1752.

94 *S.M.*, 593.

his accounts of finance and in managing its receipts and expenditure, that Raja Ram Narain was promoted to the high office of the deputy governor of Bihar. The Parwanah of appointment, referred to above, appears to have been issued on the 11th of Rabi I 4th year of accession, [95] (1165) which corresponds to January 29, 1752 and not the "beginning of the year 1166, i.e. end of 1752, as mentioned by the contemporary historian (*S.M.* 593). Besides the usual accompaniment of a robe of honour, a gilded turban, sabre and an elephant,[96] we find mention being made of the letters of a Parwanah permitting the use of Murchal (fan) Naubat (drum) and issued at the instance of, and delivered by, Jagat Seth[97] (end of Rabi II year 4th). About six months after, on the 21st Ramzan, a fringed *Palki*, a special robe of honour, a gilded head-dress and a sword with enamelled handle, sent by Nawab Mansurul-Mulk, were respectfully received by the Raja in the garden of Jafar Khan.[98]

The above-mentioned Parwanah[99] enjoined upon the 'prosperous' Raja Ram Narain "to consider himself as permanent *Naib* of Nawab Mansurul-Mulk, (Siraj),".....".manage the affairs of the Nizamat in such a way as not to disturb the existing arrangement, but to effect improvement thereupon and be ever straight in

95 Dastūr, 197a, b, 21a. A letter addressed to Mirza Gholam Hussain Khan, dated 7th Rabi I, year 4, informs him how Raja Ram Narain had already shouldered the burden of the Niabat of the Subah "and begun to discharge his duties from Diwan-i-'Ām" (Dastūr, 242a).

96 *S.M.*, 593. 97 Dastūr, 267a.

98 *Ibid.*, 258a, 225b. Aliwardi exalted the Naib of Patna with the title of "Maharaja." Having held the rank of 1000 Zat the latter applied for and got through Nawab Bahadur (Jawed Khan) and the Emperor's mother the rank of 4000 Zat and 3000 horse together with the title of Bahadur and the permission to use banner, drum and, fringed *palki*, as was the case with Janki Ram. Of course Nazranah had to be presented to Nawab Bahadur and the Emperor's mother and the expenses of the Motsaddis had to be borne for the purpose (Dastūr, 126b) 217-18.

99 Dastūr, 21b.

dealing with the matters of revenue and government accounts and kind and considerate in his treatment of the subjects and the peasants." The Raja in acknowledging it[100] respectfully notes down the direction and adds that "as he had been performing the various works even during the lifetime of the deceased Maharaja (Janki Ram), now that he had himself been elevated to that office, it behoved him to be much more active and energetic than before." He assures the Nawab that "through the grace of God the influence of his Excellency's training would increase his honour." In a letter to Raja Durlabh Ram who, in addition to his own duties, was to act as an intermediary or Agent General of Bihar Government at the court of Murshidabad for transacting every business that might require a question and answer or any other discussion concerning his administration of the province,[101] Raja Ram Narain writes how he sent with Rasbehari, on the 17th of Rabi I, year 4th, (February 4, 1752) Hundis or bills of exchange worth 4 lacs of rupees, which he found surplus in the treasury of Raja Janki Ram. This was followed by eight other bills of exchange, worth the same amount, and drawn upon Mahta Sākhimal and Jagat Seth, for the year 5th of the accession, i.e. end of 1752. The letter concludes as follows:--"Everything here is the property of His Excellency, including myself, his humble slave."[102]

In reply to a Parwanah, dated 4th Rabi, year 5th, offering, if necessary, military reinforcements from Bengal for the regulation, administration and realization of the revenue of the province of Bihar, the Raja first pours forth his heart in gratitude, and then adds that the good fortune of his illustrious master was his mainstay, and that he would apply[103] for further help only when he had to go outside to settle affairs and collect the revenue and found his

100 Dastūr, 197b.
101 *S.M.*, 593-94
102 Dastūr, 196b.
103 *Ibid.*, 199a.

own resources[101] inadequate for the task. Though in the beginning we find him writing about the confusion[105] in the affairs of Bihar, largely on account of the illness of Raja Janki Ram, his letter, dated Ramzan and Zilhijja, year 5th of accession, i.e. August and November, 1752 conveys the reassuring and welcome information: "By the enternal good fortune of Your Excellency, the government of this country is well-ordered and well-regulated. The people are enjoying peace and order and are praying for the perpetuation of Your Excellency's protection."[106] As directed, he sent the papers and records of Raja Janki Ram's government,[107] through Sohan Lal, Serishtedar, on the 24th Zilhijja, year 5th and pleaded that the delay had been due to the heavy rains and the consequent flood which had blocked all passages to the garden of Jafar Khan where they were kept. In fact, we find him faithfully and promptly carrying out every behest of his master and sending frequently large sums of money as rents of Jagir lands and other collections in his province.[108] Though he was not primarily responsible for the delay in the despatch of the five monthly instalments of Ali Jawad Khan, the Foujdar of Narhat Samai, for the Fasli year 1159 i.e. 1752, "yet as compliance with His Excellency's commands meant the good fortune of the child of his slave" "the *Hundis* for the amount of this Foujdari, together with the sums realised from the

104 Dastūr, 199a. The succeeding letter gives 3500 horses (?) and 5000 foot soldiers as the strength of the military force found after the death of Maharaja Janki Ram. This does not include those whom the deceased Maharaja had recruited and sent with Fayez Ali Khan but whom he discharged after his return from the Sarkar of Saran. A short note is (p. 276b) significant:—"The Zamindars of the Sarkar of Saran regard themselves as Paraśu Ram (the first of the three Rāma's and the sixth incarnation or Avatar of Viṣṇu who extirpated the Kṣatriyas twenty one times) and they would not be reasonable without the Darshan (interview) of Janki Ram." The position of the Bihar Naib was not a bed of roses, indeed.

105 *Ibid.*, 270.

106 *Ibid.*, 181a, 183b.

107 *Ibid.*, 190a.

108 *Ibid.*, 144a, 171a, 177a, 178b, 236ab, 269b etc. etc.

Jagirs of Nawab Mansurul Mulk (Siraj), were sent, as directed." We are told how the Raja was directed to settle the question of a disputed inheritance regarding the village Azizpur in *perganah* Mulki of *Sarkar* Hajipur so as to prevent injustice to legitimate claimants after enquiring thoroughly about the relevant religious law (Shariat) on the point.[109]

Sometimes, the Raja, instead of immediately giving effect to certain orders, made his submissions on the subject and solicited further consideration and directions. Referring to a *Parwanah*[110] directing him to put Syed Amanullah in possession of village Azizpore in Perganah Mulki of Sarkar Hajipore, from which, according to his own statement, he had been forcibly turned out by Manan Singh with the help of Narain Dutt, he submitted that as far as he knew, Manan Singh had been in possession of disputed land for a long time and he, therefore, thought it advisable to set up a local enquiry which the Syed was disinclined to accept. He would do as directed, and in the meanwhile, keep back both the cavalry and foot soldiers who had been commissioned to the task under a *Dastak*. In another undated letter[111] he signified his readiness to remit as directed the tolls and customs duties on 41 Badri (?) of sewing silk and 7 bags of silken threads, belonging to one Mirza Mohsin, but he respectfully submitted that his assiduity and close superintendence of such things was in the best interests of the state and that, on an earlier occasion, Raja Janki Ram had been allowed to effect no such remission in the realization of government dues.

109 Dastūr, 181b, 182a. 110 *Ibid.*,

111 *Ibid.*, 194b, 195a. On the other hand, when enjoined upon, at one time, not to realise tolls etc. on fine rice and ghee worth Rs. 500 and 200 respectively which Fazlullah Khan, son of Nawab Sabit Jang, had ordered for from Azimabad (Patna), the Raja writes that no one had power to cause the least obstruction to the said goods (202a).

We find him at times making some suggestions to the Nawab. Two or three letters,[112] dated Ramzan, year 5th of accession (August, 1752) relate to the double evils of the existing system whereby tolls and transit duties on boat-load of salt fell far short of their real value and were also realised very late. He suggested that the salts brought on the boats should be weighed at once on their arrival by means of large scales and care should be taken to prevent evasions and illicit profits by the prompt realisation of the transit duties. He requested that the Mutasaddis (clerks) of the court should not be allowed to be influenced in this respect by the agents of Fakhrut-tujjar (Khawaja Wajid) and that his submissions should be kept strictly confidential.

On occasions, though extremely rare, his patience was too much taxed, specially because of the unpalatable orders respecting the dues of the Jagirdars in Bihar. It appears that Sirajuddowla, the *de jure,* but nominal Nazim of Bihar, had extensive Jagirs in this province, for we find reference[113] to the despatch of bills of exchange worth various amounts for his estate in Tirhut, Narhat and Samai, Chainpur, and other places. On one occasion,[114] however, when the Raja was exhorted to practice economy in respect of Sirajuddowla's estate within Afghan possession in Tirhut and also felt vexed by conflicting orders regarding the Jagir in Phulwari and elsewhere, he suggested the discontinuance of this distribution of Jagir which entailed much loss of revenue. In a letter probably addressed to Durlabh Ram, the Raja refers to the zamindar's plea of drought and his own pre-occupations in realizing the dues. He assures the addressee that he spares no pain in economizing but feels helpless when it comes to the question of one lac or fifty thousands. He however, wants this to be communicated to the Nawab in such a way as not to annoy him in the least.[115]

112 Dastūr, 183b-184a.
113 *Ibid.*, 236b, 237a, 267a, etc.
114 *Ibid.*, 237a.
115 *Ibid.*, 236a.

There are numerous such letters, concerning a variety of subjects ranging from high politics of state down to the personal supervision by the Hindu Raja of the ceremonies of Moharram[116] in the city, specially, Begampur, which contained the mausoleum of Haibat Jang, 'the martyr Nawab.' A student of economic history will find much interesting materials in the large number of letters which indicate the constant compliance of the Raja with the most ordinary wishes and orders of the Nawab and his grandson regarding the prompt despatch of such choicest things[117] of Bihar as woollen and flowered carpets, Monghyr guns, Patna Basmati rice and wheat, water melons, mangoes of Chajju Bagh, coarse and fine linen clothes such as Kharwah, Dodami, Azimabadi, Shabnami, Gota or gold lace etc., Patna smoking pipes of Bidar type or made of glass, essence of Ketaki flower, medicines, some vegetable plants and their seeds etc. We shall however content ourselves with considering here only a few of those letters which throw some light upon the frontier and the foreign policy of the Nizamat during the first period of Raja Ram Narain's regime.

The fact that the deputy governor of Bihar, an important frontier province, kept himself well-informed of all the affairs

116 Dastūr 193a, b. Till recently the Hindus of Patna used to join freely in the celebration of this Muslim festival held annually on the occasion of the death of Hussain, son of Ali, who was killed by Yazid at Karbala.

117 Dastūr, 119a, 121ab, 125ab, 129a, 132b, 133a, 142a, 163b, 171a, 175a, 186b, 187b, 192ab, 193a, 197ab, 201ab, 207b, 249ab, 250ab, 252ab, 256a, 265a, 271a. Expressions like "Ten maunds of rice for the use of His Excellency for the month of Zilhijja, year 5th of accession (271a) is interesting for it shows that the Bihar *Basmati* (called "Shah *pasand*") was in constant use with the Nawab. Hamilton also speaks of the good Patna rice which shows that its fame had travelled to Europe (*Indostan*, I, 256, 263). References to Monghyr guns and to astrolabe of Lahore make, ordered for by Nawab Mansurul Mulk," (Siraj) also deserve more than a passing notice. Perhaps they throw some light on the character of Siraj and the importance of Monghyr in the days before Mir Qasim. Again the mention of fine Muslins like "twelve yarded Mahmudi", 'Dodami Azimabadi', "Shabnami", "Sufaida" etc. are not without their own significance. "Shatrangi-i-Guluna" and glass works can still be had at Patna, but the quality has naturally deteriorated for want of patronage.

specially of Delhi and Oudh, by means of an efficient and elaborate system, of espionage, is evident from a good number of news-letters, found in the collection, as also from a letter of the Raja,[118] sent in reply to a Parwanah from the Nawab of Bengal. Being enjoined upon to be ever watchful of the foreign situation through a band of informants, the Raja assures the Nawab that he had been personally in charge of this work since the beginning of the Afghan revolt (1745) and that a body of 7 or 8 *Harkaras* were always kept stationed at the Imperial Capital and an equal number in the army of the Oudh Nawab. Murlidhar is mentioned prominently in this connection. We learn from the letters[119] that

118 Dastūr, 124a, 164a.

119 *Ibid.*, 115, 125b, 142, 153a, 162b, 178b, 180a, 194b, 210a, 217a, 236a, 243b, 246a. Raja Jugul Kishore, an inhabitant of Delhi, and a poet with the pen name of Sarwat, was Vakil to the Nazim of Bengal from the time of Shuja-ud-din to that of Aliwardi. According to the author of *Rahatul-Arwah* (O. P. L. Ms.) Jugul Kishore, though a vakil of Sarfaraz Khan, was won over by Aliwardi who secured through him the Nizamat of the three Provinces for himself. He appears frequently in the Dastūr till at least in 1753, and the author of *Seyar* and *Tazkira-i-Hindi* also mention him, sometimes in connection with Oudh affairs (*S.M.*, 881; *T.H.* 227). No such informations are available, at present, about Lala Jiwan Das but the context of a particular letter (119a, b), probably written shortly after Aliwardi's death, in 1756, shows that he had succeeded Jugul Kishore as the Vakil of the Eastern Provinces in the Imperial Court. He is mentioned next to Nawab Hakim-ul-mamalik who appears to have been a very important personage concerning the affairs of Bengal and Bihar in the Delhi Court till the accession of Siraj-ud-dowla. As regards his identity, two letters in the Dastūr associate with his titles the names of Syed Ali Naqi Khan (179b) and Alavi Khan (162b). The author of *Beyan-i-Wāqe* (Kujhwa Ms. 127-129) tells us of a 'Nawab Hakimul-ma-malik' (See also Elliot, VIII, pp. 130-131) but we know from the same author as also from Beal's *Dictionary* (p. 47) that this famous physician, who had been invited by Emperor Mohammad Shah and witnessed Nadir's invasion, died in 1162 (=1748-49). The Patna historian is more helpful in that he makes mention of an uncle of the famous Nawab Mohammad Razā Khan, Mozaffur Jung, of Bengal (*S.M.* 823) who bore the name of Hakimul-mo_malik, Ali Naqi Khan. The word Alavi presents no difficulty as it was a family name denoting descent from Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Hakim Najmul Ghani, the modern historian of Oudh who derives his information from *Bayn-i-waqe*, an authoritative work, describes Ali Naqi Khan as the sister's son of the famous physician, Alavi Khan, who had been once weighed in gold and silver by Emperor Mohammad Shah and

Jugal Kishore, Lala Jiwan Das, and one Nawab Hakimul Mamalik, acted as intermediaries between the Imperial court and that of the Eastern Provinces; that Raja Ram Narain sent through them letters of congratulations, accompanied by presents of *Nazranas* of the usual 500 gold *Mohars* or 9 Gold *Mohars* and 51 rupees, on behalf of Nawab Siraj-ud-dowla, on the occasions, either of the two Muslim festivals of Idul-Fitre or Iduz-Zoha, or at the anniversary of the Emperor's accession to the throne;[120] that the old powerful eunuch, Jawed Khan, Nawab Bahadur, was won over by the despatch of *Peshkash* in the shape of bills of exchange so as to secure title and rank for the Rajah;[121] that one, Akbar Ali Khan Mangbashi, sent from the Imperial Capital to demand and convey the balance of the revenue of Bengal[122] and Bihar, advanced the claims of the

promoted to the rank of eight thousand. He also tells us of "his heirs who lived in Shiraz (Persia) and Bengal and got his (Hakimul-momalik) inheritance through the recommendation of Safdar Jung (*Turkh-i-Oudh*, p. 76). That Nawab Hakimul-momalik, Syed Ali Naqi Khan, whom we may call Alavi Khan, occupied a very prominent position in the Imperial Court is shown by the fact that on his *Haveli* (mansion) being acquired by Nawab Vazir for Rs. 2 lakhs, he was provided by the Emperor with a "royal mansion" just adjacent to that of the late Nawab Sam-sa-mud-dowla Khan Dauran" (Dastūr, 179b). At one time the Jagir of the Pargana of Phulwari (a few kos west from Patna was a bone of contention between this personage and Siraj-ud-dowla. Ram Narain wrote to Aliwardi on the occasion:— "let alone the Hakim, I cannot pay the money without your express permission even if the Emperor himself writes to me" (Dastūr, 236b).

120 Dastūr, 119ab, 195b, 243a.

121 *Ibid.*, 126b, 217a.

122 This man described as the "Chieftain of the Caravan of Bengal treasure" (263b), being deputed from the Imperial Court, arrived at Azimabad on Friday, the 2nd Rabi II, year 4th (17-18th February, 1752) and lodged in the *Idgah* (257b). We do not know if he actually left for Murshidabad, as reported, on the 23rd of the same month (255a), but a letter tells us that on the 19th Ramzan, at 'Azimabad, it was settled on the advice of Mahta Sakhimal,' and in the presence of Ali Akbar Khan Mangbashi and the bankers that bills of exchange worth 10 lacs of rupees should be sent to the Imperial exchequer in 3 instalments within 2 months and a Hundawan (price paid for a bill of exchange) of 9 p.c. was to be allowed by the said Khan. Aliwardi might communicate to the Nawab Bahadur (Jawed Khan) and Raja Jugul Kishore what he deemed fit and proper (184a). This letter is immediately followed

Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Safdar Jang, after the murder of Jawed Khan and it was supported by Nawab Hakimul-Mamalik;[123] that the bitterness of the early years of 1743-45 had gone and a friendly relation existed in the fifties between Safdar Jang and Mahabat Jang, as was indicated by the latter[124] complying, through his subordinates, with the request of the former, to keep away his fugitive rebels from the confines of the eastern Provinces, and also by the exchanges of presents[125] between the two Nawabs and their heirs-apparent; and that *Hundis* worth lacs of rupees were sent to Hakimul Mamalik for the estates of the Imperial Jagirdars of Bihar, who, however, failed to realise the difficulties involved in the task.[126]

by another, according to which the bankers gave out that the Nawab Bahadur had, after settling 13 p.c. as the Hundawan, issued a Parwanah assigning the 10 lakhs to the said Ali Akbar Khan. The banker, however, backed out of the bargain (184b). A little after this Jawed Khan was murdered in Shawal 1165 i.e. September 8—1752. (*S.M.*, 890), at the instance of Safdar Jang who immediately wrote to the Nawab of Bengal, through Hakimul-momalik, to send to him Hundi for the Bengal tribute through Akbar Ali (188a, b). An order for compliance was issued to the *Naib* of Patna (188a) who also received a letter from the Imperial Court to send the balance of the treasure of Bengal (180b). He appears, however, to have sent two reports, one about the men of Akbar Ali Khan behaving improperly with the Persian poet, Hazin, then resident at Patna. (180a) and another insinuating that as the said Khan and men of his party had purchased commodities of trade out of the sale proceeds of their horses which they wanted to take duty free, and it was not possible, except on the plea of conveying the Imperial treasure, he insisted on getting the money in cash instead of Hundis being furnished for the same (189b). Elsewhere we read of Hundis worth 2 lakhs and 71 thousands being sent to the Nawab Vazir through Raja Jugul Kishore on the 2nd Moharrum, year 5th i.e. November 1752 and Rupees 50,000 being kept by the Mangbashi himself for the expenses of his own men (191b). We do not hear again of Akbar Ali Khan but Ali Ibrahim Khan, Khalil, speaks of a son of the former, named Ali Naqi, poetically surnamed 'Intizar', who according to Khalil, had come to Murshidabad during the time of Aliwardi and was passing his days under the patronage of the Nazim when the great anthologist found him in the 70's of the 18th century (Gulzari-i-Ibrahim. O.P.L. 266).

123 Dastūr, 180b, 188a.

124 *Ibid.*, 25a, b. Barwand (Balwant) Singh of Benares is specially named in the letter.

125 *Ibid.*, 117a.

126 *Ibid.*, 196a.

Affairs like these, as mentioned in the letters, are too numerous to be detailed or even referred to here. They show that the masterful Subadar of Bengal was ever vigilant and watchful of the political situation in Northern India and knew how to maintain himself in his usurped position by an outward show of friendship towards those who could count. He was ably helped by his lieutenants and agents at Delhi, and specially by the Naib Nazim of Bihar, who had the knack of making an effective use of what can be called his Intelligence department. Though we do not get positive proof of regular remittance of revenue promised by Aliwardi, in the very first year of his accession to the *musnad* of Bengal, yet the due observance of the formalities on ceremonial occasions by Raja Ram Narain on behalf of his master, and more specially, the ability with which he managed to win the good graces of the venal grandees of Delhi and his attitude of deference to the Oudh Nawab, whose territories adjoined those of Bihar, sufficed to keep the situation quiet in those quarters, so far as the eastern provinces were concerned. The Marhattas also had been bought off by the treaty of June 1751, whereby the chauth of Bengal and Bihar was yielded to them, and which paved the way for ultimate Marhatta supremacy over Orissa. A letter[127] of Raja Ram Narain tells us how he promptly obeyed his master by appointing agents for the collection of the Marhatta dues from Bihar for this was the only way to keep the subjects and peasants free from their constant incursions and extortions. In the year first, i.e., 1754 we hear of the arrival of one Raghunath Pandit,[128] an emissary of his namesake, the brother of the Third Peshwa, and of Malhar Rao Holker, on the strength of a *dastak* furnished by Safdar Jang, and another by Raja Ram Narain. He visited Gaya and went also to Bengal and was invested with *Khilat* or robe of honour besides being provided

127 Dastūr, 199b. 128 *Ibid.*, 16a, 122a, 140a, 141a, 151a, etc.

with Rs. 25,000 by Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari[129] at the instance of the Nawab of Bengal.

The Raja of Tikari was only one of the several zamindars and powerful chieftains, who came frequently into contact with Raja Ram Narain. The relation subsisting between the turbulent people of the frontier districts and the Naib Nazim of Bihar is of special interest in view of some new information supplied by the letters. The border barons of Bhojpur and Sasaram have been described in the letters as "deceitful free-booters, resembling foxes and jackals."[130] They were well known for their chronic lawlessness and defiance of settled authority. Though often subdued,[131] as for instance by Aliwardi in 1732 or 1734, and again by his nephew, Haibat Jang in 1741-42, they were never completely crushed. In fact, the hold of the Mussulmans on these portions of Shahabad, as also on the hilly and irregular tracts of Gaya and Chotanagpore districts, which formed the western and southern extremities of Bihar, had been always precarious because of the turbulent and independent spirit of the people there and the ineffective use of the Muslim cavalry, specially in the broken and rocky country.[132]

129 Dastūr, 151a, Sunder Singh, a member of the Bhumihar Brahmin community, and the founder of the Tikari Raj, appears frequently in the letter pp. 29a, 123, 139, 141, 145, 149, 150, 174, 189, 216, 261 etc.. The Patna historian who describes Sunder Singh as a duriful protege of Aliwardi (*S.M.*, 565) gives very interesting informations about him—see pages 505, 506, 526, 535, 538, 539, 544, 559, 567, 627, 643, 649, 654, 657. A few lines from Justice James' *Selection from the Correspondence of the Revenue chiefs of Bihar*, p. 25 will bear quotation:—"while Kamgar Khan was building up the Hasua Estate, his neighbour Sunder Singh of Tikari, was acquiring for himself a vast zamindari by similar method by encroaching on the petty zamindaris in the plains, and on the Ghatwali tenures in the hilly area on the south. There was a strong personal enmity between Sunder Singh and Kamgar Khan and after Sunder Singh's murder in 1758, the feud was continued with Raja Fatteh Singh (his nephew) and Buniad Singh both of whom were put to death by Mir Qasim in 1763."

130 Dastūr, 15a, b. 131 *S.M.*, 505, 506, 473, 490: *MN.* 15b, 16a, 27b.

132 *JASB.*, 1885. Beam's Article on the Geography of Bihar, p. 164.

Times of trouble are always favourable for the enterprising and the adventurous people. The ablest and the most spirited amongst them tried to carve out new estates, withheld revenue and shrank not from giving battles to the organised forces of the state. The Bhojpuria Rajputs of Jagdishpur and Chainpur in Sasaram, Kamgar Khan of Narhut Samai, Sunder Singh of Tikari, Bishun Singh of Seres Kutumba were conspicuous figures in the period under review and their encroachments and aggrandisements, mutual jealousy and defiant attitude, caused constant harassment to their neighbours and the Government and entailed much loss of revenue. Moreover, their activities also constituted a positive political danger to the rulers of Bihar and Bengal, because many of them, favourably situated as they were, often felt inclined to transfer their allegiance to the more powerful and neighbouring rulers of Oudh and Allahabad, who were by no means unwilling to welcome such a move, or even to afford temporary refuge to the Bihar rebels in their territories. The way in which the *Perganahs* of Kirao Mangror of the *Sarkar* of Shahabad and two frontier *Perganahs* in the *Sarkar* of Saran were lost to Benares and Oudh long before the British rule and the support received by Prince Ali Gohar from disaffected elements in Bihar (1759-60) suggests the importance of the subject.[133]

Raja Ram Narain was fully alive to the problem from the very outset of his regime. Though he had enough trouble at the hands of the frontier people which provoked at times very angry expressions, noticed in the letters, yet in the beginning, his policy was attended with remarkable success. About a year after his elevation, we are told by his letters, he left his capital in charge of one Fayez Ali Khan and started on the 1st Jamadi I year 5th i.e., April,

133 *Dastūr-ul-Amal* etc., p. 84.

1752, from the tank of Waris Khan on his Bhojpur expedition.[134] Just two months before, on the 1st Rabi II, he had received a visit from Pahlawan Singh of (Chainpur) Sasaram,[135] who not only paid down his arrear dues for the year 1158 Fasli = 1752A.D., but also promised to bring Udwant Singh, the zamindar of Bhojpur, on the banks of the river Sone. Encamping at Dinapur[136] on the 3rd and then at Maner on the 5th of the same month, Raja Ram Narain left the latter place on the 8th and then arrived at the head of Dhowa on the bank of the Sone and pitched his camp at a village, named, Jan-

134 *Dastūr-ul-Insha,* letters 243a. On pages 254b, 261b, we read "This day morning, the 19th Rabi II, I sent out my tents to the tank of Waris Khan for the regulation of the Country." According to the English Translator of the *Seyar* "Waris Khan's reservoirs" was situated midway between the eastern and the western parts of the (Patna City)" II, 291. But the original text says that "it was situated to the west of the city" (*S.M.*, 490).

135 *Dastūr-ul-Insha,* p. 196b. This powerful Zemindar was a member of the Ujjainia tribe of Rajputs and a resident and proprietor of Nokha in the Perganah of Sasaram of the Shahabad District (*Dastūr-ul-Amal,* p. 18a) . He was too well known a political figure to escape the notice of the contemporary writers. The author of the *Seyar* describes Pahlawan Sing and his brother Suther Singh as "strong and powerful zamindars of Chainpore and Sasaram" who joined Haibat Jang against Mustafa Khan on the occasion of the latter's assault on Patna in 1745 (*S.M.*, 535) and helped Aliwardi against Afghan Marhatta coalition in 1748 (*S.M.*, 567). Indeed he was indebted very much to Aliwardi for the rise of his fortune and consequently we find him among those very few people who stood by Sirajuddaula and felt extremely antagonistic to the usurper of his position. He accompanied Raja Ram Narain to Purneah and was present in the battle of Maniari and Nawabganj which decided the fate of Shaukat Jang, the cousin of Sirajuddowla (627-28). After the tragic affairs of Plassey in 1757 he joined Sunder Singh of Tikari in entreating Raja Ram Narain to take up arms in revenge for the murder of the grandson of their benefactor," but the Naib of Patna backed out (*S.M.*, 643). No wonder that he joined Mohammad Quli Khan and offered his services for the Shahzada only if the former gave up his resolve to go back to Allahabad (*S.M.*, 669). His frendship with Hedayat Ali (671), submission after coercion to Clive and Ram Narain (673-74) his doubtful conduct on the occasion of the second expedition of the Shahzada, (*S.M.*, 677-78 see also *Ibratnāma*) and his hostility and suppression by Mir Qasim (*S.M.*, 709-10) are matters of history.

136 The letters bearing on the subject may be found in pages 145, 147, 149, 196, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 251b, 257a, 261b etc.

padha, 3 *kos* away from Mohib Alipore. Here on the 12th of the same month, Pahlawan Singh and Suther Singh came with their sons and interviewed the Raja. Babu Udwant Singh and Raja Chaterdhari Singh[137] of Bhojpur followed suit on the 20th. Those turbulent chiefs, the letters[138] tells us, were ready for the settlement of the dues for Shahabad, both arrear and current. Though Raja Ram Narain assures Aliwardi that the return of such people to allegiance within such a short time was due to the good fortune of the Nawab,[139] the rather unexpectedly easy and ungrudging submission of the ever defiant chieftains of Shahabad has to be explained, probably, by their first feelings of gratification at the elevation to the highest office in Bihar of one of their own fellowmen and compatriots who, on his part, was fully capable of a conciliatory attitude and tactful management.

No such relations existed at least in the beginning, between the Naib Nazim and Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari. A letter[140] dated Sunday, the 25th Rabi II year 4th of accession informs us that Sunder Singh visited Raja Ram Narain in the Patna fort on the previous day, but we do not know if anything good actually resulted from the interview. On the other hand, several letters reveal rather a hostile attitude of the Raja of Tikari. We are told how his arrival at Patna was quite unexpected for "this time he

137 Dastūr, 241a. "Babu Udwant Singh, Ujjainia, the proprietor of Jagdishpore" (*S.M.*, 543) and a man in possession of an army and a country and one who was very bold and intrepid" (*Dastūr-ul-Amal*, 16a) was suppressed, along with Horil Singh, by Haibat Jang in 1741 (*S.M.*, 566). Against the latter, however, he helped Mustafa Khan in 1745. On his death, at an unknown date, he left 4 sons, namely Gajraj Singh, Amrao Singh, Wan Singh and Alka Singh. The grandson of the first, Narain Singh, was killed in 1201 Fasli (1794 A.D.) and left no children. Alka Singh died without any issue. Isari Singh and Sahibzada Singh were the sons of Omrao and Wan Singh respectively. Raja Kunwar Singh of the Mutiny fame was a representative of one of these lines. As regards Raja Chaterdhari Singh, he was probably the son of Horil Singh and an ancestor of the modern Rajas of Dumraon.

138 Dastūr, 240a, 241b. 139 *Ibid.* 140 *Ibid.*, 251a.

was so very averse to Azimabad."[141] Much more definite is the information that Babu Fateh Singh, nephew of Raja Sunder Singh, was summoned to the city (Patna) and a sum of Rs. 1 lac and 40 thousands was demanded from his uncle for the arrear of the past year (1752) but instead of paying even a single *Dam*, he put forward the same old excuses as had been reported by Raja Janki Ram.[142] Letters full of "fear and hope" were of little avail, and about two years after we find Raja Ram Narain proceeding as far as Gaya towards the end of Rabi I, year I of accession, i.e. 1754-1755 in order to settle the matter.[143] It appears that Sunder Singh had gone to Murshidabad,[144] probably, to represent his case and, on return assumed a much more defiant attitude. Raja Ram Narain writes from Gaya on Tuesday, the 7th Rabi II, that he had been waiting in vain for Sunder Singh who was staying at Nodha, 9 *kos* from Gaya, and threatening to go back to Tikari if the payment of the dues by instalment, till the month of Āṣāḍ, 1161 Faṣlī, (1754) already approved by the Nawab, was not settled and agreed to by the writer. In response to Sunder Singh's summons, he had sent Diwan Śitaldās, Dipchand, and Bharat Singh and finally Shaikh Hamiduddin to argue with him for, as he writes, if the conditions were to be accepted others also might be tempted to keep back the dues even for the Faṣlī year 1162. The last named gentleman reported on his return that Raja Sunder Singh had a great hesitation in coming over till his affairs were settled. The remarks of

141 Dastūr, 262a. 142 *Ibid.*, 196a.

143 *Ibid.* We get several letters, despatched from Gaya, including the one which reports about the Nawab's presents and Parwanahs having been received at Gaya with due reverence by the Naib on 25th Rabi I (147b-148b) and another wherein we read of the '*Waṣil Bāqi*' or the outstanding dues of Raja Sunder Sing and the payment "till then" of only one lakh and eighty thousand rupees and of the apathy of Bunyad Singh, the nephew of the said Raja (137a).

144 Dastūr, 150a "You had written to me that Raja Sunder Singh took leave of His Excellency after agreeing to pay the money and was coming here."

Raja Sunder Singh reported to Raja Ram Narain are somewhat significant. "I am as much servant of His Excellency as such a one (Raja Ram Narain) and I, too, have had my elevation at his hands and shall abide by his decision alone."[145]

We know what services Sunder Singh rendered to Aliwardi and his nephew and how loyal he proved at the time of most critical dangers.[146] Was it, therefore, unnatural if he should feel somewhat disappointed by the arrangements made after Haibat Jang's murder, and specially on Janki Ram's death. True, we do not find any mention of Sunder Singh's claim either having been ever put forward or considered but the sense of jealousy and rivalry is quite apparent from both words and deeds of the persons concerned. We have already seen the reference to Sunder Singh's aversion for Azimabad (almost non-existent before) and we read how Raja Ram Narain was determined not to return from the place without realizing the government dues.[147] Elsewhere,[148] we find Raja Ram Narain making rather a bitter comment on the apathy on the part of the Nawab to the letters he wrote about the dues from Raja Sunder Singh. In fact, the Naib Nazim could not but look with a mixed feeling of hatred and fear upon a potential rival as he did in the case of Syed Hedayat Ali Khan, on a subsequent occasion[149] (*S.M.*, 684). But the shrewd old Nawab knew his business better than any one else and he was a keen judge of men and their capacities. He had favoured the man of pen and the man of sword as they deserved and he kept a balance between the two. He intervened in the quarrel between Raja Ram Narain and Raja Sunder Singh and as result of his instruc-

145 Dastūr, 148b-151b.

146 E.g. Mustafa Khan's invasion of Bihar (*S.M.*, 535-538). Marhatta Afghan coalition in 1748 (*S.M.*, 567).

147 *Ibid.*, 150a. 148 *Ibid.*, 123a.

149 *S.M.*, 484 "Ram Narain is afraid lest my father, by coming to live in the town, may impress the English with his merits, so much so, that they might appoint him as the Subedar of this country."

MISSION INSTITUTE LIBRARY

tion,[150] the Tikari Raja agreed to pay two lacs in cash, besides two lacs already realized, and one lac accepted as a loan from army.

The relation between the two personages soon changed for the better, for, probably, they realised the limitations of their respective positions and the value of co-operation against common foes and more alien claimants. We shall see both acting together on many an occasion against Kamgar Khan;[151] the powerful zamindar of Mai and Nerhat Samai, who dominated the country between Birbhum

150 Dastūr, 151a, b.

151 *Ibid.*, 531a-532b. *S.M.*, 649. Kamgar Khan, the fifth of the six children of Amānat Khan, including a daughter who was married to Badiuzzaman, the Zamindar of Birbhum, was, according to Mr. Justice James, "the most powerful Zamindar of Bihar in 1757." He lived with his 3 brothers, Namdar, Sardar and Ranmast (we know little about Salabat Khan) at Hasua near Nawadah. Their grand-father, Dayanat Khan, and his brother, had received a formal grant of the Zamindari of the Perganahs of Narhat and Samai in Gaya, from Emperor Farrukh Seyar. They were commonly known as the Mayi family, writes Mr. James, because their ancestors, before their conversion to Muhammadanism, were said to have been Mayi Rajputs. (Bhatti tribe according to *Seyar*, 500). Kamgar Khan and his brothers were among the strongest supporters of Haibat Jang and at first of Aliwardi (*S.M.*, 500, 535, 538, 540, 565, 567) but since the elevation of Raja Ram Narain to the office of the Niabat, Kamgar appears to have practically turned into a rebel (Dastūr, 257a). At one time a personal friend of Mir Jafar, the neglect of his grievances against his rival Sunder Singh of Tikari, made him the bitterest foe of the Nawab and his Naib of Patna (*S.M.*, 649) The English found him as one of the most formidable of their enemies in Bihar "who was pitted successively against Clive, Knox and Carnac". We shall conclude this note with a quotation from Mr. Justice James:—"Kamgar Khan, a very bold and turbulent man who waged war upon his neighbours and seized on many other estates, and would infallibly have made himself master of the whole of South Bihar, had he not been opposed by Sunder Singh of Tikari, drove from Kharakdiha the degenerate descendant of the (Bhabhan) Raja at whose expenses his father and uncle had made their first acquisitions, and he occupied in 1764 (when he died) an area of over four thousand square miles. He bore a leading part in the intrigues and fightings of the period between 1757 and 1764, opposing Ram Narain, supporting Ali Gohar, and afterwards assisting Mir Qasim, when the Nawab turned against the company (*Selection from the Correspondence of the Revenue Chiefs of Bihar*, 1787-1789, pp. 23-24). A quarrel with Gurgin Khan however prevented Kamgar Khan from rendering any help to Mir Qasim (*S.M.*, 334-357).

and Bihar, which also was largely the sphere of Sundar Singh's activities. As for Raja Ram Narain, he found his bitterest and the most formidable foe in Kamgar Khan, who had at one time proved himself a valued supporter of Aliwardi and a personal friend of Mir Jafar, but who ultimately lost the friendship of both. He was a constant thorn by the side of Raja Ram Narain and Raja Sunder Singh and was once on the point of destroying the life and power of the former and putting Bihar, and possibly Bengal too, into the hands of Shah Alam when, as we shall see hereafter, the penury of his royal protégé and the vigour and diplomacy of the English saved the situation for the Naib Nazim and prevented the change of the whole course of Indian history. As regards his relation with Raja Ram Narain during the days of Aliwardi, letters despatched from the river Sone refer to the determination of the Naib of Bihar to proceed against him.[152] We have also fortunately got a copy of a long letter[153] despatched to Aliwardi, on Saturday the 4th Jamadi II, (year not given[154] giving a detailed account of a desperate battle fought with Kamgar Khan in the field of Bhordaur near Bhadair, which resulted in the rout and flight of the latter. Raja Ram Narain had put in the field a large force consisting of 10,000 cavalry and an equal number of infantry with 500 swivel guns and 40 cannons, besides auxiliary troops and a body of 2000 cavalry and 5000 infantry and 12 pieces of cannon brought in by Raja Sunder Singh Bahadur. Mention has been made of more than 25 notable chieftains, including Sarnam Singh, a brother's son of Raja Balwand Singh of Benares,

152 Dastūr, 257a. 153 *Ibid.*, 381a-382b.

154 A letter in page 31a dated 21 Jamadi, II year 7th of accession i.e., 1755 February or March), addressed to Dhiraj Narain, then in-charge of the City, speaks of the flight of Kamgar Khan and may thus give us the clue to the real date. Elsewhere we find another interesting letter, dated Rajab year 7, i.e. March or April 1755, which tells us that "Mohammad Kamgar's petition for pardon had been accepted by the Nawab who had issued Parwanah to that effect to his Naib of Patna." (117b-118a).

but the prowess of Ahmad Khan Qureshi[155] and of Raja Sunder Singh has been specially extolled and commended.

We shall revert to Kamgar Khan later on: Let us consider here a kinsman of Kamgar Khan, the zamindar of Birbhum, one of the warden of marches of Bengal who has been mentioned in some of the letters.[156] Perhaps Raja Ram Narain went out of his way to attempt an extension of his jurisdiction over Birbhum Zamindar. Badiuzzaman, the zamindar of Birbhum, appears to have seen the Raja of Bihar but he expressed his inability to pay the arrears of year 1158-59 Faṣli.[157] However, the Nawab of Bengal intervened and according to the instruction received from him the Birbhum affairs were disposed off. The Raja expresses his regret that he did not get the order before but he assures that he would take care to be more cautious in future.

155 Ahmad Khan was the grandson of Daud Khan Quraishi, the founder of Daudnagar in Gaya and an officer of 5,000 in the reign of Aurangzeb. Ahmad held the Perganah of Incha and Koha (!) in fief. He could save his strong-hold of Chausgarh near Daudnagar only with great difficulty from the Marhatta devastations by paying fifty thousand rupees as Peshkash to Balaji Baji Rao in 1743 (*S.M.*, 523). He stood by Haibat Jang on the occasion of the rebellion of Mustafa Khan (*S.M.*, 535-42-550) and rendered valuable help to Aliwardi after his nephew's assassination by the Afghan. On the whole, his relations with Raja Ram Narain, too, were not unfriendly. We find him siding with the Patna Naib against Shah Alam in the battle of Dhowa or Mosumpur (*S.M.*, 677-678).

156 Dastūr, 242b, 251b, 266a. "Sheltered by hills, rocks, and forests and supported by numerous Afghans, "Badiuzzaman, the powerful Zamindar of Western Bengal," did not, according to the author of *Rahat-ul-Arwah*, (p. 88) and *Reazus-Salatin*, (pp. 306-307) "bend his head in submission to the Nazim, and failed to pay the revenue beyond the stipulated tribute." He misappropriated 14 lakhs of revenue derived from cultivable area which had been endowed for helping the poor and the scholarly. Ultimately, he submitted to, and secured pardon from, Nawab Shuja-ud-din through his son Sarfaraz Khan by agreeing to pay three lacs of rupees annually on account of the Government revenue. Kirat Chand, the Zamindar of Burdwan, stood as his security. He had probably married a sister of Kamgar Khan who bore him a son, the famous Asaduz-Zaman Khan, the Raja of Birbhum.

157 Dastūr, 265a, b.

This is not the only occasion when the Raja suffered a mild rebuke from the ever watchful Nawab, for the delay in sending bills of exchange for the estate of Nawab Zayauddowla Bahadur, a jagirdar of the Imperial court,[158] the forcible occupation of the spacious mansion, then known as Haveli 'Abdul 'Ali Khan,[159] and now probably represented by the residence of the Raja's representatives in Maharajghat, and sundry other matters,[160] could not but ruffle Aliwardi's temper. But on the whole, the one thing that strikes us most, is the fidelity and promptness with which the Raja carried out his patron's orders, even when unpalatable and difficult of execution.

The most marked feature of Raja Ram Narain's political career under Aliwardi is the ability and the wisdom he showed in settling the affairs of the province, specially of the frontier districts, with great care and without much bloodshed. Standing on his own resources, and declining with thanks the proferred help of his patron.

158 *Ibid.*, 239, 240b, 247, 249. The author of the *Seyar* mentions one Zeya-uddowla who was the son of Asaduddin Khan, who and Jalaluddaula were the favourite friends of Ghazi-ud-din, Imadul Mulk, the infamous vazir of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II. They served as patrons of Saulat Jang, and his son Shaukat Jang of Purneah (*S.M.*, 624-625) in the Imperial court.

159 Dastūr, 171b-172a. The description of the Haveli that it was very spacious and situated on the bank of the river and very near the fort which "made the Raja's stay in the fort and the *Haveli* practically the same", as also the evidence of Gholam Hussain (*S.M.*, 560-561) whose youngest brother was "carried along the water side to Abdul Ali Khan's house" in 1748, would indicate the present site of the building. Abdul Ali Khan, however, may have given his tacit consent to its occupation by Raja Ramnarain. It was at one time mortgaged to Khadim Hussain Khan and occupied on rent by Mustafa Quli and its worth in its neglected condition was estimated to about forty thousand (Dastūr, 177a, b).

160 Expressions like "the noble temper is indifferent over this matter" (112b); "Except the affair of Abdul Huq Khan, the slave was guilty of no shortcoming during the last four years." "No one is careless of the affairs of his master who is as if his God on the earth" (130) etc. etc. show occasional lapse of a light type on the part of the Naib.

he succeeded in keeping order[161] within his province, realizing and remitting the dues of the government and the jagirdars of Bengal and Delhi, dealing tactfully with the border barons and being ever alive to the necessities of the frontier defence. In reply[162] to a Parwanah of Aliwardi, requiring from him a compliance with the request of Safdar Jang to prevent the influx of his dispersed and run-away troops into Bihar and Bengal, the Raja assures the Nawab of Bengal that Pahalwan Singh and Udwant Singh had been enjoined upon to keep guard over the forts of Karamnasa and Buxar rivers so that not a single individual should cross over to Bihar. He had also directed the Naib of the *Sarkar* of Saran to take care of river Deoha and Gogra and, lastly, he had a police post established opposite to Hajipore for the same purpose. At times, as already noticed, he felt somewhat vexed by certain[163] orders: but such instances are few and far between. They only prove that the Nawab was acquiescent but trustful, strong, vigilant, and watchful, and the Naib, though liable to err as human, was ever humble, submissive and faithful. Raja Ram Narain's letter to Hakimul Mamalik, quoted by 'Ibrati[164] and also found in full in the Dastūr,[165] informing the addressee of the death of his benefactor, Aliwardi, Mahabat Jang, after two month's illness of dropsy, on the 9th Rajab i.e. 10th April 1756, is an elegy in prose and gives us an insight into the depth of the feelings of the writer.

S. H. Askari

(*To be continued.*)

161 That he was constantly on the move to restore affairs within the province is proved by his expeditions of the years 1752, 1755, 1756, 1757, etc. referred to in the Dastūr.

162 Dastūr, 200b, 201, 25a, b. 163 *Ibid.*, 115, 236, etc.

164 *Ibid.*, 155b, 157a, *Reyzul Afkar*. The Raja received the appalling news while he was engaged in some expedition in the south. He hastened to Azimabad and entered the fort on the 18th Rajab on which date he received the Parwanah of Confirmation together with a robe of honour, elephant; jewels etc., from the new Nawab Mansur-ul-mulk Bahadur (Siraj-ud-dowla). 165 *Ibid.*

Boundaries of Ancient Mahārāṣtra and Karṇāṭaka

Dakṣiṇāpatha

According to the Purāṇas the two sub-divisions of India (northern and southern) were termed as Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha respectively. The range of the Vindhya mountains naturally formed the dividing line of the same. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar however has tried to solve the question regarding the early settlement of the Aryans in Southern India, and has consequently made a mention of the different countries referred to in the Sanskrit literature at its different stages.[1] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the Āndhras, Pulindas, Śabaras and Puṇḍras as people living in the South.[2] Pāṇini mentions the names of the southernmost kingdoms as Avanti, Kośala, Karuṣa and Kaliṅga. Later on, Kātyāyana explains in his *Vārttika* the derivation of the word Mahiṣmat, and also the names of the countries of Pāṇḍyas and Coḷas. He refers to Nāsikya or the modern Nasik. Again, in the *Mahābhārata*, Sahadeva is said to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Drāviḍas, Udras, Keralas and Āndhras. He also visited many other places e.g., Sūrpāraka (modern Supara near Bassein), Daṇḍaka, Karahāṭaka (modern Karhāḍ), and later on Kiṣkindhyā.[3] On the other hand, the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to different nations and nationalities i.e. Utkala, Kaliṅga, Daśārṇa, Avanti, Vidarbha, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Daṇḍakāraṇya respectively. In this connection, we may also refer to the various places mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka. Aśoka is said to have sent his missionaries to the countries of the Rāṣṭikas (Raṭrakas according to the Mansehra version), Piṭenikas and the Aparāntas. In one of the Edicts, the Piṭenikas are associated with the Bhojas.

1 *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

2 *Aitareya Br.*, VII. 18. 3 Sabhā-Parva, Ch. 31 (Bombay Ed.).

The evidence of the Purāṇas

Dakṣiṇāpatha included nearly the whole of southern India. Some of the Purāṇas have given a succinct account of the various countries located in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. An extract from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* will elucidate the point:

अथापरे जनपदा दक्षिणापथवासिनः ।१२४।
पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव कुमना वनवासिकाः ।
महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ।१२५।
आभीरा सहचैषीका आटव्याश्च वराश्च ये ।
पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीका वैदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ।१२६।
पौनिका मौनिकाश्चैव अस्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः ।
नैर्ऋताः कुन्तला आन्ध्रा उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः ।१२७।
दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशाः

Further the Purāṇas give in detail the names of the rivers situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha:

गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वेण्यश्च वञ्जुला ।
तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा कावेरी च तथापगा ।
दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु सह्यपादाद्विनिःसृताः ।१०४।

Vāyu P., Adhyāya 45.

It should also be noted in this connection, that some of the Purāṇas replace the word Kuntala by the word Karṇāta. Thus, Dakṣiṇāpatha included among other countries, the Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa, Coḷa, Mahārāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Kaliṅga, Pauṇika, Mauṇika, Aśmaka and Kuntala or Karṇāṭa. In our opinion, the above passages need be read along with the inscriptional and literary evidence obtaining in South India. Mr. S. B. Joshi, has also thrown a flood of light on this problem. (Cf. *Mahārāṣṭrada Mūla* in Kanarese).

Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra

We are not in a position however, to state exactly when the two words *Mahārāṣṭra* and *Karṇāṭaka* came into vogue. The word *Karṇāṭa* which has been identified with the word *Kuntala* is freely used in the Purāṇas. It is also used in the famous

Sanskrit play *Mṛcchakaṭika.* Varāhamihira makes a mention of the same. The famous Kanarese king Pulikeśi was proud of his Karṇāṭaka armies. Later on, the author of the *Kavirāja-mārga* (9th cen. A.D.) gives in detail the boundaries of the Kanarese country wherein the sweet Kannaḍa was spoken.

On the other hand, the word Mahārāṣṭra is also freely used in the Purāṇas. The *Matsya P.* (Chap. 114, 47), however, uses the word Nava-rāṣṭra instead of Mahārāṣṭra. The *Garuḍa* (55, 15) and the *Viṣṇu-dharma* (10, 5) give variant versions e.g. Nara or Naya-rāṣṭra, (which seem to be rather misprints for the word Nava). Later Daṇḍin makes a reference to the Mahārāṣṭrī language. Pulikeśi is said to have defeated the three Mahārāṣṭrakas.[4] The word is of free and common occurence in later literature also.

Their boundaries

The question of the respective boundaries of Ancient Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra is so much interconnected that it is impossible to trace the boundaries of the one country without at the same time tracing those of the other. Now, the first reference to the boundaries of ancient Karṇāṭaka occurs in the *Kavirāja-mārga,* the authorship of which work is ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatuṅga Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 815-877). The poet gives a poetic description of the boundaries.[5] He says:

"Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies,
From famed Godāvari,
To where the pilgrim rests his eyes
On Holy Kāveri.
The people of that land are skilled,
To speak in rhythmic tone (the sweet Kannaḍa)

Thus at least in the time of Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga the banks of the river Godāvari seem to have formed the northernmost boundary

4 *Id.*, vol. VII, p. 243.

5 Rice, *Kanarese Literature.*

of the Kanarese country. On the other hand, the statement surprisingly enough concurs with the one made in the *Līlācaritra,* a work of the Mahānubhavas (1190 A.D.) written in Marāṭhi. The passage in the *Līlācaritra* happens to have been quoted in *extenso* by Mr. Joshi in his work *Mahārāṣṭrada Mūla.*[6] The *Līlācaritra* defines the boundaries of the three Khaṇḍa-maṇḍalas or sub-divisions of Mahārāṣṭra, thus:

1 The first Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying from Phaliṭhāṇa (or modern Paiṭhan) downwards wherever the Marāṭhi language was spoken; to the north of this was situated Bāleghāṭ.

2 The second Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying on both the sides of the river Godāvari to the extent of twelve yojanas. To the west was situated Tryambakeśvara (near Nāśik).

3 The third Maṇḍala was comprised of the country lying in between Meghakara Ghāṭ and Varhāḍ (Berar).

From the above, one may easily infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had not made any substantial encroachment upon the country of the Kanarese people at least upto the twelth century A.D. If we draw any conclusion from the fact that the *Molocho* of Yuan Chwang, or the country comprising the three Mahārāṣṭrakas (*trayāṇām Mahārāṣṭrakāṇam*) which are said to have been conquered by the Cālukya king Pulikeśi II, does not differ much from the one detailed in the *Līlācaritra,* then we may possibly infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had more or less occupied only this portion of the province since the seventh century A.D.

But the Purāṇas seem to have used the word rather in a restricted sense. They make a clear distinction between the country of the Māhiṣakas and the Mahārāṣṭras. The Vaidarbhas also are

6 S. B. Joshi, *Mahārāṣṭrada Mūla,* p. 42.

not included in the Mahārāṣṭra. The Paunikas (or the people of Punika or Punaka-Viṣaya) did not form part of the ancient Mahārāṣṭra as described in the Purāṇas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also describes the country of the Bhānu-Kacchas as comprising the tract of the country lying between Nāśik and the banks of the river Narmadā. Thus the original Mahārāṣṭra was situated within these limits.

The account of Varāhamihira, who flourished in the sixth century A.D., is interesting in this connection. Among other countries the following are described as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha: "Bharukaccha, Vanavāsi, Śibika, Phaṇikāra, Koṅkana, Ābhira, Karṇāṭa, Mahāṭavi, Citrakūṭa, Nāsikya and Daṇḍakavana." Thus we find that Varāhamihira has not even referred to the word Mahārāṣṭra. Most probably, the word Mahārāṣṭra was in its process of formation then. Because it was at this time Daṇḍi (5th cen. A.D.) used the word Mahārāṣṭrī in connection with the Mahārāṣṭrī language. Further, the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* and the still older work *Dīpavaṃsa* refer to the fact that the Buddhist saint Moggaliputta had sent missionaries to Mahāraṭṭha, Aparāntaka and Vanavāsi.[7]

Earlier than this, some of the inscriptions found in the cave-temples of Bhājā, Beḍsa and Kārle refer to the Mahāraṭhi and Mahāraṭhini donors of the second century A.D.[8] Further the only inscriptional evidence in connection with the Mahārāṣṭra is probably the Edicts of Aśoka, who is said to have sent missionaries to the country of the Rāṣṭikas, Piṭenikas and the Bhojas.

Boundary of the country of the Rāṣṭikas

Thus by a process of elimination, we find that, it was this country of the Rāṣṭikas or Raṭrakas[9] that most probably developed

7 Turnouer, *Mahāvamso*, pp. 71, 72; Oldenberg, *Dipavamsa*, p. 54.

8 Cf. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, p. 23.

9 In the *Brahma-Vaivarta P.* Paraśurāma is said to have destroyed the

itself into the later Mahārāṣṭra. But what must have been the original boundaries of the country of the Rāṣṭikas or Rāṣṭriyas?

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that, "the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvari, and that lying between that river and the Kṛṣṇā. The name Mahārāṣṭra also seems at one time restricted to this tract."[10] But the historical data that is available to us at present does not allow us to draw any such conclusion.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* specifically states that the Mahārāṣṭras are situated at the foot of the Vindhya mountains (Vindhya-mūlikas). In the time of Aśoka, as we have observed above, the three countries of the Rāṣṭikas, Piṭenikas and the Bhojas are mentioned together. At another time, the Piṭenikas are associated with the Bhojas. So that these Rāṣṭikas were evidently different from the Paiṭhaṇikas; and were also different from the Bhojas, who happened to be the rulers of Berar. Therefore, the original Mahārāṣṭra seems to have been situated within the following circumscribed area:—

1 According to the statement of Rājaśekhara the whole of the Dakṣiṇāpatha was situated to the south of the Mahiṣmati. Mahiṣmati, however, was situated at a place where the two ranges of the Vindhyas and the Sātpurā approach the river Narmadā.

2 To the west of the country was situated the country of the Bhānu-kacchas as evidenced in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Bhānu-kaccha was situated in between the Narmadā and Nāśik. The *Matsya P.* used the word Bhāru-kaccha instead of Bhānu-kaccha (Cf. chap. 114, 50)

Rāṣṭriya armies. These seem to be the same as the Rāṣṭikas or Raṭṭakas referred to in the Edicts of Aśoka. (*Brahma Vai. P.* Gaṇeśa Khaṇḍa 36, 12). As to who were these Rāṣṭriyas we need not go into the detail at present. Cf. also the inscription of king Khāravela.

10 Cf. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, p. 6.

3 To the east was most probably situated the country of the Bhojas (or Berar).

4 To the south were situated the Godāvari and the adjoining provinces.

Thus we see that this Rāṣṭika (Rāṣṭrīya) or the Mahārāṣṭra of later times can be located within this circumscribed area. But later on, a Gaṇa or Republic of some of the countries seems to have been formed which was termed as Mahārāṭhi-Gaṇa, as can be easily inferred from the expression Mahārāṭhi-gaṇa-kāyiro[11] on an inscription found in the cave at Nānāghāṭ. It was since this time most probably, that the word Mahārāṣṭra came into vogue. Mahārāṣṭra, however, increased in extent later on. In the time of the great Pulikeśi II, it had increased to the extent of 99000 villages. Later on the kingdom of the Rāṣṭikas becomes Raṭṭapāḍi "Saptārdha-lakṣa-viṣaya." And in the twelth century A.D. it became a country of sixty lacs. There is however a great controversy regarding the meaning of the expression "Saptārdha-lakṣa Raṭṭapāḍi." According to Krisnasvami Iyengar the number may indicate either the revenue or the value of the land produce, or even the number of villages. Rice is of opinion, that the number indicates the revenue.[12] Mr. C. V. Vaidya on the other hand strongly asserts, that the number cannot represent villages nor ploughs, and he leaves the problem undecided after suggesting that the number may indicate the amount of land produce paid as government share.[13] According to J. F. Fleet the figure refers to the number of townships. In the *Skanda Purāṇa*, however, a fabulous figure of the respective numbers of the townships and villages in India is given. India is said to have contained

11 Cf. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, p. 23.

12 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient History of India*, pp. 40, 78.

13 *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 158.

about 72000 townships and about 960,000,000 villages.[14] Curiously enough, the Raṭarājya is said to have consisted of 'seven lacs villages. This Raṭarājya did not include Karṇāṭa so far as it has been separately mentioned in the same chapter. Therefore these numbers evidently indicated something fabulous and exaggerated in them. But one fact is certain that, they always represented the number of villages. If this be correct, then the solution of the problem regarding the other provinces in southern Inida also becomes easier e.g. Banavāsi 12000, Gaṅgavāḍi 96000, Noḷambavāḍi 36000, etc. Thus, the three expressions 99000 Mahārāṣṭra, Saptārdha-lakṣa Raṭṭapāḍi and the 'sixty lacs' Mahārāṣṭra Deśa (*Līlācaritra*), used at three different periods in the history of southern India, really indicate the progressive expansion of the Mahārāṣṭra country that was taking place since the time of Pulikeśi II.

Thus, once the problem of the boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra is set at rest, the statement of the author of *Kāvirāja-mārga* becomes clearer that the boundaries of Karṇāṭaka stretched from the banks of the river Gadāvari down to those of the holy Kāverī. Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., is of the definite opinion that the word Kannaḍiga must have been derived from Kaṇanir, obtaining in the Mohenjodaro inscriptions.[15] Later, a Daitya named Karṇāṭa is said to have founded Karṇāta, in his own name, on the shores of the (western?) ocean (*Skanda*, 3 Adh. 18-19). Thus, this province of the Kaṇanirs or Karṇāṭas was originally situated somewhere round about Banavāsi.

A. P. KARMARKAR

14 "द्वा-सप्ततिरमी देशाः ग्रामसंख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१६२॥
एवं भरतखंडेऽस्मिन्वर्णवत्येव कोटयः ।
द्वासप्ततिस्तथा लक्षाः पत्तनानां प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
Skanda P., Māheśwar Khaṇḍa, 1, Kaumārikā K. 2, Adhyāya 37.

15 *Karnatak Historial Review*, vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 2-3.

The History of Bhāvika in Sanskrit Poetics

Bhāmaha says at the end of his *Alaṁkāras:*

भाविकत्वमिति प्राहुः प्रबन्धविषयं गुणम् ।
प्रत्यक्षा इव दृश्यन्ते यत्रार्था भूतभाविनः ॥
चित्रोदात्ताद्भुतार्थत्वं कथायाः स्वभि(or वि)नीतता ।
शब्दानाकुलता चेति तस्य हेतुं प्रचक्षते ॥ III. 52-53

Bhāmaha here speaks of a concept which he calls a *guṇa,* not of *vākya,* but of the *prabandha* as a whole. As it has been treated at the end of *Alaṁkāras,* we have to suppose that Bhāmaha considered this also as an alaṁkāra, with this difference, that while the rest were restricted to a vākya, this was pervasive of a whole part of a poetic composition or of the whole composition itself. As a matter of fact, Bhāmaha calls this bhāvikatva an alaṁkāra in the beginning of the third chapter:

भाविकत्वं च निजगुरलङ्कारं सुमेधसः । III. 4.

That Bhāmaha considered this bhāvikatva described as a Prabandha guṇa as an alaṁkāra is confirmed by the words of the *Jayamaṅgalā* on Bhaṭṭi also:

भाविकत्वमलङ्कारः प्रबन्धविषय उक्तः ।

What is this bhāvikatva? Bhāmaha defines this as the quality which pertains to *that part of a composition* where the ideas of the past and the future presented by the poet are so vivid as to look like belonging to the present. The term 'Prabandha' may be rendered here as 'that part of the poem' on the force of the word '*yatra*' and on the basis of the *Jayamaṅgalā* which points out only one canto in illustration of this bhāvikatva. But it seems that bhāvikatva is really a quality of prime necessity which all great and good poetry should, from beginning to end, possess. The poet is like the *ṛṣi*

who brings through the power of his vision the past and future into the present.

अविद्याबीजविध्वंसादयमार्षेण चक्षुषा ।
कालौ भूतभविष्यन्तौ वर्तमानमवीविशत् ॥

Anargharāghava, II, 34.

As one reads the poem, it should begin to live before his eyes: that is, it should appear before the mind's eye of the reader that the story is happening in his very presence. It is this 'pratyakṣāyamāṇatva' which Ārṣa-Sahṛdayas who listened to the inaugural recitation of Vālmiki's epic said that the Ādikāvya possessed:

चिरनिर्वृत्तमप्येतत् प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शितम् । I, 4. 17.

Such a 'reality' called forth by 'imagination' seems to be called by some word derived from *bhāva*: *bhāva* itself, or *bhāvanā*, or *bhāvika*, or *bhāvita*, or *udbhāvana*. In this connection it should be pointed out here that the twelfth aṅga of the *Lāsya* is called bhāva and bhāvita and that it is defined as an 'imaginary vision', in which, having seen her lover in a dream, the beloved supposes him to be present with her and begins to give expression to consequent emotions:

उक्तप्रत्युक्तभावं च लास्याङ्गानि विदुर्बुधाः । Ch. XX, śl. 139. Kāśi Edn.
दृष्ट्वा स्वप्ने प्रियं यत्र मदनानलतापिता ।
करोति विविधान् भावान् तद्वै भावितमुच्यते ॥ śl. 152. *ibid.*

Abhinava, who does not accept more than ten *lāsyāṅgas*, refers to others who proposed two more *lāsyāṅgas* and here, he gives the bhāvita as bhāvika.

अन्ये चित्रपदं भाविकं चेत्यङ्गद्वयमाहुः, पठन्ति च etc.
p. 510. vol. II. Abhi. Bhā. Madras Ms.

In the *Bhā. Pra.*, Śāradātanaya also gives it as *bhāvika*.

To return to Bhāmaha,—the means to achieve this bhāvikatva are mentioned by Bhāmaha in the second verse. They are three: *citrodāttādbhutārthatvaṃ, kathāyāḥ svabhi*(or *vi*)*nītatā*, and *śabdānākulatā*. Of these three, it seems the second should be taken first.

There does not seem to be any reference to drama or abhinaya here, in the expression 'kathāyāh *svabhinītatā.*' There is a reading '*svavinītatā*' which the *Jayamaṅgalā* supports. It simply means that the story should progress very smoothly and with gripping interest, there being no hitch, no vagueness and nothing mystifying. Then comes the first means which applies to the ideas with which the story is worked out; the arthas should be striking and exalted enough to capture the imagination. Then comes the third means, which refers to the verbal expression which should not be 'involved' or such as to prevent a quick grasp of the ideas or the story.[1]

Bhaṭṭi, as interpreted by the *Jayamaṅgalā,* considered that primarily poetry must have prasāda; hence when after illustrating grammar he comes to the illustration of poetics, he calls the section prasanna kāṇḍa. Next to prasāda are the alaṁkāras; then comes mādhurya guṇa illustrated by a description of dawn; next appears a canto, the 12th, which is said to illustrate bhāvikatva. The *Jayamaṅgalā* here says that bhāvikatva is an alaṁkāra mentioned as pertaining to a whole composition and not to a sentence; and it results from the ideas being 'wonderful' and so on. It then quotes Bhāmaha's two verses on bhāvikatva and concludes that in that canto of mantranirṇaya, deliberation in Rāvaṇa's court, bhāvikatva must be held to have been illustrated.

भाविकत्वमलङ्कारः प्रबन्धविषय उक्तः। नैकदेशिकं (प्रबन्धविषय उक्तो नैकदेशिकः।) तस्य चित्तादयोऽर्थाः प्रवृत्तिहेतवः। तथा चोक्तम् (the two verses of Bhāmaha quoted above) इति। तत्सर्वं मन्त्रनिर्णयप्रबन्धे द्रष्टव्यमिति दर्शयन्नाह ॥

To begin with, this canto has 5 verses addressed to Vibhīṣaṇa by his mother, ślṣ. 2-6. These five verses are said to illustrate

1 In the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter (24th, Kāśi Edn.), Bharata refers to two kinds of drama and its presentation (Prayoga),—ābhyantara and bāhya. In the definition of the ābhyantara nāṭya prayoga, we find ideas similar to those by which Bhāmaha defines Bhāvikatva.

सुविभक्तकथालापं अनिष्ठुरमनाकुलम्।
यदीदृशं भवेन्नाट्यं ज्ञेयमाभ्यन्तरं तु तत् ॥ Śl. 71.

udāttārthatva. In the discussion and counsel that follow, one must look for the other features, कथायाः स्वविनीतता, शब्दानाकुलता and चित्राद्भुतार्थत्व. Says the *Jayamaṅgalā*: (p. 307, N. S. edn.)

इयता प्रबन्धेन उदात्तार्थाभिधानादुदात्तार्थत्वमुक्तम् । इत उत्तरं प्रहस्तरावणविभीषणमातामहकुम्भकर्णादीनां वचनप्रबन्धेषु चित्राद्भुतार्थत्वं द्रष्टव्यम् । स्वविनीतता सुबोधता शब्दानाकुलता चेत्येतदुभयं कथायामेव मन्त्रनिर्णयाख्यायां द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

The *Jayamaṅgalā* says here only one definite thing: that the *svavinītatā* of *kathā* means 'subodhatā' easy understandability of the story. Beyond this, we are not able to know what exactly in this canto answer to the conditions, *Udāttārtha, Citrārtha, Adbhutārtha, Kathāyāḥ svavinītatā,* and *Śabdānākulatā;* nor are we able to see how in this particular canto, things of past and future are made to appear as real as present ones. It is needless to add that Mallinātha is of less help here.

Daṇḍin also, like Bhāmaha, calls bhāvikatva or bhāvika, a Prabandha guṇa. He has three verses on it, at the end of his *Alaṁkāras* and in these verses, there are ideas not found in Bhāmaha.

(1) भाविकं त (कत्व) मिति प्राहुः प्रबन्धविषयं गुणम् ।
(2) भावः कवेरभिप्रायः काव्येष्वस्य व्यवस्थितिः or
काव्येष्वासिद्धि संस्थितः ॥
(3) परस्परोपकारित्वं सर्वेषां वस्तुपर्वणाम् ।
विशेषणानां व्यर्थानामक्रिया (4) स्थानवर्णना ॥
(5) व्यक्तिरुक्तिक्रमबलाद्गम्भीरस्यापि वस्तुनः ।
भावायत्तमिदं सर्वमिति तद्भाविकं विदुः ॥

If we leave the initial agreement in calling it a prabandha guṇa, we find that there is nothing of what Bhāmaha said in Daṇḍin's description of the bhāvika. Perhaps, the fifth idea, the clear appearance of even a deep lying idea by the force or the sequence of the expression, contains a faint echo of Bhāmaha's idea of past and future being as alive as present, प्रत्यक्षा इव दृश्यन्ते यत्रार्था भूतभाविनः । All the other ideas in Daṇḍin numbering four turn on the derivation of

bhāvikatva from bhāva, so clearly stated in idea number one. The several parts or sections of a composition being mutually helpful, avoidance of the needless details, descriptions only at places proper for them—all these are ideas of *aucitya,* common in later days but striking in an early writer. All these ideas of *aucitya* flow out of the idea of the poet (*kavibhāva*) and Dr. De finds here a मनाक्स्पर्श (as Ānanda would say) of the aesthetical problem of poetry being the expression of the poet's mind, with which western poetics is so much concerned and Sanskrit poetics so little.[2] But what Daṇḍin actually meant by Kavi-abhiprāya can only be conjectured; and the commentators are of little help. It is however clear that bhāvikatva was in vogue among critics in the pre-Bhāmaha days and that when we come to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, already guess-work had started. Daṇḍin's bhāvika as Kavi-abhiprāya, the mutual helpfulness of parts etc., died with him. No later writer revived it. For the later writers, the bhāvika was what Bhāmaha gave them through Udbhaṭa.

Udbhaṭa made it a definite alaṁkāra casting off the adjunct, Prabandha guṇa. He defines it towards the close of the sixth varga, in a single verse:

प्रत्यक्षा इव यत्रार्था दृश्यन्ते भूतभाविनः ।
अत्यद्भुताः स्यात्तद्वाचामनाकुल्येन भाविकम् ॥ K.A.S.S.

Bhāvi*katva* has now definitely become bhāvi*ka*. Udbhaṭa felt that in the expression, *Citrodāttādbhutārtha,* there is much redundance; he satisfied himself with a single qualification of artha, atyadbhuta. He left off Bhāmaha's second condition, 'kathāyāḥ svabhinītatā.' Perhaps honesty is responsible for Udbhaṭa's omission of this un-understandable bit. '*Śabdānākulatā*' recurs here as 'vācām anākulya.' The main definition of bhāvika given by

2 See his Intro. to *V.J.*, p. xx, *Skr. Poetics,* II, p. 63, f.n., and *Pāṭhak Com. Vol.,* p. 355.

Bhāmaha, the present-like appearance of the past and future, is retained by Udbhaṭa.

Pratihārendurāja occupies an important place in the history of Bhāvika. At his hands the concept reached its widest interpretation. While commenting on Udbhaṭa, he quotes and explains Bhāmaha's two verses on bhāvikatva; and Daṇḍin's explanation—bhāvaḥ kaveḥ abhiprāyaḥ—is also found absorbed in Pratihārendurāja's imaginative exposition of bhāvika. 'Vācām anākulya' in Udbhaṭa and 'Śabdānākulatā' in Bhāmaha are interpreted by him as the quick delivery of the meaning, a quality of the words allied to prasāda and arthavyakti; prasāda and arthavyakti are to be included here in this bhāvika and not *vice versa*, as Ruyyaka adds.

तत्र वाचामनाकुलता व्यस्तसंबन्धरहितलोकप्रसिद्धशब्दोपनिबन्धनात् झगित्यर्थप्रतीतिकारिता। Pratihārendu, p. 79.[3]

[नाप्ययं शब्दानाकुलत्वहेतुकात् झगित्यर्थसमर्पणात् प्रसादाख्यो गुणः Ruyyaka, A.S.]

Pratihārendurāja makes bhāvika the very essence of rasa-realisation. It has been pointed out by Ānanda (*Dhva. Ā.*, II, xi, p. 82.) that prasāda is pre-eminently necessary for rasa-realisation. The second condition कथायाः स्वभिनीतता is directly related by Pratihārendurāja to rasa-realisation by interpreting 'svabhinītatā' as referring to the clear presentation (abhinaya) of the rasas.

स्वभिनीततेत्यभिनयादिद्वारेण शृङ्गारादिरससंवलितत्वं चतुर्वर्गोपायस्य उक्तम्। p. 80.

The other condition of artha being Citra, Udātta and Adbhuta is emphasised by Pratihārendu as a feature of artha corresponding to the feature of śabda called śabda anākulatā.

यथा चात्र शब्दगतमनाकुलत्वमनन्तरोक्तेन प्रकारेण हेतुः, तथा अर्थगतमपि चित्रोदात्ताद्भुतार्थोपनिबन्धहेतुकमत्यद्भुतत्वं द्रष्टव्यम्। p. 80.

Ideas should be exalted, expression transparent and emotion graphically presented. When these are there, the Sahṛdaya's mind

3 Edn. Banhaṭṭi, 1925.

realises completely the poet's mind mirrored in his poetry. Thus Pratihārendurāja touches Daṇḍin's भावः कवेरतिप्रायः and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's भावना व्यापार. It appears Pratihārendurāja's idea of bhāvika has affinities with the concept of Imagination, lying at the basis of not only poetic creation but also of the critic's aesthetic re-creation of poetry in his enjoyment of it. Pratihārendurāja actually says that bhāvika refers both to the poet and to the Sahṛdaya between whom a circuit of experience is completed.

—झगित्यर्थप्रतीतिकारिता। तस्यां हि सत्यां कवेः संबन्धी यो भावः आशयः शृंगारादिरससंवलित चतुर्वर्गोपायभूत विशिष्टार्थोल्लेखी स कविनेव सहृदयैः श्रोतृभिः स्वाभिप्रायाभेदेन तत्तत्काव्यप्रतिबिम्बितरूपतया साक्षात्क्रियते। श्रोतृणामपि हि तथाविध-स्वच्छशब्दानुभवद्रावितान्तरात्मनां सहृदयानां स्वाभिप्रायप्रतिमुद्रा तत्र संक्रामति। अतः कवेर्योऽसावभिप्रायः तद्गोचरीकृता भूता भाविनोऽपि पदार्था तत्र सहृदयैः श्रोतृभिः स्वाभिप्राया-भेदेन प्रत्यक्षा इव दृश्यन्ते। * * * *
तदेवमेवंविधहेतुनिबन्धनं कविश्रोतृभावद्वितयसंमी(मि)तनात्मकं भाविकं द्रष्टव्यम्। अत एव चात्र कविसंबन्धिनो भावस्य श्रोतृभावाभेदाध्यवसितस्य पुरस्स्फुरद्रूपस्य विद्यमानत्वाद् भाविकव्यपदेशः। भावोऽस्मिन्विद्यत इति भाविकम्। तदाहुः—

'रसोल्लासी कवेरात्मा स्वच्छे शब्दार्थदर्पणे।
माधुर्यौजोयुतप्रौढे प्रतिबिम्ब्य प्रकाशते॥
संपीतस्वच्छशब्दार्थद्रावितान्यन्तरस्ततः।
श्रोता तत्साम्यतः पुष्टिं चतुर्वर्गं परां व्रजेत्॥'

* * * ॥ pp. 79-80.

Udbhaṭa's illustration is a verse in which reference is made to a damsel having had (*bhūta*) collyrium in her eye, and to her future (*bhāvi*) wearing of ornaments! Pratihārendu no doubt offers some comments on the illustration but what a far cry from the great concept of aesthetics that bhāvika is to him and to what is said to be illustrated in this verse!

Mammaṭa[4] takes his idea of bhāvika from Udbhaṭa, but in his definition, he omits two ideas, first, the qualification of things by

4 'Bhāva' alaṅkāra in Rudraṭa has nothing to do with the *bhāvika* of th paper, which is absent in Rudraṭa.

the attribute अत्यद्भुताः and second, the means, वाचां अनाकुल्य. Mammaṭa's illustration is much the same as Udbhaṭa's: the lover says that he can see that there *was* collyrium in the lady's eyes and he can *imagine* also how she *will* look when she is adorned with ornaments! It is however not the mention in so many ideas and words of the past and future that is meant by Bhāmaha when he says that bhāvika is the quality which makes the past and future event so vivid as to appear like happening before our very eyes. But through Udbhaṭa, and Mammaṭa also, a great concept of aesthetics fell to the place of a narrow rhetorical figure of a Vākya.

When bhāvika was reduced to this state, trouble arose and writers had to show that it did not overlap two others, *viz.*, Svabhāvokti on one side and Rasokti on the other. Mammaṭa's commentator, Vidyācakravarttin, explains why Mammaṭa omitted from his definition of the bhāvika the statement of the means, śabdānākulya: When things of the past and future are visualised, there are two possibilities: The things by themselves may possess a power and beauty whereby their mere mention may make them look like being actually present before us; or this quality of their becoming vivid enough as to appear like things of the present may be wrought in them through the extraordinary gifts of expression in the poet, 'śabdānākulya' etc. To Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, only the latter cases were bhāvika; for to become an alaṁkāra, a poet's powers must have added something.[5] Maṃmaṭa however thinks that both cases are bhāvika; though it is true that for an alaṁkāra there has to be something wrought by the poet, we have 'svabhāvokti' where the beauty is *more or less* 'siddha'; even so, a presentation of such

5 This statement of Bhāmaha's and Udbhaṭa's view of Bhāvika by Vidyācakravarttin does not seem to be wholly correct; for, by the adjuncts चित्तोदात्ताद्भुतार्थत्व and अत्यद्भुताः (भावाः), both Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa mean that the things, by themselves also, must have something striking and gripping.

past and future things as possess an innate beauty and power is also a case of 'bhāvikālaṁkāra'; otherwise, we will have to commit the flaw of logical *gaurava* by creating a new name for this variety. Ruyyaka, in his *Alaṁkāra Sarvasva,* first followed the older writers, but in the end quoted and reconciled Mammaṭa to the older position, by accepting two varieties of bhāvika. Vidyācakravarttin here takes Viśvanātha to task for not understanding Ruyyaka properly and this has been set forth by the present writer at some length in a note in the *Annals of the BORI.*, vol. XIV. pp. 251-2, 254. It is needless to quote Vidyācakravarttin's text here. (T.S.S. edn. of the *K. Pra.*, pt. II, 346-7).

It was seen in Pratihārendurāja's exposition of the bhāvika how this concept became, at his hands, the very soul of rasa-realisation and how, on reading it, our minds went to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's bhāvanā, and the concept of Imagination. See Ruyyaka:

—कविगतो भाव आशयः श्रोतरि प्रतिविम्बन्वेनास्तीति भावो भावना पुनःपुनश्चेतसि विनिवेशनं, सोऽस्यास्तीति

—केवलं वस्तुप्रत्यक्षत्वे प्रतिपत्तुः सामग्र्यपयुज्यते। सा च लोकयात्रायां चक्षुरादीन्द्रियस्वभावा। योगिनामतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शने भावनारूपा। काव्यार्थविदां च भावनास्वभावैव। सा च भावना वस्तुगतात्यद्भुतत्वप्रयुक्ता, अत्यद्भुतानां वस्तूनामादरप्रत्ययेन हृदि सन्धार्यमाणत्वात्। Pp. 221-223. T.S.S. Edn. *A.S.*,

which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla reproduces thus in his gloss on the *K.Pra.*—

भावश्च भावना पुनःपुनश्चेतसि विनिवेशनमादरप्रत्ययेन हृदये धार्यमाणत्वं यत्र योगिनामिव काव्यवेदिनामभियोगः।" p. 347. T.S.S. edn. II.

This relates bhāva or bhāvanā more definitely to the reader also as Pratihārendurāja did.

To begin with, Ruyyaka also defined (in the *Sūtra*) bhāvika as simply as Mammaṭa, as the 'Pratyakṣāyamāṇatva' of 'bhūta' and 'bhāvi', without mention of the means śabdānākulatā. But, in the *Vṛtti*, he mentioned the 'adbhutatva' of the 'artha' and the 'anākulatā' of the 'śabda.' Ruyyaka then points out that this *bhāvika*

cannot be mistaken for or included in *bhrāntimān, atiśayokti, pratīyamāna, utprekṣā, kāvyaliṅga, rasavān* and *svabhāvokti.* Among these, we shall concern ourselves only with Ruyyaka's distinction of bhāvika from the last two, rasavadalaṁkāra and svabhāvokti.[6]

The gloss on Udbhaṭa published as Tilaka's in the GOS. points out how the bhāvika would collide with svabhāvokti and rasavadalaṁkāra.

भूतभाविशब्दस्य परोक्षत्वोपलक्षणे परोक्षाणां पुरःस्फुरद्रूपत्वहेतुत्वमिति व्याख्याने स्वभावोक्तिः । सहृदयहृदयप्रवेशक्षमत्वमिति व्याख्यायां रसवदाद्यलङ्कारतापत्तिः ।

p. 51, GOS. Edn.

Svabhāvokti and *rasavad* (i.e., rasokti as Bhoja would say) are easily distinguished. They are both direct and graphic presentation, the former of objects and the latter of emotions. The former creates a Vastu-saṃvāda in our mind; it rouses a mental image. The latter creates a cittavṛtti saṃvāda, an emotional image.

न च हृदयसंवादमात्रेण स्वभावोक्तिरसवदलङ्कारयोरभेदः । वस्तुसंवादरूपत्वात् स्वभावोक्तेः, चित्तवृत्तिसमाधिरूपत्वाच्च रसवदलङ्कारस्य ।

A.S. Ruyyaka, N.S. Edn. with Jayaratha's gloss, p. 181.

हृदयसंवादो हि वस्तुचित्तवृत्तिगतत्वेन द्विविधः । तत्र स्वभावोक्तौ वस्तुसंवादः प्रदर्शितः ।

Jayaratha's *Vimarśini on the A.S.*, p. 181.

From Mammaṭa as explained by Vidyācakravarttin, we understand that the difference between the *bhāvika* and *svabhāvokti* is firstly, in point of time, i.e., things in bhāvika were either past or future; and secondly, in the restricted scope of svabhāvokti, which can describe only an object's own natural form and action, (svakriyā rūpavarṇanā). But Ruyyaka says that bhāvika differs from both *rasavad* and *svabhāvokti* in being an objective realisation in which the reader sees a thing as a yogin (bhinna sarvajña) sees the

6 See the closing paragraph of the present writer's paper on Svabhāvokti, *Indian Culture,* V, ii, pp. 164-5. Ruyyaka shows how Bhāvika differs from Prasāda guṇa also.

past and future; in *svabhāvokti* and *rasokti*, the limiting contextual references get sunk; subject-object duality merges and not only is there a generalised or universalised experience (sādhāraṇikṛta) with reference to the characters presented in the poem or drama, but there is also, for the time, a loss or forgetting of the individuality of the reader or the spectator.

नाप्ययं परिस्फुरद्रूपतया सचमत्कारप्रतिपत्ते रसवदलंकारः। रत्यादिचित्तवृत्तीनां तदनुषक्ततया विभावादीनामपि साधारणेन हृदयसंवादितया परमाद्वैतज्ञानिवत् प्रतीतौ तस्य भानात्। इह तु ताटस्थ्येन भूतभाविनां स्फुटतया भिन्नसर्वज्ञवत् प्रतीतेः। नापीयं सूक्ष्मवस्तुस्वभाववर्णनात् स्वभावोक्तिः। तस्यां लौकिकवस्तुगतसूक्ष्मधर्मवर्णने साधारणेन हृदयसंवादसंभवात्। इह लोकोत्तराणां वस्तूनां स्फुटतया ताटस्थ्येन च प्रतीतेः।

p. 224, *A.S.*, T.S.S. Edn.

Ruyyaka adds another difference between *bhāvika* and *svabhāvokti*: in the former, only a miraculous (adbhuta and lokottara, witness his illustration मुनिर्जयति etc.) incident figures, whereas in the latter any ordinary idea. But this difference he casts off at once by saying that there may be cases of vivid realisation of even ordinary things of this world, but then it would be a bhāvika with an element of svabhāvokti. Surely Ruyyaka does not mean that स्फुटत्व alone in such a case makes up the bhāvika and the vastu being laukika makes up the svabhāvokti.[7]

क्वचित्तु लौकिकानामपि वस्तूनां स्फुटत्वेन प्रतीतौ भाविकस्वभावोक्त्योः समावेशः स्यात्।

pp. 224-5 Ruyyaka, *A.S.*, T.S.S. Edn.

So, the main difference by which Ruyyaka would distinguish *bhāvika* from *svabhāvokti* and *rasavad* is that in the two latter cases, the *pratīti* is *sādhāraṇa*. But this again is a thin prop, to be given up. What kind of realisation in poetry can there be without sādhāraṇikaraṇa? This universalisation has to come about, even in the case of bhāvika. Ruyyaka no doubt knows this but he

7 As Samudrabandha mistakes in his gloss. pp. 224-5, T.S.S. Edn.

adds, that when this sādhāraṇikaraṇa floods the heart of the reader, the bhāvika becomes rasavad.

स्फुटप्रतिपत्त्युत्तरकालं तु साधारण्यप्रतीतौ स्फुटप्रतिपत्तिनिमित्तक औत्तरकालिको रसवदलङ्कारः स्यात्[8]। p. 224, *A.S.*, T.S.S. Edn.

V. RAGHAVAN

8 (a) Māṇikyacandra adopts Ruyyaka's distinction of bhāvika from svabhāvokti and rasavad. See p. 408. Mysore Edn. of the *K. Pra.*

(b) Hemacandra says that bhāvika is either svabhāvokti or some feature pertaining purely to drama; that if it is pointed out to be present in Muktakas, it is not found to be delectable! p. 293, *K. A. Vyā.*

(c) Since bhāvika is said to present pictures separated by time, the Candrāloka adds a kin-alaṁkāra called bhāvikacchavi for presentation of things separated by space..

देशात्मविप्रकृष्टस्य दर्शनं भाविकच्छविः।
त्वं वसन् हृदये तस्याः साक्षात्पुष्पेषुरीक्ष्यसे॥ V. 114.

(d) For the connection bhāvika bears to the clear presentation and realisation of rasa, see the following verse of Śrī Harṣa in his *Naiṣadhīya Carita*:

श्रुतिमधुपदलग्नवैदग्धीविभावितभाविक-
स्फुटरसभृशाभ्यक्ता वैतालिकैर्जगिरे गिरः॥ XIX. 1.

Doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism*

II

Re. *maitrī* and *karuṇā*

The S. in consonance with the Th. regard Buddha as a human being but they attribute to him divine, sometimes super-divine, powers. They look upon the Bodhisattvas as average beings (*puthujjana*), who must destroy the saṃyojanas like an average adept in order to step into the *samyakatvaniyāma* or *sotāpannahood*.

According to the S. "sentient beings are not objects of *maitrī* and *karuṇā* and so forth on the part of the Buddha," and further "if anyone adheres to the view that there are sentient beings, he cannot realize emancipation."

The former opinion is opposed in the *Kvu*. (XVIII. 32: *Natthi Buddhasa Bhagavato karuṇā ti*) on the ground that the Buddha is described in the texts as 'kāruṇiko' and that he sometimes enters into mahākaruṇāsamāpatti and so he has karuṇā for sentient beings. In the Pāli texts, the practice of four brahmavihāras, maitri, karuṇā, muditā and upekkhā forms an essential part of the Theravāda code of sādhanā. It is by means of brahmavihāras that an adept is able to look upon all beings as same; in other words, developes *samatājñāna*. As regards the second opinion we may state that the Buddhist doctrine of *anattā* teaches that there are actually no individual beings, and that it is *avijjā* which makes one think of the existence of beings. Applying this to the case of Buddha, the S. are only stating the axiomatic truth that to the Buddha's eye no beings exist and as such they cannot be the object of his *maitrī* and *karuṇā*.

* Continued from vol. XIV, p. 120.

There are three other views relating to Buddha's teachings, which are opposed to those of the Mahāsaṅghikas[12] and are in consonance with the human conception of Buddha. They are,

(i) The Buddhas cannot expound all doctrines with a single utterance.

(ii) The world-honoured One utters words which are not always in conformity with the truth.

(iii) The *sūtras* delivered by Buddha have *nītārtha*[13] and there are even some *anītārtha-sūtras*.

Re. *Arhats*

According to the Sarvāstivādins, Vasumitra says,—

(i) A srotāpanna has no chance of retrogression while an arhat has.

(ii) All arhats do not gain *anutpāda-jñāna*.

(iii) An arhat is governed by the *pratītyasamutpādāṅga* (members of the causal law).

(iv) Certain arhats perform meritorious deeds.

(v) Arhats are not free from the influence of past *karma*

(vi) Arhats gain *naivaśaikṣa-nāśaikṣajñāna*.

(vii) Arhats gain the four fundamental dhyānas: they cannot realise the fruits of dhyāna.

The first opinion that arhats may have retrogression is the same as that of the Mahāsaṅghikas (discussed before, see *IHQ*., XIII, p. 565). The S. like the M. postulate the existence of two classes of arhats with different degrees of attainments.[14] According to the S.,

12 All these views have been discussed before, see *IHQ*., XIII, p. 554.

13 The word *nītārtha* means expressions which do not convey the real sense directly as the *neyyārtha* would do. *Nītārtha* corresponds to *sammuti* or *saṃvṛti-satya*.

14 See *Kośa*, vi. 64: The ubhayatobhāgavimutta-arhats realise nirodha-samāpatti and remove both kleśāvaraṇa (obstacle of passions) and vimokṣāvaraṇa (obstacle to the knowledge of *akarmaṇyatā* of *nāma* and *rūpa*) while the

all arhats are not completely perfect—an opinion not accepted by the Theravādins though the latter have no objection to distinguish arhats as *Sa*(=*sva*)*-dhammakusala* and *Para-dhammakusala*. It is interesting to find this opinion discussed also in the *Milindapañha*,[15] where it is said that there are arhats who may not be aware of the name and gotra of any and every person, the various roads and so forth, but there may be some conversant with the *vimuttis*.[16]

The second opinion reiterates the first in another form. The S. hold that some and not all arhats gain the *anutpādajñāna* (lit. knowledge of the cessation of rebirth) but all may have *kṣayajñāna* (lit. knowledge of the extinction of all impurities in oneself).[17] The M. assert that only Buddhas and not arhats can have both *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādajñāna*.[18]

Regarding the third opinion, Mr. Masuda on the basis of 'Shu-chi says that of the twelve members of the causal law, four, viz., nāmarūpa, saḍāyatana, phassa and vedanā—(or, according to another interpretation, only vedanā) remain active in the case of arhats, the other members, i.e., avijjā, saṃkhārā, taṇhā, upādāna, bhava, jāti, and jarā-maraṇa becoming ineffective. The Chinese interpretation can be accepted, only if "vedanā" is limited to "adukkha-asukha-vedanā" for an arhat is *chalupekkho*[19] (endowed with indifference in respect

Prajñāvimukta-arhats are those who remove only kleśāvaraṇa by means of prajñā, see also *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 562. For the six kinds of arhats, see *Kośa*, vi. 56ff.

15 *Milindapañha*, p. 267: Avisayo mahārāja ekaccassa arahato sabbaṃ jānituṃ na hi tassa balaṃ atthi sabbaṃ jānituṃ. Cf. *Kvu.*, II, 2 in *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 562.

16 The five *vimuttis* are,—(*i*) tadaṅgavimutti or vippasanāñāṇa attained by removing the misconceptions of nicca, nimitta etc., vikkhambhanav. or paccavekkhaṇañāṇa, samucchedav. or maggañāṇa, paṭipassaddhiv. or phalañāṇa, and nissaraṇav.

17 See *IHQ.*, XIII, pp. 555, 561-2.

18 See *Kośa*, ii. p. 109, f.n. 4; vi. 24, 67.

19 See *Digha.*, iii, p. 245; *Majjhima*, iii, p. 219. *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 564, n

of the six indriyas), i.e. the organs of sense come into contact with the respective objects but produce neither good nor bad feeling.

The fourth opinion speaks of the *puññopacaya* of an Arhat. The Th. reject it; so also the Mahāsaṅghikas.[20] The Arhats are said to have done all that is to be done (*katakaraṇīya*) and are beyond merit and demerit, good or bad; hence to speak of some of them as collecting merits shows that the S. like the Andhakas do not look upon all arhats as completely perfect.[21]

The fifth opinion that arhats are subject to the influence of past *karma* is perhaps based upon some instances found in the Piṭakan stories that Arhats like Aṅgulimāla and Mahāmoggallāna suffered pain on account of their past karma.[22]

The sixth opinion, as presented by Mr. Masuda, appears to be ambiguous,[23] and preference should be given to the meaning "nirvāṇa" assigned by the *Mahāvyutpatti* to *navaśaikṣanāśaikṣa* The sense would then be that some and not all arhats attain Nirvāṇa (full emancipation) according to the S.

The seventh opinion has not been taken up for discussion in the *Kvu.* The *Kośa* (viii. 6) tells us that there are eight fundamental *dhyānas* (*maulasamāpattidravyāṇi*), i.e., four dhyānas and four arūpyas (higher dhyānas). The contention of the S. is that all arhats complete the four dhyānas but all do not necessarily attain the fruits of the four dhyānas,[24] which are detailed in the *Kośa* (viii. 27-28), thus: by the first dhyāna, one obtains *dṛṣṭa-dharma-sukhavihāra*,[25]

20 *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 563. 21 *Ibid.*

22 See *Milindapañha*, p. 134: Na hi mahārāja sabbantaṃ vedayitaṃ kammamūlakaṃ. See also *Kvu.*, VIII. 11: kammahetu arahā arahatta parihāyatiti?

23 "For arhants there are things which are no longer to be learnt and things which are still to be learnt." *Asta Major*, p. 49.

24 *Digha*, iii. 222, *Aṅg.*, ii. 4: Atth' āvuso samādhibhavanā bhāvitā bahuli katā diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārāya saṃvattati ñāṇadassanapaṭilabhāya satisaṃ pajaññāya āsavānaṃ khayāya saṃvattati.

25 lit. enjoyment of happiness in the present body (Pāli, diṭṭhadhammasukhavihāra).

by the second *jñāna-darśana,* (or *divya-cakṣurabhijñā*);[26] by the third *prajñā-prabheda,*[27] and by the fourth *anāsravatā.*[28]

Re. *Samyakatvanyāma*[29]

Vasumitra attributes the following opinions to the Sarvāstivādins: —

(i) A person can enter the *samyakatvanyāma* through the meditation of *śūnyatā* and *apraṇihitatā;* only one in the *samyakatvanyāma* is called *pratipannaka* up to the fifteenth (or the last) moment of the *darśanamārga.* In the sixteenth moment he is called *phalastha* when he is in *bhāvanāmārga.*

(ii) A person can enter the *samyakatvanyāma* and can also gain arhatship independently of the four dhyānas.

(iii) A person can gain arhatship but not *samyakatvanyāma* if he is in either Rūpa or Arūpa-dhātu. It is only when he is in Kāmadhātu that he can enter the *samyakatvanyāma* as also attain arhathood.

Allied to the above there are two other views attributed to the S., *viz.,*

(iv) There are also certain devas who lead a holy life.

(v) There is no one who is free from passion in the Uttarakuru. No saint is born there or in the Asaññisattvaloka.

The first three opinions raise the question of samyakatvanyāma, i.e. of persons who are destined to attain Nibbāna, and have no chance of being diverted from the aryan path and going to lower

26 lit. insight into real state of things i.e. free from any *vikalpa* (=Pāli ñaṇadassana).

27 lit. special or detailed knowledge of things of the world- the corresponding Pāli expression is satisampajñā.

28 lit. purity (Pāli āsavānaṃ khaya).

29 For references see *Kośa,* vi, p. 181 f.n.

states or joining heretical sects. An adept in samyakatvanyāma is the same as sotāpattimaggapaṭipanna, i.e., one after destroying the three saṃyojanas, viz., sakkāyadiṭṭhi, sīlabbataparāmāsa and vicikicchā is on the way to sotāpattiphala. According to the scheme of the S., an adept remains srotaāpattiphala-pratipannaka for the first fifteen moments, i.e., up to the development of mārge anvayajñānakṣānti,[30] when he completes the darśanamārga; from the 16th moment he is in bhāvanā-mārga and is a srotaāpattiphalastha or srotaāpanna.

The first opinion raises the question whether one can become a srotaāpattiphalapratipannaka by the meditation of *śūnyatā* (i.e. *anattatā*) and *apraṇihitatā* (i.e. *duḥkhatā* and *anityatā*)[31] and not of *animittatā*;[32] the answer given by the S. is in the affirmative.

The second deals with the problem whether samyakatvanyāma followed by arhathood can be attained without the practice of the four dhyānas, the S. asserting that it is possible to attain arhathood by means of certain practices other than the usual four dhyānas, e.g. by means of satipaṭṭhāna or brahmavihāra and so forth.

The third is concerned with the problem whether gods in the Rūpa or Arūpadhātu can gain samyakatvanyāma as also arhathood. The S. hold that they can attain the latter but not the former which can only be attained by a being while in the Kāmadhātu. This problem is discussed in the *Kvu.* (I. 3): *N'atthi devesu brahmacariyāvāso ti?*—an opinion held by the Sammitīyas. The opinion of the S. is upheld by the Th. In the *Kvu.* it is contended that "brahmacariyāvāsa" does not mean merely "pabbajjā" (ordination), "muṇḍiyam" (shaven-headedness) and so forth as held by the Sammitīyas, but includes "maggabhāvanā." The Th. and the S.

30 See infra, p. 794.

31 Cf. *Asia Major*, II, p. 40, n. 9.

32 Mr. Masuda on the basis Fa. jen states that Dharmagupta held that one cannot attain samyakatvanyāma without animittasamādhi, *Asia Major*, p. 40, n. 9.

hold that the anāgāmis do not come to the Kāmadhātu but they remain in Rūpa or Arūpadhātu, and by maggabhāvanā there, they become Arhats, without becoming a samyakatvanyāma.

The fourth opinion of the S. is that the gods except the Asāññisattas can have *maggabhāvanā,* though not pabbajjā, muṇḍiyam, etc.

The fifth opinion is based on a passage of the *Aṅg. Nik.* (iv. 396) and cited in the *Kvu.* (I. 3, p. 99) in which it is said that the inhabitants of Jambudīpa surpass those of Uttarakuru and Tāvatiṃsa heaven in courage, mindfulness and in religious life (*brahmacariyāvāsa*);[33] from this it has been inferred that there cannot be any saint in Uttarakuru.[34] It has been mentioned above that the S. as well as the Th. exclude the Asaññisattas from the gods who follow a religious life, and so, among the Asaññisattas also there cannot be any saint.[35]

Re. *Anupubbābhisamaya*

Vasumitra attributes the following views to the Sarvāstivādins:—

(i) The four truths are to be meditated upon gradually.

(ii) The catur-śrāmaṇyaphala are not necessarily attained gradually.

(iii) If one is in samyakatvanyāma, he can attain (at once) the fruits of sakṛdāgāmi and anāgāmi on account of (the completion of) the laukikamārga.

33 *Points of the Controversy,* p. 73.

34 The S. are making an anomaly in drawing the inferences. If Uttarakuru cannot have any saint how the Tāvatiṃsa can have any?

35 Mr. Masuda points out (in the f.n., *Asia Major,* p. 46) that Uttarakuru is regarded as a land of pure happiness and the Asaññisattvas as the highest devaloka with long life and happiness; hence the beings of these two abodes need not take to religious life.

An adept, according to the S., develop insight into the four truths in a gradual order[36] in 15 moments thus:—

Darśana-mārga

(i) Duḥkhe (or five skhandhas, i.e. nāma-rūpe) dharmajñāna-kṣānti[37]	confined to Kāmadhātu.
(ii) Duḥkhe dharmajñāna	
(iii) Duḥkhe anvayajñāna-kṣānti[38]	extended to Rūpa and Arūpadhātus.
(iv) Duḥkhe anvayajñāna	
Srotāpatti-pratipannaka-darśanamārga	
(v) Samudaye (sāsravadharmānāṃ hetu i.e., karmakleśe) dharmajñāna-kṣānti	confined to Kāmadhātu.
(vi) Samudaye dharmajñāna	
(vii) „ anvayajñāna-kṣānti	extended to Rūpa and Arūpadhātus.
(viii) „ anvayajñāna	
(ix) Nirodhe (pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha or karma kleśa-kṣaye) dharmajñāna-kṣānti.	confined to Kāmadhātu.
(x) Nirodhe dharmajñāna	
(xi) „ anvayajñānakṣānti	extended to Rūpa and Arūpadhātus.
(xii) „ anvayajñāna	
(xiii) Mārge (śaikṣā aśaikṣā dharmā or samatha-vipaśyanāyāṃ) dharmajñānakṣānti	confined to Kāmadhātu.
(xiv) Mārge dharmajñāna	
(xv) Mārge anvayajñānakṣānti	extended to Rūpa and Arūpadhātus.
Srotāpatti-phalastha-bhāvanāmārga	
(xvi) Mārge anvayajñāna[39]	

36 Cf. *Kośa.* vi. 2:

सत्यन्युक्तानि चत्वारि दुःखसमुदयस्तथा ।
निरोधो मार्गः एतेषां यथाभिसमयं क्रमः ॥

37 Kṣānti means "faith" (kṣamate=rocate, *Kośa*, vi. 18). An adept at the first moment thinks that he has realised (though actually he has not realised) the fact that the things of the Kāmadhātu i.e. the skandhas are undesirable. It is in the second moment that he realises that the skandhas are undesirable. He acquires now dharmajñāna.

38 After the realisation of the actual state of skandhas of the Kāmadhātu, the adept extends his inner vision to the skandhas of Rūpa and Arūpa-dhātus to realise in the next two moments that skandhas of the higher worlds are also undesirable and hence existence in any of the worlds is to be avoided. In the same way, the other three truths are to be understood.

39 Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 235, 315, 329.

From the above table it is evident how the S. mark the gradual stages of the development of insight into the four truths. In the *Kvu.* the controversies: *Anupubbābhisamayo ti?* (II. 9) and *Odhisodhiso kilese jahātīti?* (I. 4) and also *Vimuttam vimuccamānan ti?* (III. 4), support scheme of the S. about the gradual realisation of the truths. The problem discussed is whether an adept realises the four *sāmaññaphalas* including *vimutti* gradually or not? The Th. contend that there is no bar to the realisation of all the *phalas* at one and the same time. The S. subscribe to this view as will be apparent from the second opinion of the S. quoted above, except that they do not include the fourth phala, viz., arhathood or vimutti.[40] Buddhaghosa should have pointed out this discrepancy as far as the S. are concerned. According to him, the opinion that the realisation of the phalas happens gradually is held by the Sammitīyas.

In the third point, it is stated that according to the S., those adepts only who have completed the laukikamārga[41] attain the second and third phalas at one and the same time. The Th. hold that bhāvanāmārga which commences from the srotāpattiphala stage is lokottara and cannot be laukika; the S., however, contend that it may be either laukika or lokottara. A topic allied to this is discussed in the *Kvu.* (I. 5), which will be dealt with hereafter.

Re. *Puthujjana, Laukikamārga* or *Laukikāgradharma*

the S., as pointed out by Vasumitra, hold:—

(i) An average man is able to destroy *rāga* and *pratigha* in the Kāmadhātu.

(ii) A puthujjana can die in a good state of mind.

40 There may be ascetics who obtain the four fruits gradually (anupūrveṇa catuḥphalaprāpti). *Kośa,* vi. 45.

41 *Kośa.* vi, 45: The bhāvanā-mārga is of two kinds: laukika or sāsrava and lokottara or anāsrava.

(iii) There is laukikasamyagdṛṣṭi and laukikaśraddhendriya.

(iv) The laukikāgradharma is a stage lasting but one moment (ekakṣaṇikacitta).

In the Buddhist texts a puthujjana (an average man), whether a householder or a recluse, who has not yet destroyed the three saṃyojanas viz., sakkāyadiṭṭhi, vicikicchā and sīlabbataparāmāsa in order to become a sotāpanna, can hardly be expected to destroy rāga, doṣa, moha which impurities are normally removed when an adept reaches the anāgāmi stage. The S. hold that a puthujjana is able to remove from his mind *rāga* and *pratigha* which is the same as *doṣa* or *vyāpāda*. The Th. discuss this view in the *Kvu*. in these words: *Jahati puthujjano kāmarāgabyāpādan ti?* (I. 5) saying that a puthujjana cannot completely eradicate from his mind rāga (attachment) and byāpāda (hatred), gross and subtle. In course of this discussion, the Th. raise the other question: *Puthujjano kāmesu vītarāgo saha dhammābhisamayā anāgāmiphale saṇṭhātī ti?* (*Kvu*. I. 5, p. 112), i.e. whether an average man who is free from kāma attains with the realization of the truth the anāgāmi stage or not? The S., as we have seen above, answer the question in the affirmative, but they do not think that such a puthujjana can attain arhathood, but he can attain all the other three phalas at one and the same time. In other words, the contention of the S. is that a puthujjana's attainments through laukikamārga may be of so high an order that the moment the truth flashes in his mind he becomes an anāgāmi, when he completes all the necessary conditions for anāgāmihood, including those of the lower two phalas.[42]

The second opinion that an average man dies with a kusala-citta is based on many instances of upāsakas dying with a good mental state. The Th. also subscribe to this view, and hence there is no discussion in the *Kvu*.

42 See *Kvu*., pp. 113-4.

The third opinion is the same as that of the Th. and is opposed to that of the Mahāsaṅghikas. (For discussion, see *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 572).

The fourth opinion is not touched in the *Kvu.* but has been dealt with fully in the *Kośa* (VI. 19) thus:—

कामाप्तदुःखविषयाऽधिमात्रा एकक्षणा तु सा । तथाग्राः etc.

If the conviction (kṣānti) concerning the duḥkha (=skandhas) of the Kāmadhātu be the strongest, it lasts only for a moment; so also are the agradharmas, i.e., laukikāgradharmas,[43] which though sāsrava (impure) are the highest of the worldly dharmas and lead one to the darśana-mārga (way to the realisation of truths).

The point is that a puthujjana, according to the S., may attain spiritual progress up to the anāgāmi stage by taking to satipaṭṭhāna and such other practices which are laukika so long as they are practised by one who is not yet in one of the maggas and phalas.

Re. *Anuśayas* and *Paryavasthānas*

the S. are of opinion that:—

(i) All the anuśayas are caitasika; they are cittasamprayukta and are also objects of thought (ālambana).

(ii) All the anuśayas can be included in the paryavasthānas but all paryavasthānas are not anuśayas.

The above two opinions are diametrically opposed to those of the Mahāsaṅghikas, and in full agreement with those of the Th. The topics are dealt with in the *Kvu.* fully (see *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 569), in which it is shown that anuśayas are not without ārammaṇa; they are not avyākata (neither good nor bad); they are the same as the paryavasthānas (=pariyuṭṭhānas) which again are not cittavippayutta. The S. distinguish the anuśayas from paryavasthānas, saying all paryavasthānas are not anuśayas while the *vice versa* is true.

43 Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, xiv. 23: laukikāgradharmāvasthā=ānantaryasamādhi *Kośa*, vi, p. 166, n. agradharma=dharma-smṛtyupasthāna.

Re. *Meditation*

the Sarvāstivādins hold that

(i) In the state of *samāhita* one can utter words.

(ii) No man ever dies in the state of *samāhita*.

(iii) It may be said that four smṛtyupasthānas can include all the dharmas.

(iv) All the dhyānas are included in the smṛtyupasthānas.

(v) There are four lokottara-dhyānas.

(vi) The bodhyaṅgas are acquired in seven samāpattis and not in others.

The first opinion is in agreement with the Mahāsanghikas, and as such has been refuted by the Th. in the *Kvu*. (see *IHQ*., XIV, pp. 572-3).

The second is opposed by the Rājagirikas but is accepted by the Th. and as such is discussed in the *Kvu*. (XV. 9): *Saññāvedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpanno kālaṃ kareyyā ti?* The Th. contend that a meditator when in the saññāvedayitanirodhasamāpatti cannot have any death-like (*maraṇantiko*) contact, feeling, perception, etc. or is not affected by poison, weapon-stroke or fire; hence to speak of them as dying while in meditation is wrong. The opponents contend that there is no such law (*niyāma*) that a meditator while in saññāvedayitanirodha will not die.

The third topic is discussed in the *Kvu*. (I. 9): *sabbe dhammā satipaṭṭhānan ti?*—an opinion attributed by Buddhaghosa to the Andhakas. The interpretation of Buddhaghosa is that the opponents meant by satipaṭṭhāna the objects which form the basis of *sati* (satiyā paṭṭhāna, satigocara, satiyā patiṭṭhāna).[44] In this sense the second opinion may be explained, to wit, the satipaṭṭhānas include all forms of meditation, i.e., an adept practising satipaṭṭhāna

44 *Kośa*. vi. 14: Le smṛtyupasthāna est triple: *smṛtyupasthāna* en soi (*svabhāva*), par connexion (*saṃsarga*), en qualité d'object (*ālambanasmṛtyupasthāna*).

needs not have recourse to other meditational practices. The S. may well point to the well-known statement found in many places of the Nikāyas (vide *Majjhima*, I. pp. 55-6), that there is only one way to the attainment of purity and that is the practice of satipaṭṭhāna. (*ekāyano ayaṃ maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā.....yadidam cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*).[45]

The fourth opinion needs hardly any comment. It refers to the first four dhyānas when they are practised by adepts who are in one of the maggas and phalas. The dhyāna of a maggaṭṭha or phalaṭṭha is regarded as lokottara (supramundane). The fifth opinion evidently refers to the contention discussed in the *Kośa* (VIII. 6) that of the eight dhyānas or samāpattis, the first seven are capable of elevating the mind of the adept to the purest state but not the eighth in which *saṃjñā* is in the feeblest form and as such the samāpatti of *naivasaṃjñā-nāsaṃjñāyatana* is ineffective. Consequently the attaintment of the bodhyaṅgas takes place while the adept rises from one dhyāna to the next up till the seventh leaving nothing for the eighth.

Re. *Vijñānas*

the S. assert, as stated by Vasumitra, that

(i) The pañcavijñānakāyas conduce to sarāga and not to virāga, because these only perceive the lakṣaṇas of objects and have no independent thinking faculty of their own.

If the reason adduced by the S. that the *vijñānakāyas* by themselves cannot produce *virāga*, how can they induce *sarāga*? Hence, we think there is something wrong in the translation of this reasoning and it would be better to accept what the *Kvu*. says on the point (see *IHQ*., XIV, pp. 574-6).

45 Cf. *Kośa*, vi, p. 158. n. 1: एकायमोऽयं भिक्षवो मार्गो यदुत स्मृत्युपस्थानानि । केवलोऽयं कुशलराशिः यदुत चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थानानि ।

Re. *Avyākṛta, Asaṃskṛtas,* and *Antarābhava*

the following opinions are attributed to the Sarvāstivādins: —

(i) There are avyākṛtadharmas.

(ii) The pratītyasamutpādāṅgiktva is undoubtedly saṃskṛta.

(iii) The saṃskṛtavastus are of three kinds; the asaṃskṛta-vastus are also of three kinds.

(iv) Only in Kāma and Rūpadhātus there is antarābhava.

The first and second opinion are opposed to those of the Mahāsaṅghikas and agree with those of the Th. (see *IHQ.*, XIV, pp. 576-7).

The third also is not accepted by the Mahāsaṅghikas and agreed to by the Th. (see *IHQ.*, XIV, pp. 577-8). The difference between the Th. and the S. lies in the fact that the latter introduces a new statement in accordance with their doctrine "sabbam atthi" discussed before (*IHQ.*, XIV, p. 114f.) that the constituted thing should be classified as three, viz., those in the past, present and future (see Masuda, p. 40,n. 2).

The fourth opinion of the S. that there is antarābhava in the Kāmadhātu and Rūpadhātu is neither accepted by the Mahāsaṅghikas nor by the Th. (see *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 579). It has some agreement with the Sammitiyas with whom we shall deal hereafter.

There are few other non-controversial opinions held by the S. These are,—

(i) All the dharmāyatanas (i.e. vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskārā) can be understood and attained.

(ii) Even heretics can gain five supernatural powers (see Wassilijew, *Der Buddhismus,* p. 272, n. 3).

(iii) Good (karma) can also become the cause of existence— an opinion objected to by the Mahiśāsakas.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

MISCELLANY

A Forgotten Moslem Invasion

Muhammad bin Kasim killed king Dahar of the Brahman dynasty in 711 A.D., and conquered Sind in 712 A.D. Jaisiah, son of Dahar, reconquered Sind during the Caliphate of Suleiman (A.D. 715-717). During the reign of the Caliph 'Omar II (A.D. 717-720) Jaisiah embraced Islam in order to save his kingdom from the further incursions of the Arabs. But during the Caliphate of Hisham (A.D. 724-743) his general Junaid killed Jaisiah and reconquered the province of Sind. Sometime before A.D. 738 Junaid made several attempts to establish his supremacy over Rajputana, Mālava, and the Deccan. But his attempts were frustrated by king Nāgabhaṭa I of Mālava, Pulikeśin Janāśraya of Lāṭa, and Yaśovarman of Kanauj. It is generally believed that the Arabs under the Caliphs did not make any further attempt to establish their supremacy beyond Sind. But the critical examination of the Indian records establishes that the Arabs led at least one more expedition against Rajputana.[1]

Khummana-Raso,[2] a work of the later period, narrates that 'Mahmud Khorasan Pat' invaded Chitor during the reign of Khuman. A large number of kings of different dynasties fought on the side of Khuman and repulsed the attack of the Moslems. Tod says that Mahmud, referred to, is a mistake for Ma'mun i.e. Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma'mun (A.D. 813-836), who got Khorasan, Sind, and other Indian dependencies from his father Harun. Ojha[3] suggests that Khuman is to be identified with the Guhila

1 *Cach-nāma*, Trans. by Mirza Kalich Beg Fredunbeg, p. 143; Elliot, I, 122ff.

2 *Annals of Rajasthan*, Tod, ed. Crook, I, 284, 291c.

3 *Hist. of Rajputana*, II, 420. "From Gajna came the Guhilot; the Tak from Asir; from Narlai the Cauhan; the Cālukya from Rahargarh; from Setubandha the Jarkhera; from Mandor the Khairavi; from Mangrol the Makwahana; from Jethgarh the Joria; from Taragarh the Rewar; the Kachhwaha from Narwar;

Khommana II, who ruled Medāpaṭa (Mewar) from about A.D. 810-830. The list of the names of the dynasties, who joined this struggle, as has been narrated in the *Khummana-Raso,* is faulty. Many of these dynasties came into existence long after that incident. But if the above report proves to be historic it will not be unreasonable to assume that a confederacy was made by the Guhila king with other Indian princes to oppose the Arabs. *Khummana-Raso's* report has not been taken very seriously by the scholars. It does not find place in the standard book of Indian history. This is because the work is of late date.

Rājasekharasūri wrote his *Prabandhakośa*[4] in V.S. 1405 = A.D. 1348. The work gives the genealogy of the kings of the Cāhamāna family of Śākambharī. It states that there was the king Vāsudeva, who was ruling in V.S. 608 = A.D. 551. The sixth king was Govindarāja and the thirteenth king was Gaṃḍu, who defeated the Sultan Mahamad (Mahmud). Goṃḍu is identified with Govindarāja II, whose father Durlabharāja was ruling in 999 A.D.[5] As there were only two kings of the name Govindarāja II in this branch of the Cāhamāna line Govindarāja, mentioned as the sixth king of the branch by the *Prabandhakośa,* is to be identified with Govindarāja I, also known as Guvāka I, son of Durlabharāja I. Govindarāja I *alias* Guvâka I was a feudatory under the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II

from Sanchor the Kalam; from Junagarh the Dasanoh; from Ajmer the Gaur; from Lohadargarh the Candano; from Dasaundi the Dor; from Delhi the Tuar; from Patan the Cawara; the preserver of royalty (Rajdhar); from Jalor the Sonigira; from Sirohi the Deora; from Gagraun the Khichi; the Jadon from Junagarh; the Jhala from Patri; from Kanauj the Rathor; from Cotiala the Bala; from Piramgarh the Gohil; from Jaisalgarh the Bhatti; the Busa from Lahore; the Sankkhla from Roncja; the Schat from Kherligarh; from Mandalgarh the Nikhumbha; the Bargujar from Rajor; from Karangarh the Candel; from Sikar the Śikkarwal; from Umargarh the Jethwa; from Pali the Bargota; from Khantargarh the Jareja; from Jirga the Kherwar; from Kashmir the Parihara."

4 *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India,* by Hultzsch, No. III, p. 114.

5 Ray's *Dynastic History,* II, p. 1137.

(*c.* 800-836 A.D.).[6] The *Prabandhakośa*[7] states that Govindarāja (I) defeated Sultan Vega Varisa. Though the *Prabandhakośa* is a work of late date, this particular incident, recorded by it, finds indirect corroboration in a contemporary inscription.

The Gwalior inscription[8] of the Pratihāra Bhoja (A.D. 836-892) states that 'of him (i.e. Nāgabhaṭa II), whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities (like eloquence, statesmanship, etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, and Matsya.' Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the Turuṣkas, referred to, were either the Arabs or the Turuṣka army under the command of the Arabs.[9] The above inscription thus establishes that during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II i.e. sometime between A.D. 800 and 836, there was a clash between the Pratihāras and the Arabs of Sind.

As the kingdom of Sākambharī lay on the border of the kingdom of the Arabs of Sind it is highly probable that the Cāhamāna Govinda I participated in the battle between his master Nāgabhaṭa II and the Arabs. Thus the report of the *Prabandhakośa* that Govindarāja (I) fought with the Moslems may be accepted as true.

The *Prabandhakośa* states that Govindarāja's adversary was the Sultan Vega Varisa.[10] The *Al Biladuri*[11] tells us that Bashar, son of Daud, was the governor of Sind under the Khalifat Mamun (A.D. 813-833). This Bashar might have been described by Rājaśekharasuri in the fifteenth century as the Sultan Vega Varisa.

Khummana-Raso's report that the Guhila Khommana II in alliance with some princes of India repulsed an attack of the army of the Caliph Mamun, when the latter invaded Chitor, may be taken

6 *Ibid.*, p. 1062. 7 *Rep. Sans. MSS*, Hultzsch, III, p. 114.
8 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 112. 9 *Arab Invasion of Sind.*
10 Hultzsch, *R. S. MSS*, III, 114. *Govindarājaḥ Suratrāṇa Vegs Varisa nāmnojeta*
11 Elliot, I, 128.

as to have referred to the same incident as what has been mentioned by the *Prabandhakośa* and the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja. If this suggestion proves to be true it may be summarised that some time between A.D. 813-833 Bashar, the governor of Sind under the Caliph Mamun, invaded Chitor. The then king of Chitor, the Guhila Khoṃmana II, formed a confederacy with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the Cāhamāna Govindarāja I, and some other Indian princes to put a check to the progress of the Arabs. The allied army succeeded in repulsing Bashar and his forces.

The Kalacuri Kokkalla I, king of Tripuri, was born sometime before 816 A.D., and continued to rule after 878 A.D.[12] The Amoda plates,[13] dated K.E. 831 = A.D. 1080, state that Kokkalla "raided the treasuries of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī kings, and those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families." It is thus evident that Kokkalla came into conflict with the Moslems. It may be that he also joined the confederacy formed by Khommana against the Arabs under Bashar.

We thus find that in course of a little more than hundred years from A.D. 725 to A.D. 836 the Arabs of Sind made two attempts to establish their sway in Rajputana. On the first occasion their endeavour was frustrated by Nāgabhaṭa I, Yaśovarman, and Pulikeśin Janāśraya. On the second occasion their object was baffled by the combined efforts of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the Cāhamāna Govindarāja I, the Guhila Khommana II, and the Kalacuri Kokkalla I.

D. C. GANGULY

12 Author's "Early History of the Kalacuris of Cedi,"—*IHQ.*, XIII, 482 ff.
13 *EI.*, XIX, 75.

Jahangir and Nurjahan

History of Mughal India as it stands today abounds in misleading facts: one of these relate to the life of the emperor Jahangir, viz. his marriage with Nurjahan. It is stated that Jahangir fell in love with Mehrunnisa during the life-time of Akbar, but that the emperor having disapproved of the prince's advances married her off to Ali Quli Khan, a Persian noble of great courage and valour. Jahangir, it is said, on ascending the throne contrived the murder of his rival so as to marry the latter's widow, that Mehrunnisa indignantly declined his overtures but that she relaxed later and acquiesced in Jahangir's proposal of marriage. This version is wrong and finds no corroboration from contemporary records.

The facts of the event, as related in '*Iqbalnāma*', '*Maásir-i-Jehāngīri*' and other contemporary writings are these: Ali Quli Khan (whose previous history it is unnecessary to relate for the purpose of the present article) greatly distinguished himself for his courage and valour at Akbar's compaign to Thattah and rose to high *mansab* in 1594 A.D. Shortly after he was married to Mehrunnisa, daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who also held a high *mansab* in the Royal Court. In 1599 he was placed on the staff of Prince Salim who was then conducting operations against Mewar. Ali Quli Khan's courage and intrepidity in the war won him great admiration from the prince, and his valour in killing a tiger was rewarded by the prince with the title of *Sher Afghan*. Then came the unhappy cleavage between the emperor and the prince and in the conflict that ensued Sher Afghan fought for the former. It is possible that the relations of the prince and Sher Afghan were thus considerably strained, but on his accession Jahangir granted him a generous pardon in his general scheme of amnesty to his former opponents and donated him a *jagir* at Burdwan in Bengal where he sent him with a large command. Bengal being then a

resort of the disgruntled Afghans and the home of conspiracy and revolt, Sher Afghan's loyalty to the throne was suspected. The governor, Qutbuddin, was charged to endeavour to reclaim Sher with kindness and to send him to the court, but in the event of defiance to accord him a suitable punishment. Qutbuddin did his best to dissuade him from being refractory by all polite remonstrances and invited him to have a personal talk with him but to no effect. This uncompromising attitude having been reported to the emperor, the governor was ordered to proceed to Burdwan where Sher Afghan's jagir was situated, apparently to arrest him. He accordingly reached there in March 1607. Sher Afghan came to meet the governor attended by two servants, but as he entered the camp, a number of men of the royal troops who were placed in ambush, rushed out and surrounded him on all sides. This was more than what Sher Afghan had suspected. Apprehending that all was now lost his temper rose and he drew his sword fatally wounding the governor on the spot who expired within twelve hours from thence. Sher Afghan was thereupon immediately assailed on all sides and cut to pieces.

The emperor's affliction was great indeed at the news of the death of Qutbuddin who was his foster brother and very loving friend. The survivors of Sher Afghan, viz. his widow Mehrunnisa and his daughter Ladili Begam, were sent to the court where Mehrunnisa's father Itimad-ud-Daula held a high *mansab*. She was appointed a lady-in-waiting to Sultan Salima Begam—the dowager-empress. In March 1611 (i.e. about four years after her arrival in the court) she happened to attract notice of the emperor and was ultimately married to him about the end of May.[1] This in brief is how the marriage came about.

That Jahangir had fallen in love with Mehrunnisa during the life time of his father and that on coming to the throne he basely

1 *Iqbalnāma*, 55-56.

contrived the murder of Sher Afghan in order to marry his widow, the contemporary historians have nowhere mentioned, neither are these facts even corroborated by any of the contemporary foreign writers who were but only too ready to give credence to stories calculated to dishonour the names of oriental emperors. Sir Thomas Roe, Hawkins, Terry, Joannes de Laet and others had been in Jahangir's court for several years and had attained first hand knowledge of the details of the Mughal administration and of the domestic lives of the royal personages. While they have freely mentioned in their chronicles the various 'scandals' that were 'revealed' to them concerning the life of Jahangir and have spared no imagination in painting him and other members of the royal house in the blackest colour, and while again they make frequent references to the deep love between the emperor and his queen, none of them has even remotely insinuated the existence of an early love and the murder of Sher Afghan as a sequence.[2] It may be argued, and with some force, that the contemporary writers dared not allude to any such disgraceful incident in the life-time of Jahangir but we must remember that the foreigners had no such fear.

Professor Francis Gladwin, writing in the *History of Jehangir*[3] on the basis, as he says, of 'the authentic Persian MSS. of which I had an ample collection purchased at a very great expense' reproduces an extract from the MSS. which fully refutes the charge, viz:—

"Upon the death of her husband Sher Afghan, the relatives of the late Qutbuddin sent her to court and the emperor committed her to the charge of Ruqya Sultana Begam with whom she lived *unnoticed by the emperor* till the present festival of the New Year.[4] When seeing her by accident he was so captivated by her extraordinary beauty that he married her immediately" (i.e. four years and

2 B. Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, 179.

3 Pp. 51.

4 Hadi. E.D., 397-8.

a few days after the death of Sher Afghan).[5] The fact that she lived unnoticed for full four years is significant.

Joannes de Laet was a Flemish traveller to India and Jahangir's contemporary. He says in his book *The Empire of the Great Moghul* that the king was in love with her but gives no hint whatever to the Sher Afghan episode.

Apart from the fact that this story lacks corroboration from contemporary writers, there are evidences of contradiction and improbabilities.

In the first place it is difficult to understand why, if Jahangir had been in love with Mehrunnisa, Akbar should have needlessly stood in his way of marrying her, especially when Akbar knew her to be one of the best accomplished and respectable girls of the age.

Secondly, if the marriage of Mehrunnisa with Sher Afghan had involved the disappointment of prince Salim, a statesman of Akbar's wisdom and calibre would never have placed Sher Afghan's services at the command of the prince in 1599 when the latter was engaged in a war with Mewar. Sher Afghan's services at the war had always won the prince's great admiration and there is nothing on record to show that there was any feeling of estrangement between the two.

Thirdly, in the prince's revolt against Akbar, Sher Afghan had deserted to the side of the emperor and had contributed much to the annihilation of the prince's forces but on his accession to the throne, Jahangir granted him a generous pardon and gave him a good *jagir* in Burdwan. Was there not some excuse then for the new emperor to avenge himself on his rival if any such feelings had at all existed?

Fourthly, the fact that he allowed full four years to pass between Mehrunnisa's arrival in the court and the marriage shows

5 Price, *op cit.*, 46-7.

that the marriage was not pre-meditated. The gap is accounted for by the sponsors of Sher Afghan's murder theory by the fact that a high souled lady as she was, she refused to marry the murderer of her husband but that she relented afterwards. It is indeed inconceivable that such a lady should ever have consented to marry such a man at all even after four years. Moreover it was impossible in those times to resist the imperial wish for such a long time if Jahangir were really bent upon marrying her. On the other hand the fact that she did marry the emperor when the latter took fancy to her, without any coercion of which there is no evidence, proves that she had no ill-will against the emperor and that she never believed him to be in any way instrumental in the tragic death of her late husband as a pre-arranged plan.

Lastly, the truth of the various events that Jahangir has himself mentioned in his *Memoirs* has not been generally questioned, for that work is marked by the frankness with which he has related matters never attempting to conceal his shortcomings and limitations. He has related[6] his marriage with Mehrunnisa in a simple and straightforward manner. If it may be said that he purposely suppressed the relevant details, it can also be argued that if he were conscious of his guilt he must have attempted indirectly to present facts in a manner that would fritter away any doubts his critics might entertain. For instance he might well have at least emphasised the gap of four years that intervened between the death of Sher Afghan and his marriage with the former's widow, instead of giving a *prima facie* impression which the text does, that he contracted the marriage almost immediately after Sher Afghan's death.

MOHAMMAD YASIN

6 "As I had then no intention of marriage she did not originally come into my family but was betrothed in the time of my father to Sher Afghan, but after that chief was killed I sent for the Qazi and contracted a regular marriage with her" (Translation from the *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 27).

The Position of Mother in the Vedic Ritual

In the Vedic ritual, the position of mother is unique. She is the highest guru and the rites, performed by her and for her, lead to the same conclusion. She is to be respected by her children a thousand times more than the father.

From the beginning of her conception, the mother undergoes a series of saṃskāras for various purposes, but always with one object in common—the welfare of the child. In the pre-birth saṃskāras the father no doubt joins, but as these are strī-saṃskāras his participation signifies nothing more than helping the mother in the proper performance of these rites. His service is not indispensable inasmuch as in his absence the brother-in-law or somebody else may join in the performance in his stead; but some one must help her, as during her pregnancy she is ritualistically impure, and cannot offer oblations etc.[1]

In the fourth month of her pregnancy[2] she has the rite for securing the safety of the embryo performed, her limbs are besmeared with clarified butter along with the utterance of prayers[3] for having all sorts of maladies removed from every part of her body. According to Āśvalāyana as quoted in the *Saṃskāra-mayūkha*[4] she remains

1 *Saṃs. R.M.* of Bhaṭṭa Gopīnātha (Poona, 1899), p. 813, ll. 10f.; *Drāh. G.S.*, II, 18; *Aśv. G.K.*, (2nd. ed., Bombay, 1909) p. 271, ll. 12-13. For the injunctions the mother has to follow during her pregnancy, see *Saṃs. R.M.*, p. 815, ll. 14ff.

2 According to the *Vaijavāṭpa-gṛhya* as quoted in the *Saṃskāra-mayūkha*, (Bombay, 1913) p. 20, and the *Saṃ. May.* itself, this Anavalambhana may be performed together with the Puṃsavana or soon after it.

3 According to the Śāṅkhāyana school: *ṚV.* X, 163; cp. *Saṃs R.M.*, vol. II, p. 820, ll. 1f.

4 In the *Gṛhya-sūtra*, reference is made to some Upaniṣad. *ŚK.* (i.e. Śaunaka in his kārikā) says this rite has been mentioned in the *Yajña Upaniṣad*, F. 23, MS. no. 4785 of the India Office Library, Bühler, 51.

lying in the shadow of the fire-shed and a kind of herb named Ajita is put into her nostrils.

Śaunaka[5] says that while she remains in the above place a girl (kanyā) should press some durvā-grass in the stones along with the sprinkling of water and get the juice out of it. The husband takes it, touches her and murmurs hymns.[6] Having stood to the west of her, he now pours into her right nostril the durvā-juice in such a way that it passes into her stomach. She then sips water and keeps on touching the husband while she offers the oblation. Then the husband touches her heart with his palm and prays for long life and welfare.[7] According to Śaunaka, the rite should be repeated in each pregnancy.

In the third[8] or fourth[9] month of her pregnancy or even later[10] she observes the Puṃsavana rite. The earliest reference to this rite is found in the *Atharva Veda*.[11] Authorities belonging to the

5 *ŚK.*, F. 24.

6 Prajāvat: *Āśv. G.S.*, 1, 13, 6; cp. *Āp. G.S.*, III, 8, 13; *Hir. G.S.*, 1, 25, 1. 1. Jiva-putra: *Āśv. G.S.*, 1, 13, 6; cp. *Pār. G.S.*, 1, 15, 11; *Hir. G.S.*, 1, 19, 7; *Āp. G.S.*, II, 5, 2.

7 The same mantra is also used for the Simantonnayana, cp. *Pār. G.S.*, 1.11.9.

8 *Gobh. G.S.*, 2, 1, 6; *Khād. G.S.*, 2, 2, 17; *Pār. G.S.*, 2nd. or 3rd. month; *Vār. G.S.*, XVI, 5, p. 45 of Raghuvira's ed., *Āśv. G.K.*, 4th month during the first pregnancy, 3rd month in the other; *Jaim. G.S.*, I, 5: 3rd month in the 1st pregnancy, 4th in others; *Bhār. G.S.*, I, p. 22: 3rd month or beginning of the 4th; *Saṃs. R.M.*, vol. 2, p. 811, 3rd month; *Vaijavāpa-gṛhya*, as quoted in the *Sum. May.*, p. 20: or 3rd month; Jātukarṇya, *op. cit.*: 2nd or 3rd; *ŚK.*, F. 23: 2nd or 3rd.

9 *Vaik. G.S.*, III, 11.

10 *Kāṭh. G.S.*, (ed. by W. Caland, Lahore, 1925). 32, 2, p. 134: Devapāla, 8th month; *Brāhm.*, 7th or 8th month; *Āidtya*, 8th month; *Āp. G.S.*, XIV, 9; *Baudh. G.S.*, I. 10, 1f. (p. 29, Madras ed.): when the pregnancy has become visible; etc. For the expiation to be made if the proper time expires, see *Drāh. G.S.*, II, 24; cp. Rudraskanda on *Drāh. G.S.*, II, 13.

11 III, 23, cp. *Kauś.*, 35, 3; vi, 2; cp. *Kauś.*, 35, 8; vii, 17; cp. *Kauś.*, 35, 16; vii, 19; cp. *Kauś.*, 35, 17; III, 23; vi. 2. *Kāṭh.G.S.*, p. 129, 3rd month; *Vār.G.S.*, XVI, 5th, 6th, or 7th, *Āśv.G.S.*, *Hir.G.S.*, *Bhār.G.S.*, *Baudh.G.S.*, and *Āp.G.S.*, 4th month; *Gobh.G.S.*, 4th or 5th.; *Drāh.G.S.*, II, 24, 4th or 6th;

Varāha, Kāṭhaka, Vaikhānasa, Bharadvāja, Hiraṇyakeśin, Gobhila, Jaimini and other schools give detailed descriptions of this famous rite.

In the third or fourth month, or later, the Sīmantonnayana or the rite of parting the hair is performed for her.[12]

In the eighth month a further rite is performed as described in the *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra*.[13] When she is about to be confined ceremonies for easy delivery[14] are performed. If the child dies during birth certain special rites are observed for the good of the mother and the dead child.[15] As soon as the child is born a fire is lit up.[16]

So far the pre-birth rites. In after-birth rites as well the mother plays an important part. During the Jāta-karman, the father bathes the child in lukewarm water and places it on her lap with the utterance of prayers.[17] Before the child is allowed to suckle, the mother is washed and purified by the husband.[18]

Pār.G.S., 4th, 5th, or 8th; *Śām.G.S.*, 7th; *Vaik.G.S.*, 8th; *Jaim.G.S.*, 4th 5th, or 8th; *Mān.G.S.*, 77, 1, 1, 6th, or 8th, *Āśv.G.K.*, (p. 271), 4th; *Saṃs-P.*, of Bhāskara, (Poona, 1924) p. 53, any time beginning from the fourth till the end of the pregnancy; *Vaijavāpa*, as quoted in *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 820, 4th, 5th, or 6th, *Yajñ.S.*, 6th, or 8th; *Atri.S.*, 8th, or 9th, *Saṅkha.S.*, when the foetus quivers till the birth of the child; *Bṛhas.S.*, 4th, 6th, or 8th; (solar month); *Prayoga.R.* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (Bombay, 1915) F. 68, 1.7, 4th, 6th, or 8th; *Karma.K.P.* (Bombay, 1921) F. 67a, 1.4, 6th, or 8th. According to several authorities, this rite need not be performed on each occasion of her pregnancy; e.g. *Saṃs.P.* (Poona 1924) p. 53, 1, 6-7. Pāraskara and his commentators think it should be. For this difference in opinion, cp. *Saṃ. May.*, p. 21.

12 cp. Āditya's note on Laugākṣi's text Kārayate, *Kāṭh.G.S.*, pp. 129f.

13 Baroda ed., 1926, 1, 16, p. 79; Aṣṭāvakra, 1, 6f., particularly, 1.9.

14 cp. Devapāla and Ādityadarśana on *Kāṭh.G.S.*, p. 136, 3f.

15 *Kauś.S.*, 34, 3ff.

16 *Śāṅ.G.S.*, 1, 25, 4; *Pār.G.S.*, 1, 16, 23; *Vaik.G.S.*, 3, 15, 18; *Hir.G.S.* 2, 3, 4; *Āp.G.S.*, 9, 3, 22; etc.

17 *Vaik.G.S.*, III, 15; *Hir.G.S.*, II, 3, 10; *Baudh.G.S.*, II, 1, 9. p. 33.

18 *Pār.G.S.*, 1, 16, 19; *Vaik.G.S.*, III, 15; *Māṇ.G.S.*, 1, 17, 7, p. 82; 1. 4-5, *Kāṭh.G.S.*, XXXIV, 5, p. 138 of Lahore ed., for Devapāla, see 4. 23-24; *Ādityadarśana*, p. 139, ll. 6f.

On the tenth day or later,[19] the mother participates with the father in naming the child.[20] According to one school[21] before commencement of the oblation, the mother should bathe the child, cover it with a clean garment and hand over the child, with its head towards the north, to the father who sits on the Kuśa-grass to her north. She then walks behind him and sits by his left side. The father offers oblations and repeats[22] the sacred (guhya) and public (vyavahārika) name to the mother and gives her the child back with its head towards the north. According to other authorities, such as Āpastamba,[23] Hiraṇyakeśin[24] and Bharadvāja,[25] the mother and father should pronounce the name together.

The mother, then, observes a series of rites for the child, such as, the rite of placing the child on the cradle (for the first time) on the 12th, 16th or 32nd day after its birth;[26] that of making the child wear its first garment;[27] that of having the child's ears pierced, the child remaining on the lap, on the 10th, 12th or 16th day,[28] and so forth. She observes the ceremony of making the child sit on the ground in its 5th month,[29] another rite when the child's teeth appear.[30] She gives the child first solid food in the 5th month or

19 Manu 10th or 12th; Yājñ. 11th; *Bhav.P.*: 10th, 12th, or 18th; *Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa*, as quoted in the *Saṃskāra-mayūkha*, 10th night, 100th night or a year; *Khād.G.S.*, II, 2, 31,: the same as the *Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa;* same in the Gobhila; *Vār.G.S;* III, p. 7: 10th night; *Māṇ.G.S.*, I, 18, p. 83: 10th night.

20 E.g. Varāha: Pitā mātā ca.

21 *Drāh.G.S.*, II, 36f.

22 Same in *Gobh.G.S.*, 2, 8, 17.

23 *Āp.G.S.*, XV, 8.

24 *Hir.G.S.*, II, 4, 11.

25 *Bhār.G.S.*, ed. by H. J. W. Solomons (London, 1913) I, 26, p. 27, ll. 13-14.

26 *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 870, l. 24ff. some authorities think the 13th day is better for the girl: p. 871, l. 6 & 8. Other women also join in the performance of the rite, 10f.

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 67, l. 7ff.

28 *Op. cit.*, p. 782, l. 26f., *Saṃ. May.*, p. 26; cp. *Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa* as quoted in *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 874, 29f. According to *Viṣṇu DH.*, as quoted in *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 875, l. 7-8, the child remains on the lap of the mother. The left ear of the daughter should be first pierced and then the right; *op cit.*, p. 876, l. 15.

29 *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 890, l.8f; p. 891 "Kumārayā apy evam."

30 *Var.GS.*, p. 8, l.1.

later[31] and betel in the 6th month.[32] When the child is one year old,[33] the rite of tonsure (caula) is performed. The mother bathes the child, clothes it and sits on the west of the fire with the child on her lap.[34] She keeps on touching the father while he offers the oblations.[35] According to Āśvalāyana,[36] each time the father cuts the hair, he gives it together with śamī leaves to the mother and she puts it down on the bull-dung. According to Hiraṇyakeśin[37] and Varāha[38] she holds a lump of bull-dung and therewith receives the cut-off hair. If the mother is in her period of pregnancy, this ceremony of Cūḍākaraṇa cannot be performed.[39]

In connection with the important ceremony of upanayana there is no reference to the father, but the child approaches the mother for alms during the Bhikṣātana (roaming for alms).[40] If the mother belongs to the Brāhmaṇa caste, she should be addressed as "bhavati bhikṣāṃ dadātu," with the word "bhavati" at the beginning; if to the Kṣatriya caste, with the same in the middle; if to the third caste, with it at the end. As soon as the son has begun Brahmacarya, he comes, first of all, to the mother for blessings This shows that the

31 *Māṇ.G.S.*, 1. 20, p. 87; 5th or 6th; *Vaik.G.S.*, III, 22; 6th month; cp. the various authorities quoted in *Saṃs.R.M.*, pp. 891f.

32 cp., however, the *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 876: when the child is two and a half months old.

33 *Saṃs.May.*, p. 29; *Sams.R.M.*, p. 897, one year: *Pār.G.S.*, *Śāṅ.G.S.*, *Bhar.G.S.*, Third year: *Jaim.G.S.*, *Drāh.G.S.*, *Āśv.Smr.* First or third: *Vaik.G.S.*, Manu, etc. Third-eleventh: Nārada. The *AV.* (VI. 21, 136, 137) has spells to make hair gr[illegible] v.

34 *Āśv.G.S.*, 1, 17, 2; *Pār.G.S.*, 2, 1, 5.

35 *Pār.G.S.*, II, 1, 6.

36 *GS.*, I, 17, 11.

37 *GS.*, II, 1, 6, 3-4.

38 *GS.*, IV, 16, 13; p. 10, Raghuvira's ed. (Lahore, 1932) cf. *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 902, 1. 29f. *Vaik.G.S.*, III, 13.

39 *Sam.May.* (Bombay, 1913), p. 30; *Saṃs.RM.*, (Poona 1899) p. 900, 1.11. *Saṃs.R.M.*, *op. cit.*, 1. 14-15: the rite may be performed if the period of pregnancy does not exceed five months.

40 *Saṃ.May.*, p. 60; *Drāh.G.S.*, II, 4, 29-30; *Viṣṇu.S.*, XXVII, 25; *Māṇ.G.S.*, 1, 22, 20, p. 93, Baroda ed., *Vār.G.S.*, V, 28, p. 16, *Raghuvira's* ed.; cp. Manu, II, 50; *Bhār.G.S.*, I, 10.

mother is regarded by the child as the best well-wisher in life, particularly in connection with the Upanayana. This is quite in keeping with the fact that the student after his samāvartana or return from the preceptor's house, is instructed by the preceptor to respect his mother most.[41] Āpastamba says that after his return from the house of the preceptor, the student should give whatever he may obtain to his mother.[42] On reaching home the student should bow down first to his mother and then to his father, as the mother is thousand times more venerable than the father.[43]

So far as marriage is concerned, the mother helps her son and daughter in every possible way.[44] Her choice in selecting a bridegroom is adhered to.[45] To incur the displeasure of a mother-in-law is considered most unfortunate by the son-in-law[46] which shows that in matrimonial affairs too the mother exercises much influence. During the wedding of the daughter, the mother stands in front of the fire with some fried rice on a winnowing fan.[47] Her prayers to the fire are essential for the well-being of the daughter.

Thus, in all the Saṃskāras performed at the various stages of the children's life, the mother seems to lead in importance. She keeps on touching the father while he offers oblations which means that she, too, is at the same time offering oblations. So long as she is living, none of the above rites can be performed without her participation.[48]

The principle of bowing down to the mother first on the student's return from the home of his preceptor is also upheld by the honour shown to the mother in Aurdhva-dehika or after-death rites.

41 *Tait. Āraṇ.*, 7. 11, 12. 42 *GS.*, I, 2, 15.

43 cf. Commentary on *Gobh.G.S.*, II, 4, 11, p. 353, 1. 16f., "Pitros tu prathamaṃ mātaram eva" etc.

44 cf. *ṚV.*, 1, 12, 11, *AV.*, II, 36, etc.

45 *ṚV.*, V, 61, etc., with Bṛhad-devatā, V, 49ff.

46 *ṚV.*, X, 34, 3. 47 *Drāh.G.S.*, I, 18.

48 *Saṃs.R.M.*, p. 900, 1. 3f; *Saṃ.May.*, p. 30, "Caule ca vrata-bandhe ca," etc.

So far as the Śrāddhas are concerned, several special ceremonies are performed in honour of the mother.[49] The Candana-dhenu śrāddha, the costliest and most ceremonial of all śrāddhas, is performed for the mother only. The Anvaṣṭakās are also special rites performed for her in which she receives piṇḍas along with her mothers-in-law (the grand-mother and great-grand-mother of the sacrificer). The offering of the piṇḍa in this Mātṛ-śrāddha is considered so important that Kamalākara, as quoted in the *Śrāddha-mañjarī* holds that even if the sacrificer's wife be pregnant, he should offer the piṇḍa in due time and it should be offered even though the father of the sacrificer be living.[50] The Mañjarī-kāra says in plain words that this rite is a very important one and should be performed even though several conditions may remain unfulfilled.[51]

According to Kātyāyana, the mother[52] should not be offered a separate piṇḍa except on the day of her death, as her satisfaction arises from the piṇḍa awarded to the father. This prohibition of a separate offering to the mother applies to the followers of this particular school only, and even then it is designed to emphasise the fact that parents are one and the same, and that the mother is not excluded from the right of having piṇḍas. The statement that the satisfaction of mothers arises from the piṇḍas awarded to the fathers shows that they also share in those piṇḍas just as the fathers do and that the piṇḍas are offered conjointly for the mothers as well. Kātyayana does not prohibit the performance of the rite for the mother[53] which means that she is a regular mane (pitṛ) as the father is. So what Kātyāyana means is that in the Śrāddhas the parents

49 It will be seen in this connection that there is not a single rite performed for the mother just the same.

50 *Śrād. Mañ.*, (Ānandāśrama ed.) p. 130: the prayoga is given here.

51 Op. cit., "Asya śrāddhasya.....āvaśyakatvāt," etc.

52 *Chan.P.*, ed. by Pañcānana Tarkaratna (Calcutta, 1903) p. 329, v. 22 [*ŪnaSaṃb.*]

53 *Op. cit.*, V. 21.

should be considered as one and the same devatā and no separate devatātva is to be attributed to the father. Again, this condition would apply only to the Pārvaṇa-śrāddhas as the same Kātyāyana remarks in another place[54] that no Vedic ritual should be begun without worshipping the manes and *even then* (tatrāpi) the mothers should be worshipped first. In the Vṛddhi-śrāddha,[55] the rite performed for the prosperity of the child, the mother must be worshipped first of all and then the father; so also in other sacrifices."[56] Even when the rite Ābhyudayika is celebrated on three consecutive days, the mothers are to be worshipped on the first day.[57] Any way, the very fact that the mother is entitled to Sapiṇḍikaraṇa, be it with the father[58] or the grand-mother,"[59] at once shows that the mother is a full-fledged mane (pitṛ) and has all the rights as other manes have.

The highest dignity of the mother's position is brought about by the fact that even her misconduct is not considered as a bar to the performance of the Aurdhva-daihika or after-death rites for her —the sin being atonable by the son.[60] The father who is expelled from the caste for his crime is to be regarded as an outcaste by the son too, but the mother never is.[61] Whatever be her crime, the mother is mother for the son and all the rites are performed for her.

54 *Op. cit.*, p. 313, V. 17.

55 *Pār.G.S.*, Bombay ed. (1918) p. 509, l. 29; *Sam May.*, p. 6.

56 See Jābāli quoted by Gadādhara, *Pār.G.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 512, l. 15.

57 *Śrāddha-kāśikā* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, *Pār.G.S.*, (Bombay ed. 1918) p. 812, l. 15f.; cf. in this connection the *Upodghāta* of Bhāṭṭa Gopinātha,, (Poona. 1924) p. 62, l. 18: Mothers are worshipped first of all

58 Yama as quoted in *Pār.G.S.* (Bombay, 1918) p. 499, l. 12-13; *Srād.KK.*, of Govindānanda, (Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1904) p. 426. l. 13-16; *Bhav.P.* as quoted in the *Catur-varga-cintamaṇi;* Laghuhārita, as quoted in the *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudi*, p. 426, l. 17-21.

59 Vṛddhā śatātapa, *Smṛ.Sam.* (Ānandāśrama ed) p. 234, l. 6; v. 41, *Pār.G.S.*, p. 499, l. 9f.

60 *Hir.G.S.*, II, 4. 10, 7; *San.G.S.*, III, 13, 5.

61 *Vaś.Dh.S.*, XIII, 47, *Gaut.DhS.*, XX, 1; XXI, 15; *Āp.DhS.*, 1. 10. 28, 9.

That the mother is the highest Guru is also corroborated by direct statements in the *Mahābhārata*[62] and the *Smṛti*.[63] Manu[64] says definitely that the mother is thousand times more honourable than the father.

The very fact that the symbolic mother should be worshipped at the beginning of any and every Vedic sacrifice at once gives her the highest position as Guru.[65]

Thus it is seen that in the pre-birth Saṃskāras, in the after-birth Saṃskāras, in the Aurdhva-daihika rites, and in every other Vedic rite, the position of the mother is a very important one. In fact she seems to hold a more honourable position than the father in Vedic rituals.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

62 I. 195, 16; XII, 342, 18 and XIII, 105, 10.
63 *Gaut.DhS.*, II, 57; Yājñavalkya, I, 35.
64 II, 145; cp. also 225-237; IV. 160; Vaśiṣṭha, XIII, 48, quotes the same opinion.
65 *Pār.G.S.*, (Bombay ed. 1918), p. 512, l. 15.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Āśv.G.S.	=	*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Khād.G.S.*	=	*Khādira-gṛhya-sūtra.*
Āp.DhS.	=	*Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra.*	*Mān.G.S.*	=	*Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra.*
Āp.G.S.	=	*Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Pār.G.S.*	=	*Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.*
Āśv.G.K.	=	*Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-kārikā.*	*Prayoga.R.*	=	*Prayoga-ratna.*
Aśv.Smṛ.	=	*Āśvalāyana-smṛti.*	*RV.*	=	*Ṛg-veda.*
Atri.S.	=	*Atri-smṛti.*	*Śam.May.*	=	*Saṃskāra-mayūkha.*
Baudh.G.S.	=	*Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Saṃs.P.*	=	*Saṃskāra-paddhati.*
Bhār.G.S.	=	*Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Saṃs.R.M.*	=	*Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā.*
Bhav.P.	=	*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.*	*Śaṅkha. S.*	=	*Śaṅkha-smṛti.*
Brāhm.	=	*Brāhmanabala.*	*ŚK.*	=	*Śaunaka-kārikā.*
Bṛhas.S.	=	*Bṛhaspati-smṛti.*	*Smṛ.Sam.*	=	*Smṛtināṃ-samuccayah.*
Chan.P.	=	*Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa.*	*Śrād.KK.*	=	*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudi.*
Drāh.G.S.	=	*Drāhyāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Śrād.Man.*	=	*Śrāddha-mañjari.*
Gaut.Dh.S.	=	*Gautama-dharma-sūtra.*	*Tait.Āran.*	=	*Taittiriya-āranyaka.*
Gobh.G.S.	=	*Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*ŪnaSaṃh.*	=	*Ūna-viṃśati-saṃhitā.*
GS.	=	*Gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Vaik.G.S.*	=	*Vaikhānasa-gṛhya-sūtra.*
Hir.G.S.	=	*Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Var.G.S.*,	=	*Varāha-gṛhya-sūtra.*
Jaim.G.S.	=	*Jaiminiya-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Vaś.Dh.S.*	=	*Vaśiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra.*
Karma.K.P.	=	*Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa.*	*Viṣnu.Dh.*	=	*Viṣnu-dharmottara.*
Kāṭh.G.S.	=	*Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra.*	*Viṣnu. S.*	=	*Viṣnu-smṛti.*
Kauś.S.	=	*Kauśika-sūtra.*	*Yājñ.S.*	=	*Yājñavalkya-smṛti.*

The Significance of the Vedic Rite Pumsavana

The Puṃsavana is an important Vedic rite, generally believed to be performed in order to have male children only.[1] But there is evidence to show that the puṃsavana is a rite performed with the object of averting any evil to the progeny and of having either a male or a female child as desired. Accordingly to the majority of ritual authorities[2] this rite is to be performed on each occasion of the wife's pregnancy so that whenever the wife and the husband wish to have a daughter, they may use what is technically known as Ūha i.e. an alteration in the gender or other things as necessary in the sacred formulas, etc., just as they have the option to choose—if they want sons—whether they would have an heroic son or otherwise.[3] Both the Sīmantonnayana (the rite of parting the hair) and the Puṃsavana are really Garbha-saṃskāras, performed for removing the sin that might bring any evil to the embryo.[4] The word 'Puṃs'[5] in the name of 'Puṃsavana' refers to both male and female and does not at all debar the use of 'Ūha' whenever necessary.

That the word 'Puṃs' in the compound 'Puṃsavana' does not stand for the male child alone is corroborated by the fact that nowhere in the gṛhya-sūtras do the sūtra-kāras intend excluding

1 Cf. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit—English Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 630, Column 3.

2 Cf. *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, (henceforth abbreviated as *Pār. G.S.*) Bombay ed., 1918, p. 145 f., all commentators stick to the same principle; *Saṃskāra-paddhati*, Poona, 1924, p. 51, line 3; *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, (henceforth abbreviated as *Baudh. G.S.*) Madras University ed., p. 29.

3 *Pār. G.S., op. cit.*, p. 144, lines 7-8; for the Ūha used in this connection, see *Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā*, (henceforth abbreviated as *Saṃ. R.M.*) Poona, 1899, p. 813, ll. 24-25.

4 Cf. *Pār. G.S., op. cit.*, p. 144, ll. 9, 16, 29, etc., *Saṃskāra-paddhati, op. cit.*, p. 51, l. 20; *Saṃ. R.M.*, p. 813, ll. 21f.

5 Caland's ed., Lahore, 1925, p. 131, Ch. 24, sūtra 1.

daughters by the use of words in the masculine gender. The usual method is to speak about both males and females by the use of the masculine gender only; when the sūtra-kāras have to say something particular about females, only then do they use specifically the feminine gender. Thus when Laugākṣi in the *Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra* says, 'putre jāte nāma dhīyate' he does not mean to say that when a daughter is born, it is to be otherwise. In commenting upon the sūtra, Ādityadarśana[6] expressly says that the daughter, too, should have the naming ceremony. In the Jāta-karman section of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra,* an aphorism[7] makes the provision that when a 'Kumāra' is born, the child is to be treated with water mixed with gold. In commenting upon the sūtra, Haradatta[8] says that herein provision is made for a 'Kumārī' as well, as the gender is not intended to be stressed, 'liṅgasya avivakṣitatvāt.' Similarly is to be explained 'jātaṃ kumāram abhimantrayate' in the *Baudh. G.S.*[9] It will be seen that at the end of the section on Jāta-karman, Baudhāyana points out the name given to a daughter should consist of an odd number of syllables[10] and makes the provision of blessing the child "amuṣmai svasti iti." By the use of the masculine gender in "amuṣmai," Baudhāyana certainly does not mean that "svasti," i.e., benediction should not be uttered in case of the birth of a daughter of whom he speaks in the preceding aphorism. What he really does is to revert to his general way of

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 137. 7 Trivandrum ed., 1923, p. 60, ll. 17-18.

8 *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra,* (henceforth abbreviated as *Āśv. G.S.*) *op. cit.*, p. 61, ll. 1-2 "liṅgasya avivakṣitatvāt kumāryā api prāpnoti." For his argument, see ll. 2f. For similar examples where the gender is not intended to designate males only, cf. statements like svarga-kāmo yajeta: yaḥ svarga-kāmaḥ sa yajeta: one who, male or female, aspires to go to heaven, should sacrifice; see in this connection the *Jaiminīya-mīmāṃsā-darśana.* 6-1-7; see also *Nyāya-mālā-vistara* on the same 6-1-6 ff.; Karkācārya on the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra,* (abbreviated as *Kāt. Ś.S.*) 1-1-7, Chowkhamba ed., 1908, p. 5; Yājñikadeva on the *Kāt. Ś.S.*, Berlin 1857, p. 8.

9 *Op. cit.*, II, 1, 2, p. 33. 10 *Op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 17.

statement, uses the masculine gender to mean both males and females and concludes the section by prescribing the rule that the jāta-karman rites should be finished with the utterance of benediction for the child (boy or girl).

The object (saṃkalpa) of the rite as stated in the Prayogas also shows that the word 'Puṃs' is not restricted to males alone. The rite is meant for removing the sin that may bring evil to the progeny. It is, most probably, owing to this fact that the *Maitrā. G.S.* omits the rite altogether, as it considers the saṃskāra called Simantonnayana, i.e., parting of the hair, quite sufficient for averting any evil to the embryo caused by the sin of the father or mother or both.

That a girl should pound a herb for use during the Puṃsavana ceremony[11] also indicates that the sūtrakāras raise no objection to the birth of others of her sex, nay, more—they introduce a girl in particular, not a boy, because, as shown by the analysis of the rites performed by and for the daughter,—a daughter is for the parents the sum-total of purity, tenderness, affection, devotion and bliss.[12]

If the meaning of the word 'Puṃs' be limited to males only and the Puṃsavana be a rite that must be performed, there remains no rite to be performed for the birth of a daughter. But the fact is that the birth of a daughter is most welcome. Parents perform Kāmya-śrāddhas on the second day of the moon in the hope of having a daughter.[13] Desirous of having a daughter, the husband touches all the fingers of the wife except the thumb during the marriage

11 *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra*, (abbreviated as *Bhār. G.S.*) Solomon's ed., London, 1913, 1. 22, p. 22.

12 It must be remembered that the introduction of a person or thing—a person in particular—in Vedic rituals is significant.

13 *Gobhila-pariśiṣṭa*, śrāddha-kalpa, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1909, p. 186; *Pār. G.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 538, l. 21, commentary of Gadādhara, l. 1.

ceremony.[14] Longing for a daughter the bride-groom shows the bride after she has reached her new home the Dhruva and other constellations.[15] The parents deem it a favour of god if they can have sons as well as daughters by their side during the performance of sacrifices.[16] The *Ṛg-veda* praises the father of many daughters.[17] The daughter claims her support from parents not for nothing, but for her devotion to them.[18] They care for her as much as they do for their son; or it may be said—even more, as the father is found to worship the daughter (kumārī) as an emblem of Virginity, as an emblem of Purity, of Tenderness, Devotion, and what not.[19] Just as the Mātṛkā-pūjā is to take place at the beginnings of all Vedic rituals, the Kumārī-pūjā is recommended to be performed at the end of all; and this latter worship, the Daughter-Worship is impossible in the absence of a daughter as she is to be bodily present. The father wraps her up with new garments, entertains her with delicious dishes and walks round her. From her first year onwards, she is worshipped as different deities; if she is one year old, as Sandhyā; if two, Sarasvati; and so on. Thus as she grows, the parents find in her different manifestations of the Supreme Soul,—blessing them in every possible way. The daughter is indeed the embodiment of all blessings for the parents and the family.

In Sanskrit literature the word Puṃs is not restricted in use to mean males alone but is also found used in the sense of human beings in general. Thus, when Varāhamihira[20] says the earth has

14 *Āśv. G.S.*, Bombay ed., 1909, 1,7,4, p. 23, ll. 11-12; *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*, (henceforth abbreviated as *Āp. G.S.*), Madras, 1893, IV, 12.

15 Devapāla on *Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra*, (abbreviated as *Kāṭh. G.S.*), *op. cit.*, XXV, 45, p. 114, ll. 1-2.

16 *Ṛg-veda*, VIII, 31, 8. 17 VI, 75, 5. 18 *Ṛg-veda*, II. 17, 7.

19 *Tri-vediya-kriyā-kāṇḍa-paddhati*, Calcutta, 1887, p. 160. "..... Kumāri-pūjanam aham kariṣya iti saṃkalpya *kumārīm āniya* pūjayet."

20 Vizianagram Sanskrit Series ed., part II, 53, 1, also 85, 5. See also *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 8, 24, 48 for a similar use.

veins just as the bodies of 'Puṃs' have, the word Puṃs conveys necessarily the sense of human beings, as women too have veins in their bodies. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*[21] gives "martya: one who is mortal," "bhū-spṛś": one who touches (is born on) the earth," etc. as the synonyms of Puṃs. All these necessarily include the sense of women as well. In commenting upon a couplet quoted in the Bhāmatī which includes the word Puṃ in the genitive plural, Bhaṭṭa Gopīnātha in his treatise *Upodghāta*[22] says the word Puṃs means males as well as females. The *Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra*[23] too uses Puṃs in the same sense.

Thus the usual method of the sūtra-kāras of including feminine in the masculine gender, the procedure of the rite itself, the importance of a daughter emphatically borne out by the whole range of Sanskrit literature, instances where the word Puṃs is found used in the sense of both males and females—all lead to the conclusion that the purpose of the Puṃsavana is to avert any evil to the progeny and to have any child—male or female—as the parents desire.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

21 Böhtlingk's ed., St. Petersburg, 1847.

22 "Pravṛttir vā nivṛttir vā nityena kṛtakena vā
Puṃsāṃ yen opadiśyeta tac-chāstram abhidhīyate."
Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, vol. 94, Poona 1924, p. 18. For grammatical support of our interpretation: Pāṇini, 1-2-66-67, *Bāla-manoramā*, Trichinopoly, (1910-22), p. 608, ll. 3f., *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, 932-33.

23 Bib. Indica ed., 1874, p. 203, sūtras 3, 2, 12ff.

Three Ancient Indian Official Titles Explained

Among the titles of administrative officers occurring in the land grants of the Pāla kings and their eastern contemporaries, we find three very rare terms, *Khaṇḍapāla* (and its equivalent *Khaṇḍarakṣa*), *Khola* and *Mahākaṭuka*. They are found con oined only in one inscription, namely the Rāmgañj plate of the Mahāmāṇḍalika Īśvaraghoṣa (ed. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* III, pp. 149 ff.). The term *Khaṇḍarakṣa* occurs by itself in three eastern inscriptions of this period, namely, Nālandā Grant of Devapāla (ed. Hirananda Sastri, *EI.* XVII), Monghyr Grant of Devapāla (ed. L. D. Barnett, *Ibid.*, XVIII), Bhagalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (ed. E. Hultzsch, *IA.*, XV), while *Khaṇḍapāla* occurs similarly in the Panchobh Grant of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Mahāmāṇḍalika Saṅgrāmagupta (ed. J. N. Sikdar and Amareswar Thakur, *JBORS.*, V, pp. 582 ff.). Of the mention of the two other terms in these eastern grants, we have only one instance apiece. *Khola* occurs in the Khālimpur Grant of Dharmapāla (ed. F. Kielhorn, *EI.*, IV) and *Mahākaṭuka* occurs in the Panchobh Grant above-mentioned. Evidently because of the extreme obscurity of these terms, their connotation has been left unexplained by the editors of the above

1 The Antirigam Plate of Jayabhañjadeva (*EI.*, XIX, pp. 41 ff.) has in the concluding phrase of its list of administrative officers *Khaṇḍapāla-Purañjayasarāḥ* on which Dr. Hirananda Sastri (Ibid., p. 44 *n*) writes, "Read °*surān*, the adjective *kirtitān* being the plural; the mention of only two heroes *Khaṇḍapāla* and *Purañjaya* must be taken to include other heroes." But apart from the grammatical difficulty hinted at by Dr. Sastri, the form of the immediately preceding phrase वीरभञ्जदेवः-अक्षपटलि-वज्रदत्त-सन्धिविग्रहि-पुन्नाग-प्रतिहार-भोजपाल-राणक etc." would seem to require a reading like खगडपाल-पुरञ्जय-पुरःसरान् in place of खगडपाल-पुरञ्जयसरः If so, we have here a fourth instance of the title खगडपाल in an Eastern grant.

grants. No more success has attended the efforts of some recent scholars who have undertaken a systematic survey of Pāla and Sena administration (cf. Dr. R. G. Basak, in the Bengali *Pravāsī, Āśvin,* 1343 and Mr. Promode Lal Paul in *Dacca University Studies,* vol. II, No. 1), for they have either left the terms without any explanation or else offered suggestions which lack any confirmation.

The clue to the proper identification of these terms has to be sought, as in many other instances of the same kind, in the Jaina canonical and post-canonical literature. To begin with *Khola,* it is included in a list of *Deśī* words in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā,* (No. 2, 80). But none of his synonyms *Laghugardabha* and *Vastraikadeśa* suits our present context. On the other hand a welcome light is offered by the Jaina lexicons. The great Jaina lexicon *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* gives among the synonyms of *Khola* "*Rājapuruṣa*", while the handy *Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary* of Muni Śrī Ratnacandraji more specially mentions the sense of *guptacara* or spy. Either of these senses would admirably suit our present requirement, for in the list of officers in the two inscriptions concerned *Khola* is immediately preceded and followed by a number of minor administrative titles: —

दूत-खोल-गमागमिक-अभित्तरमाण (Khālimpur Grant)

खोल-दूत-गमागमिक-लेखक-दूतप्रैषणिक (Rāmgañj Grant).

The term *Kaṭuka* is derived from Sanskrit *Kaṭu* under the rule *svārthe-kan.* But this etymology does not help to throw light upon its technical significance. It occurs twice in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Bombay edition, 1892, pp. 228-50), meaning according to the commentator Śaṅkara, Hastipakayoktrā (or elephant-rider) in one case, and in the other where it is used as a *double entendre* having the senses of *Tīkṣṇa* and *Pratīhāra* (cf. F. W. Thomas, 'Two lists of words from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,*' *JRAS.,* 1899, p. 510). Leaving aside the first two senses which are quite inapplicable in the case of our inscriptions, it may be doubted whether the technical adminis-

LIBRARY

trative significance of the term has been correctly found out by the commentator. The second passage from the *Harṣacarita* reads: कफविकारिण इव दिने दिने कटुकैरुद्वेज्यमानस्य, which Cowell and Thomas following the commentator translate as 'like a phlegmatic patient he is daily worried by acrid doorkeepers' (*Harṣacarita*, tr. p. 221). From all that we know of the chamberlain's duties it is extremely doubtful whether he may be taken as the type of a vexatious official, such as was evidently the author's intention. Here again the clue is found in the valuable Jaina literature. The *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, quoting from the Cūrṇi of *Niśithasūtra*, gives for *Kaḍuga* (evidently the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Kaṭuka*) a synonym *Daṇḍaparicchedakārin* which may be translated as 'one who measures (proportionately deals out?) punishment'. This may mean an officer entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, or more probably one charged with punishment of criminals. It is evident that an officer of this type has so many opportunities for misuse of his powers as to make his name a by-word for oppression in the olden times. This has apparently been done by Bāṇa in the passage above-mentioned. With this explanation in mind we may offer a plausible interpretation of the term *Mahākaṭuka* of the land-grants. The Rāmgañj inscription has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century (N. G. Majumdar. *loc cit.*, p. 149) and the Panchobh Grant to the latter part of the 12th century (R. D. Banerji, *JBORS.*, V, p. 586). It may be suggested that in Eastern India by the 11th and 12th centuries the order of *Kaṭukas* had been organised with a chief at its head, or more probably the *Kaṭuka* himself had been raised with a higher designation to the status of other first class officers. It is at any rate significant that both in the Rāmgañj and the Panchobh grants *Mahākaṭuka* occurs in juxtaposition with a number of more or less well-known high dignitaries with the same prefix added to their names:—

महासन्धिविग्रहिक, महाप्रतीहार, महाकरणाध्यक्ष, महामुद्राधिकृत, महाक्षपटलिक,

महासर्व्वाधिकृत, महासेनापति, महापादमूलिक, महाभोगपति, महातन्त्राधिकृत, महा-व्यूहपति, महादण्डनायक, महाकायस्थ, महाबलकोष्ठिक, महाबलाधिकरणिक, महासामन्त, महाकटुक (Rāmgañj Grant).

महासाधनिक, महाक्षपटलिक, महाप्रतीहार, महाधर्माधिकरणिक, महाबलाध्यक्ष... महाकटुक, महौत्थितासनिक, महादण्डनायक, महादाण्डिक (Panchobh Grant).

We now turn to the term *Khaṇḍapāla* and its equivalent *Khaṇḍarakṣa*. This term has been tentatively translated as 'Superintendent of repairs' (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, App. X, p. 184; to the same effect R. G. Basak, *loc. cit.*, who compares his functions with those of a P. W. D. engineer) and as 'Superintendent of municipal wards' (J. N. Sikdar and Amareswar Thakur, *op. cit.*, 593). These explanations evidently rest upon the supposed etymological significance of the base *-khaṇḍa*, for which however we are furnished with no independent authority. Here again the valuable Jaina literary evidence comes to our rescue. The *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* has under the caption *khaṇḍarakkha* the Hindi synonyms *dāṇī* ('Customs-Inspector') and *Kotvāl* ('Head of Police'). With this is identical the explanation in the great Jaina lexicon which gives for the same term the synonyms *dāṇḍapāśika* and *śulkapāla*. The latter explanation is also given by Leumann in his edition of the Aupapātikasūtra (*Das Aupapātikasūtra, erstes upāṅga der Jaina*, I Teil, glossar). Though these authoritative explanations may be accepted as correct, it is difficult to understand their connection with the root-word *khaṇḍa*, for which the *Deśīnāmamālā* (II, 78) gives the synonyms *muṇḍa* and *madyabhāṇḍa*, none of which is applicable here. What is still more to the point, a different sense is required for *khaṇḍapāla-khaṇḍarakṣa* in the inscriptions under notice, for there we have *dāṇḍika*, *dāṇḍapāśika* and *śaulkika* mentioned alongside *khaṇḍarakṣa* and *khaṇḍapāla* (cf. also Chamba Inscriptions, No. 15 and 26 in Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 166 and 199). Let us try to find out whether any clue is

afforded by the juxtaposition of the title in the inscriptions concerned. This is as follows:

चौरोद्धरणिक-दाण्डिक-दाण्डपाशिक-शौल्किक-गौल्मिक क्षेत्रप-प्रान्तपाल-कोट्टपाल-खण्डरक्ष-तदायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रनौबलव्यापृतक-किशोरवडवागोमहिषाजाविकाध्यक्ष etc.

(Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Nālandā Grants). In the above, the titles evidently have been arranged in a number of closely-related groups. *Cauroddharaṇika, dāṇḍika* and *dāṇḍapāśika* belong to the class of police officers, *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* to that of customs officers, *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla* along with *hastyaśvoṣṭranaubalavyāpṛtaka* to the group of military officers, *kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣājāvikādhyakṣa* to the class of officers in charge of State herds. What then is the significance of *Khaṇḍarakṣa*? We suggest that it should be taken to belong to the group *prāntapāla* ('Warden of the Marches') and *koṭṭapāla* ('Officer in charge of the fortress or fortified city'). This is supported by the context of the term *khaṇḍapāla* in the Rāmgañj grant:

औत्थितासनिक-अन्तःप्रतीहार-दण्डपाल-खण्डपाल-दुःसाध्यसाधनिक etc.

Here the immediately preceding term *daṇḍapāla* evidently stands for *daṇḍanāyaka,* which according to the standard lexicons (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi,* II, 9; *Kalpadrukoṣa,* 16, 17) means *senānī* or commander. We may mention in this connection the significant fact that in the other land-grants of the Pālas the term *aṅgarakṣa* (evidently a military title) occurs in place of *khaṇḍarakṣa* of the Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Nālandā grants: प्रान्तपाल-कोट्टपाल-अङ्गरक्ष-तदायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक etc. (Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I and Manahali grant of Madanapāla). It follows from the above that *khaṇḍarakṣa-khaṇḍapāla* is a military office of nearly the same status as the *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla.*

U. N. GHOSHAL

King Harṣadeva of the Nepal Inscription

The Paśupatināṭha temple inscription in Nepal[1] tells us of one King Harṣadeva "of the royal line of Bhagadatta" and "the lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala." This is the singular mention of a king not supported by any other evidence. Prof. Keilhorn supposed him to be the same as Śrī Hariṣa of the Tejpur grant.[2] The name (Harṣavarma) has also been found in the Haiungthul grant of Harjarvarma.[3] This identification has been accepted by all and Bengal, they say, had been at least temporarily occupied by the Kāmarūpa prince. But let us see how far this opinion can be supported.

Harṣavarma, the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa was the sixth in descent from Sālastambha. These kings were known as "Mlecchas" and not as "Bhaumas." The word "*tasyānaye*" in the Tejpur copper-plate[4] and the line *astaṃ gateṣu Rājasu Sālastambho-bhavannṛpatiḥ* in the Nowgaon grant of Balavarma[5] show that they came to power after the royal line of Bhagadatta. This is also supported by the Bargāon copper-plate of Ratnapāladeva[6] *mlecchādhināṭho vidhi-calana-vaśād-eva jagrāha rājyam.* In the next verse we find the people thinking *punaraho bhaumohi no yujyate svāmīti.* All these tend to show that Devī Rājyamatī of the Nepal inscription was not the daughter of this Śrī Hariṣa.[7]

Śrī Hariṣa was "Prāgjyotiśeṣa" but Harṣadeva was "Gauḍoḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kośalapati" and there is no mention of Kāmarūpa. It has been suggested that the words *Bhagadatta rāj kulajā* were enough

1 *Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 178. 2 *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 384-5
3 *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali.* 4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* 6 *Ibid.*
7 Verse 19 of the Tejpur grant, of course, calls Vanamala, the bright moon in the sky of the kings of the Naraka dynasty. But the inscription was read by a pandit having no good knowledge of paleography and some mistakes might have crept in. The original is missing and we cannot accept the reading as a decisive piece of evidence.

to mean that.[8] It was possible if the lineage was claimed by the Kāmarūpa princes alone. But we find a contemporary line of kings in Orissa—the 'Karas'—claiming the same descent.[9] "Now in 795 A.D., that is the eleventh year of the period *Cheng-Yuan,* the Chinese emperor *Te-tsong* received as a token of homage an autograph manuscript addressed to him by the king of the realm of Wuch'a (Orissa)" whose name has been interpreted as "Śubhākaradeva."[10] The Paśupatinātha temple inscription is dated 748 A.D. or 759 A.D. as Prof. Lévi suggested. So the two events are fairly contemporay to be ignored by a prince of Nepal. The omission of the name of Kāmarūpa has its significance. Hariṣadeva was of the royal line of Bhagadatta but could not perhaps claim the sovereignty of Prāgjyotiṣa.

Nepal in those days was a kingdom of no mean repute. A matrimonial connection with that royal family was an apt subject of eulogy. But not one of the three Sālastambha inscriptions, not to speak of others, makes any reference to that. It might be that Harṣadeva was defeated and compelled like Yaśaḥkarṇa to give her daughter in marriage. But the glorious and honourable reference to his name in the inscription negatives all such suggestions. The silence is really strange.

If the current view be accepted, then Harṣa's empire extended from Prāgjyotiṣa to Kaliṅga. His reign, then, formed the most glorious chapter of the history of Assam. But queerly enough, none but Harjar and Vanamāla mentions him. They also do not credit him with a vast empire. He was only "guṇavān dhārmiko nṛpaḥ."[11]

8 *Kāmarūpa Rājāvali.*

9 "Bhaumānvayād"—Neulpur Inscription (*Ep. Ind.,* XIV, pp. 1-6). "Bhaumyasya"—Chaurasi Inscription (*JBORS.,* XIV, p. 293). "Bhaumānvaya'—Hindol Inscription (R. D. Banerjee—*History of Orissa.* I.) They were, however, Buddhists and had bull marked seals.

10 *Ep., Ind.,* XV, pp. 364-5.

11 Haiungthul Inscription (*Kāmarūpa Śāśanāvali*).

The history of Bengal in the eighth century A.D. still remains shrouded in mystery. But much light has been thrown by some contemporary works. In the epic poem *Gauḍavaho,* Vākpati wrote of the defeat of "Magahanātha" by Yaśovarmā (*c.* 734-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and his subsequent invasion of Vaṅga. When the Karkaṭaka prince Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir (*c.* 713-55 A.D.) defeated Yaśovarmā and attacked Kaliṅga, numerous elephants from Gauḍa joined his army.[12] These two statements show that Gauḍa was either a feudatory or a federated state of Magadha while Vaṅga and Kaliṅga maintained their independence. It seems impossible that any prince could have established a vast empire extending from Kaliṅga to Assam in the life-time of the victorious invader and so shortly after his conquest. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*[13] a contemporary work also observes a strange silence.

An unbiassed consideration tends to support a different suggestion. On the death of Bhāskaravarmā his vast empire fell to pieces. Vaṅga and Gauḍa asserted their independence and his descendants were deprived of their ancestral throne by the mleccha kings. They perhaps continued to reign as vassals or petty chiefs. Taking the advantage of the trouble some day one of them gained strength and held temporary sway over Gauḍa etc. Through the various changes of fortune they maintained their independence in the hilly tracts of Orissa and the 'Kara' kings were but their descendants.[14] Harṣadeva then came after Lalitāditya and the Nepal inscription was dated 759 A.D.

BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTI

12 Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ed. Stein.

13 *Imperial History of India* by K. P. Jayaswal.

14 Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda supposes them to be relatives and followers of Harṣa.—*Pravāsī,* XXXII, part 1, p. 62.

Historical facts from three unnoticed verses of Pṛthvīrājavijaya

The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* is useful for the reconstruction of the history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. Mr. H. B. Sarda did a great service to the cause of research work by giving a summary of the historical contents of the book in the *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 259-81.

The writers of the history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī however have not yet noticed an important verse of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* which contains historical information about the reign of Durlabharāja I. The verse is:

असिः स्नातोत्थितो यस्य गङ्गासागरसंगमे ।
चिरं गौडरसास्वादशुद्धो ब्राह्मणतां ययौ ॥ v. 20, 5th sarga.

The word "Gauḍarasāsvāda" can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) Gauḍa + rasa + āsvāda.

(2) Gauḍa + rasā + āsvāda.

The first means the taste of the Gauḍa-rasa i.e. the juice of Gauḍa. The second one means the taste of Gauḍa-rasā i.e. the Gauḍa-land. Taking into consideration both the interpretations the verse would mean this:

The sword of whom, after a dip in the Gangāsāgara (i.e. the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal) purifies itself by the taste of the land (Rasā) or the juice (Rasa) of Gauḍa and thus attained prominence.

The association of the sword with the land of Gauḍa goes to assert the military achievement of Durlabharāja I in Gauḍa. Let us see what it refers to. The Radhanpur grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (808 A.D.) records that Dhora (Dhruva) defeated Vatsarāja "who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa" and "took away from him, not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas of state but also his fame." We know that the Cāhamānas were subordinate to the Pratihāras and Gūvaka I, the succes-

sor of Durlabharāja I, has been called a hero who famed in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka (*E.I.*, vol. ii, p. 121, verse 31, n. 26) i.e. Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II.

So we can assert that the above verse of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* refers to Durlabharāja's assistance to his overlord Vatsarāja in his aforesaid operations in Gauḍa.

Two more verses of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* have not also received the attention of scholars. These are:—

सूर्यवंशप्रसूतस्य चन्द्रमंडलनिर्गता ।
तस्य रेवामयी वाहैः कीर्त्तिर्मलिनताभवत् ॥
व्यधादाशापुरीदेव्या भृगुकच्छे स धाम तत् ।
यद्रेवास्पृष्टसोपानं चन्द्रश्चुंबति मूर्धनि ॥ vv. 52-53. 5th sarga.

The meaning of the above passage is as follows:

The cavalry of Vigraharāja, a king of Solar race, eclipsed the glory of the king of Lunar race that shone on the bank of the Revā. He then built a temple at Bhṛgukaccha which was dedicated to the Goddess Āśāpūrṇā.

Let us see whom Vigraharāja II defeated. From the Surat grant, line 13, page 201, *IA.* XII we know that one Bārappa obtained Lāṭa-deśa. According to the account of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* this Bārappa and 'the ruler of Śākambharī' simultaneously attacked Mūlrāja I. The abovementioned 'ruler of Śākambharī' being none other than Vigraharāja II, (v. 51, 5th sarga, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*) we can safely assert that he must have attacked and defeated Bārappa of Lāṭa first and made a combined effort against Mūlrāja next. We have no evidence however to show that Bārappa belonged to the Lunar race.

SARIT SEKHAR MAJUMDAR

Hayagrīva

The *Tantra-sāra* of Śrī Madhvācārya gives the following Dhyāna-śloka of Hayagrīva: —

वन्दे तुरंगवदनं शशिबिम्बसंस्थं
चन्द्रावदातममृतात्मकरैः समन्तात् ॥
अंडांतरं बहिरपि प्रतिभासयन्तं
शंखाक्षपुस्तकसुबोधयुताब्जबाहुम् ॥५५॥

The god is described here with 4 hands, holding the conch, the rosary, the book and the jñānamudrā, (thumb and middle finger touching each other.)

The mantra is mentioned as follows: —

हाम् हयशिरसे नमः । हाम् हयग्रीवाय नमः ।
हाम् हयशीर्षाय नमः । हाम् हयशीर्षे नमः ॥

The phala or reward of the mantra is given in verse 54 as follows: —

सर्वविद्याप्रदोष्टार्णः प्रतिवादी जयप्रदः ।
विमुक्तिसाधनः कान्तिबुद्धिस्थैर्यप्रदः सदा ॥५४॥

Verse 56 runs as follows: —

नस्तो मुखादपि निरन्तरमुद्गिरन्तं
विद्या अशेषत उताब्जभवेशमुख्यैः ॥
संसेव्यमानमतिभक्तिभरावनम्रैः ।
लक्ष्म्यामृतेन सततं परिषिच्यमानम् ॥५५॥

Saint Vādirāja, a disciple of Saint Vyāsarāja, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya of Vijayanagara, was a great upāsaka of Hayagrīva. He composed a number of lyrics, under the *nom-de-plume,* Hayavadana.[1]

S. HANUMANTHA RAO

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, July, 1928. The copper image of Pañcamukhi. December, 1933. The Dā·ās of the Karṇāṭaka country. *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1936. Hindu Religious Movements in Mediæval Dekkan. *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, 1930. The religious school of Śrī Madhva. *Journal of the Madras University*, 1928, 1929. Life and time of Śrī Madhva.

REVIEWS

DHARMA-KOŚA, edited by Lakshmana Shastri Joshi, with the co-operation of a Board of sub-editors. Vol. I. Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa; pt. i, Vyavahāra-mātṛkā. Published by the Prajñā-pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala, Wai, Dt. Satara, 1937.

This volume of more than 700 quarto pages is only the first instalment of an ambitious project, to be completed in several volumes, of compiling a critical and encyclopaedic digest of the entire Niti and Dharma-śāstra literature in their historical sequence from the Vedic to compartively modern (18th century) times. The guiding spirit and the real worker is the chief editor himself, who had been inspired and initiated into the work by his Guru, Narayan Shastri Marathe, and on whom the entire laborious task devolved on his Guru's retirement from the world; but it is a work which it is difficult for one man to envisage, handicapped that he is by distance, want of funds and other serious obstacles. That so much could be accomplished, in spite of all these, is itself a marvel and a tribute to the high earnestness of purpose and unflagging zeal which lie behind the work; and the first volume augurs well for the volumes to follow. The plan, however, is daringly comprehensive. In the words of the editor, it will include a complete collection of all original texts, classified and arranged under proper headings, bearing upon the study "of the family rites and religious usages of the expiatory rites, of the sacrifices, of the festivities and modes of worship, of the fasts and the pilgrimages, of the religious faiths and of the gods, of metaphysical speculations and the philosophies, of the rules governing the individual conduct towards the family, the caste or society, of ethics, law and politics, and of all social institutions of the Hindus." How far all this will be accomplished remains to be seen; but for this purpose, not only the recognised Niti and Dharma texts are elaborately cited,

but, for historical perspective, the entire Vedic literature and its supplementary Sūtras, the Purāṇas, the Epics, the Tantras and the Āgamas, as well as the large number of commentaries, manuals and digests, which have been in existence from the 7th to the 18th century, are also laid under contribution for relevant extracts under each topic in their chronological order. The printed editions are utilised, but manuscripts have been consulted throughout to avoid doubtful or incorrect readings, which when they occur, have been corrected or emended. The editor has thus suggested numerous emendations to the printed texts of the Medhātithi-bhāṣya and Asahāya-bhāṣya, as well as to the Vyavahāra-mātṛkā and other works in the present volume. For unpublished texts manuscripts have been utilised, and no pains are spared to make the citations as complete as possible. Full references have been given throughout, in accordance with modern methods, and the value of the work has been enhanced by several Indexes, viz., an Index of important technical terms (72 pages) occurring in the quotations, an Index of subject and authors, and an Index of half-pādas of cited verses. The number of works utilised and digested is over one hundred.

The present volume deals with a part of the subject of Vyavahāra, viz., administration of justice and legal procedure, the second part of this volume having been reserved for another aspect of Vyavahāra, viz., the eighteen titles of law. The subject comprises such topics as the Court, the Plaint and Written Statement, Evidence, Witness, Burden of Proof and Punishment. All conceivable points under these topics are classified, and original texts are arranged under each head in their proper order. An important feature of these citations is that they rescue from oblivion hundreds of quotations, occurring in the commentaries, manuals and digests, from more than twenty lost works on Dharma and Artha.

It is clear that such a comprehensive and critical digest demands in its compilation not only great labour, accuracy, and attention to

details, but also many-sided scholarship, judgment and skill in the technique of arrangement and citation. So far as the present volume goes, the editors have proved their capacity, which may be trusted, if circumstances are favourable, for bringing the work to a successful completion. When completed, it will undoubtedly be a standard work of reference for the study of many problems connected with Hindu Law, Politics, Ethics, Sociology and Religious Usages and Practices; and let us hope, it will stand in its imposing array of volumes as a monument of Indian scholarship.

S. K. De

IṢṬA-SIDDHI (Kārikā and Vṛtti) of Vimuktātman, with extracts from the Vivaraṇa of Jñānottama, critically edited with introduction and notes by M. Hiriyanna. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXV. Baroda 1933.

This is one of the four well known Vedāntic works, which, under the title of Siddhi, give a complete exposition of the peculiar doctrines of the school, the other three being the *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra, the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara and the *Advaita-siddhi* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. As such, the importance and interest of the work are undoubted; the more so, because Rāmānuja makes use of the work, and Ānandabodha, another early Vedāntic writer, appears to acknowledge the author as his Guru. His relations to these famous exponents of the Vedānta system would place our author earlier that the 11th century A.D.; and the editor would tentatively fix the limits of his date, from external and internal evidence, between 850 and 1050 A.D. This Prakaraṇa or manual of eight chapters is naturally polemical in an age when the various schools were fighting to establish their respective position, and the author could not, therefore, avoid scholastic dialectics; but his standpoint is essentially rationalistic. As the

chief importance of the work lies in its complete exposition of the pivotal doctrine of Māyā, it concerns itself mostly with logic and Vedāntic epistemology in its critical examination of the theories of truth and error. The editor, whose name itself is a guarantee of the thoroughness and accuracy of this critical edition, has given, in his short but interesting and informative introduction, a lucid summary of Vimuktātman's position in relation to other schools and writers, and has spared no pains to make it worthy of his high reputation as a scholar. The edition is certainly a valuable contribution to the historical and critical study of the Indian philosophical systems, and an important addition to the reputation of the well known Series to which it belongs.

S. K. De

LES GRAMMAIRIENS PRAKRITS par Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1938, pp. ix + 229, Royal 8 vo.

LE PRĀKṚTĀNUṢĀSANA DE PURUṢOTTAMA par Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938, pp. xxvii + 143, Demy 8vo.

All students of Prakrit linguistics will be thankful to Mlle. Luigia Nitti-Dolci for bringing out the two volumes under review. In the first of these she has discussed critically the contents of the most important grammars of Prakrit and brought together points from which the question of their relative priority and mutual dependence may be decided. Her discussion occasionally gives us light to examine afresh the problem of the authenticity of the Prakrit grammars, on which opinions of scholars are so divided (see Pischel's *Pkt. Grammar* § 42). In course of this discussion she points out errors of her predecessors like Lassen and Pischel and corrects them and draws our attention to some interesting and important aspects of Prakrit linguistics. To scholars interested in the subject this volume is full of valuable materials discussed with care and a critical spirit. As it is not possible to give

an adequate idea of them all, within the short compass of this review, we shall mention here some which may be considered additions to our knowledge of the Prakrit grammars.

The first notable contribution of Mlle. Nitti-Dolci consists in separating the original work of Vararuci from the chapters added later on. She has given what may be considered convincing reasons to show that the last three chapters of the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* were from the hands of a later author (see pp. 18 ff.). Besides this while discussing this question she has brought together materials from the three principal commentators of the *Prākṛtaprakāśa,* which will be helpful for reconstructing the first eight chapters of this work written by Vararuci. This reconstructed text may bring about some changes in the current view about the so called Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt.

Another important contribution of Mlle. Nitti-Dolci is in her exploration of works on the language of which Vararuci might have based his grammar. She has collected sufficient data to show that the grammarian in all likelihood had before him some recension of Hāla's *Saptaśatakam* (see pp. 42 ff.).

Her critical edition (with translation) of the passages of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* dealing with Prakrit may also be considered very useful. In all such matters Mlle. Nitti-Dolci has given proof not only of great patience and industry but also of critical acumen coupled with boldness. It may be hoped that her work will advance the cause of Prakritic studies. But saying all this does not certainly mean that we agree with her in all matters. Following are some of the cases in which we differ from Mlle. Nitti-Dolci:

1. In her work she has often used the term Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt. and understood by it the language of Mahārāṣṭra (after Daṇḍin, see p. 2). The reviewer has questioned the correctness of such practice (see Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasenī, *Journal of the Dept. of Letters,* (Calcutta University, vol. XXIII, 1933).

2. Her interpretation of the first 13 *sūtras* of Ch. V of Vararuci cannot be accepted (see pp. 28 ff.). Canons of interpretation applicable to *sūtra* works of grammar support the view of Bhāmaha in this matter. We have no reason to ignore these canons.

3. She concludes without adequate reason that "Les drames de l'epoque classique ne nous donnent pas, ne peuvent pas nous donner l'image de ce que devait etre une representation theatricale de l'Inde ancienne" (p. 80) .

4. Pkt. passages found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (see p. 65) cannot be ascribed to the author of this work. Abhinavagupta most uncritically accepted them as its part. It would have been better if she had left them aside as spurious. For it is not to be easily explained why the writer of a very big Skt. work like the *NŚ*. suddenly lapsed into writing a few couplets in Pkt.

5. The form *samāgamissadi* (instead of *samāgamissaï*) occurring in the Telinga recension of the *Saptaśataka* of Hāla as well as in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* may not be considered as erroneous (see p. 114). For it is very often found that forms like *gacchadi* occurring in plays of Kālidāsa, Śūdraka etc. appear in late MSS. as *gacchaï*.

6. Mlle. Nitti-Dolci's emendation of *phaḍahī* (= *phalahi*) in Hāla 550 (edn. Weber) into *phalahī* is unnecessary. She may read in this connexion Hāla IV. 60 (ed. Kāvyamālā) and see that *phaḍahī* (cotton-field) was often the meeting place of lovers. The reading *phaliha* occurring in Hāla VI. 49 (ed. Kāvyamālā) is certainly erroneous, for the commentator Gaṅgādhara clearly explains the word as *kārpāsa-vāṭikā*. Cf. Hāla, IV, 60 mentioned above.

Her discussion on Bharata needs addition. Bharata has been quoted by Candraśekhara the commentator of the *Śakuntalā* as follows: —

१ तदुक्तं भरतेन —'विस्मये त्वम्महे अम्मो नित्यं स्त्रीभिः प्रयुज्यते'।

२ 'प्राकृते हा धिक् इत्यर्थे हद्धी नित्यं द्विरुच्यते' इत्याह भरतः।

३ यदाह भरतः—'ही ही भो विस्मयार्थे प्रयुञ्जीत विदूषक' इति।

४ तदाह भरतः—'ही माणहे भये खेदे' इति।

None of these quotations occur in any form in the available *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This may be added to the writer's discussion on Bharata (pp. 61 ff.).

All this however does not diminish the great value of the work under review and scholars interested in Pkt. will be genuinely glad to go through it and will consider her work as an useful addition to the literature on the subject.

The *Prākṛtānuśāsana*, a Pkt. grammar by Puruṣottama-deva, the well-known author of the Skt. Grammar *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, passed into oblivion till a fragment of its only ms. was discovered in Nepal Government's MSS. collection a few years ago, and it was the present reviewer who for the first time brought it to the notice of the learned world (see 'Mahārāṣṭrī, a late phase of Śaurasenī in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. XXIII, 1933, p. 7). But on an examination of the ms. it was found to contain no new information of importance about Pkt. and hence it was not taken up for publication. It should not however be thought that such publication would have been valueless. For it gives us some historical data about the Pkt. grammarians of the Eastern school. Hence Mlle. Nitti-Dolci deserves thanks of Prakritists for bringing out a critical edition of the work. Her very careful edition and translation of the *sūtras* together with a comparison of them with corresponding *sūtras* in grammars of Hemacandra, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vararuci, Kramadiśvara and Rāmaśarman, has made it valuable for the histo-

rian of indigenous Pkt. grammars. It was indeed a very difficult task, for this *sūtra* treatise did not contain any commentary. Still the *sūtras* which remain unexplained are not many and as they occur in a published work, other scholars may try to explain them.

Mlle. Nitti-Dolci has also added in the introduction to the above work a discussion about the date of Puruṣottama-deva and utilized in it all available data and her conclusion about his date (between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century) may be accepted as final.

In conclusion it may be said in brief that in her edition of Puruṣottama's Pkt. grammar, Mlle. Nitti-Dolci has placed at the disposal of scholars much materials which will be useful for the critical study of Pkt. grammars. Only one fact seems to have escaped her notice. Candraśekhara in his commentary to the *Śakuntalā* quotes one *sūtra* (*svārthe ko vā*) from one work named the *Prākṛtasūtra*. This *sūtra* occurs in the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (IV. 32). Besides this another *sūtra* (*dṛśeḥ pulaa peccha ṇiahāḥ*) also has been quoted from the *Pkt.-sūtra*. This to some extent agrees with a *sūtra* of Puruṣottama (VII. 17). *Sūtras* referred to above occur in the commentary of Candraśekhara appended to the first edition of Pischel's of *Śakuntalā* (pp. 173, 174).

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

PĀṆINĪYA-ŚIKṢĀ or THE ŚIKṢĀ-VEDĀṄGA ascribed to Pāṇinī, critically edited in all its five recensions with an Introduction, Translation and Notes together with its two Commentaries by Manomohan Ghosh of the Calcutta University. Published by the Calcutta University 1938, Double Crown 8 vo. pp. lxvi + 90.

The *Śikṣā* ascribed to Pāṇinī the great Hindu grammarian of the past is known as the *Śikṣā-Vedāṅga*. It was about eighty years ago that Weber published its critical edition in his *Indische Studien* (IV). This edition has long been out of print and accumulation of new materials as well as later researches made it necessary that the work should be edited afresh. Hence we welcome the present work of Mr. Ghosh, in which he has with great patience and labour brought together all data relating, to the study of the *Pāṇiniya-Śikṣā*. Weber studied the work in its two recensions Ṛk and Yajuṣ while Dr. Siddheshwar Varma discussed the work on the basis of these two and a third recension available in the body of the *Agni Purāṇa* (*Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observation of Indian Grammarians*, London, 1929, pp. 29 ff.) Mr. Ghosh exploited two more recensions of the *Śikṣā* for the purpose of his critical edition. With the help of these five recensions he has reconstructed the *Śiksā* as it might have been in origin. This reconstructed *Śikṣā* contains certain features which help to place it in a period before 500 B.C. when Pāṇini flourished. And he has added to this reconstructed text a critical edition of the five recensions on which his work is based, and the old commentaries of two of these recensions. Besides this he has given an English translation of the longest (i.e. Ṛk.) recension of the *Śikṣā* which includes all the other recensions; in the Notes he has discussed difficult passages, terms etc. and in the Introduction he has discussed among other things the history of the rise of the Vedāṅgas (and Śikṣās and Prātiśākhyas in particular) and the date and authorship of the Pāṇiniya-Śikṣā. All this has been very carefully and critically done and it may be confidently hoped that

Mr. Ghosh's work will for a long time remain a standard work on the subject. He as well as the Calcutta University is to be congratulated on the publication of this very valuable work.

NARENDRA CH. VEDANTATIRTHA

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE IDAR STATE, by P. A. Inamdar, M.A., B.Sc. Director of Public Instruction and Archaeology, Idar State, Himatnagar. 1936. Re. 1.

Idar is a first class State in the Western India States' Agency, and is situated on the north-east of Gujarat mostly on the east of the river Sabarmati, with an area of 1669 square miles. 'It is bounded on the north by the States of Sirohi and Mewar, on the east by Mewar and Dungarpur, and on the south and west by the British district of Ahmedabad and Baroda State territory with the State of Danta in the north-east.' The Idar State is also popularly known as 'Nani Marwar' as since the eleventh century three successive dynasties of its rulers have come from Marwar in Rajputana.

This small archaeological guide book shows an additional indication of the interest our native States are in recent times taking in the exploration and conservation of the historical and archaeological treasures of their realms. The monograph gives a short account of the past history of the Idar State, of its historical and archaeological sites, and appends a fair number of photographs of old temples and their parts, images of gods and goddesses, inscriptions, and a map, which are all well-described and are sufficient to 'lead to the awakening of some interest in the public mind in the archaeological treasures of the State and throw light on the ancient history and culture' of a part of western Rajputana.

On stylistic grounds some of the sculptures may easily be dated as early as the sixth century A.D. (e.g. fig. 1) while there is quite a fair number dateable in the seventh and eighth centuries. The

majority of course belongs to a later period. Earliest temple structures are dateable in the tenth and eleventh centuries and show affinities with those known from Orissa ,Jodhpur and other places. Later temples are elaborately carved and decorated and seem to reveal relationship with the Western Cālukya style of temple architecture. The two inscriptions, one from the Mahadeo temple at Vadali and another from the Ramaji (Sūrya) temple at Bhavnath, are respectively dated in 1208 and 1298 A.D.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

THE GREEKS IN BACTRIA AND INDIA. By W. W. TARN, pp. xxiii + 539 + 1 plate and 3 maps.

The period of Greek rule in Bactria and India has remained for very long the despair of Indian as well as European historians of Ancient India. This has largely been due to the extra-ordinarily imperfect and scrappy character of the material which consists of "fragments of lost Greek history, coins both Greek and Indian, fragments of lost Indian histories, evidence of excavations and Chinese histories." The outstanding work under notice which, as the learned author tells us in his Preface, has been his dream for the last forty years, may be safely pronounced to be a solid and permanent contribution to the history of the confused period that it treats. Even a cursory reading of this book cannot fail to impress one with the author's amazing range of studies, his sober judgment, his almost uncanny powers of analysis and synthesis. Twenty-one appendices, two indices, one plate, one genealogical table, and three maps add to the usefulness of a work which will remain for a long time to come the standard authority on the subject.

Of the numerous points on which the author throws new light only a few may be noticed in the present place. Such are the significance of the territorial divisions ending in *-ene* and *-iane*,

(pp. 3 ff. and App. 2), Euthydemus's chronology and genealogy (pp. 73 ff.), the parts played by Demetrius I, Apollodotus and Menander in the great invasion of India (pp. 130 ff.), the story of the Greek occupation of Pāṭaliputra (pp. 132-33, 144-45, 453-55), Eucratides' relation to Antiochus IV and his chronology as well as the significance of his war with Demetrius (pp. 195 ff. 215 ff.), Menander's chronology and empire and his attitude towards Buddhism (pp. 227 ff.), identifications of nomadic tribes conquering Bactria and the date of their invasion (pp. 276 ff.), chronology of the Śaka conquest and specially the date of Maues's death (pp. 335 ff.), the history of Hermaeus and his chronology (pp. 339 ff. and App. 17), the origin of the Buddha image (pp. 400 ff.) and Agathocles' pedigree coins (App. 3). Most useful and interesting side-lights are thrown on such questions as the date of Candragupta Maurya's accession (p. 47 n.), Ptolemy's sources and methods (p. 231), the nationality of the nine Yavanas of Karli and Nasik cave inscriptions (pp. 255 ff.), the myth of Hippalos (p. 369), the two Śaka eras (App. 16), and the literary ancestry of the *Milinda-pañha* (pp. 414 ff.). The author notwithstanding his strong Hellenistic culture seldom allows his judgment to be warped by his predilections. This spirit of scientific detachment is particularly manifest in his chapter on 'The Greeks in India' (Ch. IX), where he discusses the highly controversial questions regarding the reciprocal influences of the two civilisations concerned.

It is impossible in the course of a book-review to consider the numerous points which the author has succeeded in illuminating with his valuable researches. But a few remarks may be made. "The Greek empire of Bactria and India," we are told in the Introduction (p. xx). "was a Hellenistic state.....and its history was a branch of Seleucid history." That the emphasis has been unwittingly laid in this passage will best appear from the author's subsequent description of Menander's empire (p. 260) as essentially "an Indian

empire with a small Greek ruling caste not a Greek empire as the the Seleucid was made to be." In the same context, (but with an equally unconscious tendency towards self-contradiction) the author assures us that the idea of partnership involved in Menander's empire was a legacy of Demetrius. In a preceding passage (p. 125) he tells us even of Euthydemus that he "in some form took Bactria into partnership."

Describing the effects of Seleucid rule in Western Asia, the author first emphasises the enormous success of the Seleucid era, which he says (p. 62) "swept Asia." Though this dictum is subsequently (p. 359) modified to apply to "Asia west of India," the author still commits himself to the statement (*loc. cit.*) that "the idea of reckoning time from a date fixed once for all came to India with the Greeks." In proof of this statement he refers to the use of Macedonian months in the datings of Kharoṣṭhī records of Śaka and Kuṣāṇa periods, and of a Brāhmī inscription from Mathura belonging to the 28th year of Kaṇiṣka's era. This however altogether ignores the existence of the well-known Nirvāṇa eras of the Buddhists and Jainas, not to speak of the era of Nanda's coronation which, as Dr. G. Bose has first shown in his recent work called *Purāṇa-Praveśa* (pp. 94-95) has been used in the Purāṇic genealogical tradition. The other effect of the Seleucid rule held by the author as certain was "a general rise in the level of Asia" (pp. 65-66). The only examples of this supposed change given by the author are taken from the savage Carduchi and the piratical Nabataeans. That the author's statement is meant to be taken in an extremely qualified sense is shown by his subsequent admission (p. 67) "that, considered broadly, what the Asiatic took from the Greek was usually externals only, matters of form; he rarely took substance... and never spirit."

It is difficult to agree with the author's view (p. 258) that Aśoka's empire except for his home country of Magadha was "a

loose collection of vassal kings and free peoples under his suzerainty with a few semi-autonomous cities like Taxila." Only one vassal king, the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha, who was a governor of Surāṣṭra, is known to history, though it is likely enough that some others existed. Whatever that may be, the Aśokan inscriptions introduce us to a regular division of his empire into viceregal provinces as well as administrative districts ruled by their proper officers. They show the emperor not only as issuing orders for the guidance of local officers (*prādeśikas, yuktas, rājukas*), but also as appointing a class of censors (*dharma-mahāmātras*) with jurisdiction over every class of subjects and over every part of the empire. Reference may also be made to Megasthenes' testimony regarding the elaborate administrative machinery in charge of the huge standing army of the empire, which Aśoka must have inherited from his ancestor.

The author's description (p. 129) of the Maurya Empire after Aśoka's death as "suffering the common lot of oriental empires," is interesting only as a poignant illustration of the old adage that 'prejudices die hard.' An unsophisticated oriental critic can only recall the memorable verdict which a recent English writer, remarkable alike for the brilliance and versatility of his talents, and the sturdy sanity of his historical judgments, has pronounced on the historical position of the Roman Empire. "By the scale of a world-history, the Roman Empire ceases to seem overwhelmingly important. It lasted about four centuries in all, before it was completely shattered During its four centuries of life the Empire of Rome had phases of division and complete chaos. Its prosperous years, if they are gathered together, and arrayed up do not amount in all to a couple of centuries. Compared with the quite steady expansion, the security and the civilizing task of the contemporary Chinese Empire, or with Egypt between 4000 and 1000 B.C., or with Sumer before the Semitic conquest, this amounts to a mere incident in history. The Persian Empire of Cyrus which reached from the

Hellespont to the Indus had as high a standard of civilisation, and its homelands remained unconquered and fairly prosperous for over two hundred years. Its predecessor the Median Empire had endured for half-a-century.....The Seleucid dominion shrank at last to the west of the Euphrates and became a part of the Roman Empire. But Persia revived by the Parthians as a new Persian Empire first under the Arsacids and then under the Sassanids outlived the Empire of Rome." (H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*, vol. I, p. 297).

From the fact that Justin's date for Candragupta Maurya's acquisition of dominion corresponds to the Jaina dating of 313 or 312 B.C., the author infers (pp. 47 and 381) some knowledge of Jaina literature on the part of the Greeks. Considering the close contact of the Maurya Empire with the Hellenistic world for three generations of its sovereigns, it would be surprising if the classical writer were to be indebted to a Jaina source alone for his knowledge of a fact of outstanding importance for the history of India at that time. It would of course be quite otherwise if the Greek author had quoted a characteristic point of Jaina doctrine or discipline. If an Indian source were to be predicated for Justin's statement, it might as well have been found ultimately in the traditions of the Purāṇas, embodying the most systematic accounts of Ancient Indian genealogies. For, as Dr. G. Bose has recently shown (*Purāṇa-Praveśa*, p. 155), one of the Purāṇic dates for Candragupta Maurya's accession works out to 315 B.C. which is a close approximation to Justin's dating.

Equally ingenious, but unconvincing, are the author's grounds for holding (pp. 380-381) that some Greeks almost certainly knew the *Mahābhārata*. On the authority of two Indian scholars he considers the well-known verse in Heliodorus' Besnagar inscription (translated as "Three immortal precepts when practised lead to heaven etc.") to be a concise rendering of two *Mahābhārata* passages. Without denying the close relation of these texts, it may be urged

that there exist no grounds for assigning the *Mahābhārata* as a complete work to the 2nd century B. C. If the pious Yavana ambassador had taken the verse from a work of recognised authority, it would be natural for him to quote the same in his record. It seems more probable that he derived it from the same source that was drawn upon not only by the *Mahābhārata* but also by the literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas, *viz.*, what Winternitz calls for want of a better name, 'the ascetic literature.' These arguments would not lose their force even if we were to accept with the author Marshall's interpretation of the Besnagar text in the sense that Heliodorus pledged himself thereby to the virtues that he mentioned.

On the analogy of Dharmarāja meaning, as the author writes, "the king who does the whole duty of the king," the author proceeds to explain (p. 256) *dhammayavana* of a Karli donative inscription to mean "a Greek who does the whole duty of a Greek." "The Dhamma of a Greek was his duty as a citizen of a *polis*, and the Indian who called himself Dhammayavana thereby claimed that he carried out the duties of a Greek citizen; that is, he was a citizen of a Greek *polis*." Without asking for an explanation of the transformation of Greek into Indian in the above translation (and such an explanation would have been very desirable in view of the author's admission that the Indian in question could not have been a 'culture-Greek'), we would point out the grave difficulties in the way of the author's interpretation. According to rules of Sanskrit grammar, *dharmarāja* primarily means 'king of justice' from which may be derived the secondary sense of 'a king who does the whole duty of a king.' To get the sense of one who does the whole duty of a Yavana, we should have some such derivative as *Yavanadharmā*. A form like Dharmayavana in the above sense is unknown to Sanskrit grammar. There is no other choice than to take with Stein (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 347) Dharmayavana as a personal name. Stein indeed thinks that he was

"a Yavana by birth, who got after his conversion that new name or was called so by his Indian friends." He happily quotes an instance of Dharma being used as a personal name from a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription. To us it seems that the donor of the inscription took the title of Dhammayavana to emphasise his difference from the type of *duṣṭavikrānta-yavanas* mentioned in the *Yuga-purāṇa*, for which a parallel may be found in the contrast between Kālāśoka and Dharmāśoka in the Aśokan legendary tradition. In the alternative, he may have translated the first part of his original name into Dharma and tagged on to it his ethnic designation (cf. the author's weighty remarks about the nomenclature of Greeks in India, p. 392). This at any rate would be more in keeping with the object of the record than the uncalled-for vaunt that the donor was a citizen of a Greek *polis*. Another fatal objection to the author's view is to be found in some similar but fuller inscriptions from Karle and Nasik. In twelve of these inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 52-53 and XVIII, pp. 326-328), the donors hail from the same place (Dhenukākaṭa) which was the home of Dhammayavana and most of them are careful to mention their families or corporations or professions, but none of them makes the slightest reference to Dhenukākaṭa as enjoying any special distinction. It seems that while most of these donors as householders thought it fit to refer to their family or other connections, this was found unnecessary by Dhammayavana who was a Buddhist monk.

Admitting that the historical sections of the *Yuga-purāṇa* are based on a lost chronicle 'written soon after the events described,' there is no reason to believe with Dr. Tarn (p. 378 and App. 4), that "the original Indian author wrote under the influence of Greek historical writing." Both as regards form and substance (the *Yuga-purāṇa* statements are made in the form of prophecies and they refer to the Kali Yuga), the Indian author adopts the fashion followed

afterwards in the genealogical sections of the Purāṇas, the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and so forth. Indeed, Jayaswal, who edited and translated the *Yuga-purāṇa* text (*JBORS.*, 1928), described the supposed Prakrit original of the *Yuga-purāṇa* as the earliest known Purāṇa. This style of composition or literary *genere* is as old as the early Vedic period, for we have reference to compositions called *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* as early as in the *Atharva-veda* (XV, 6, 4) and these are frequently mentioned in the subsequent literature as a single compound doubtless because of their close approximation. They contain besides legendary matter, stories of ancient kings and *Ṛṣis* (cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte*, I, 260). A number of passages of Yāska's *Nirukta* which at any rate must be long anterior to Alexander's invasion distinguishes *aitihāsikas* from *nairuktas* and this has led Sieg (*Die Sagenstoffe des Rigveda*, p. 16) to conclude that the former unlike the latter supplied the natural explanation of the Ancient Indian tradition. To revert to the author's view, practically his sole argument is that "no Indian wrote or understood history." This sweeping statement is hardly likely to commend itself to any serious student of Indian history at the present day.

We have noticed a few slips in the transliteration of Indian names which may be corrected in a later edition. Such are Vindya (p. 129), Kusumadjava (p. 145), Dharmarakkita (p. 148), Malva (p. 242 *n.*), Dhenukākā (p. 255 *n.*), Amogabhūti (p. 325), Battacharya (381 n.), Druva (pp. 454-456), Bhāgavat (p. 406), Pāndhya (p. 511). Examples of slips in maps are Nagir and Yaudeyas (Map 2). It is not known on what authority the Taxila region is placed outside Gandhāra (Map 2). We do not know what grounds exist for identifying Aparānta with Gujarat (p. 148), for describing Puṣyamitra as 'a hereditary ruler of Vidiśā' (p. 133) and for characterising Sophagasenos as certainly a Maurya (p. 130). Nor can we subscribe to the statement that the 'fragments' (*sic*) of Bhāsa's dramas belong to the first century A.D. (p. 382).

We cannot conclude without expressing our high appreciation of the work under notice which in many ways may serve as a model for those who are engaged in the inevstigation of the Ancient History of India and cognate topics.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BRĀHMAN-ROMĀNKĀTHALIK-SAMBAD by Dom Antonio, edited with an introduction, notes and an index by Surendra Nath Sen, published by the Calcutta University, 1937, pp. lxiv + 88.

The present volume contains (in Roman as well as in Bengali character) the earliest specimen of Bengali prose composed sometime in the second-half of the 17th century. The author of this work was one Don Antonio who was converted to Roman Catholic Christianity by Portuguese missionaries. It contains a discussion about the relative excellence of Hinduism and Christianity between a Christian (Roman Catholic) and a Brahmin. Prof. Sen has done good service to the Bengali language by procuring a copy of this rare work (in MS.) from Evora (Portugal) and publishing it in a suitable form. For, this gives us good materials for the study of the evolution of Bengali prose as well as the Bengali phonology at the end of the 17th century. Prof. Sen's learned introduction discussing different aspects of the history of this work as well as of its author has added to the value of this volume. It is amusing to note that in this catechism of Christianity the author has firmly believed in miracles connected with Jesus Christ while he rejected them in case of Kṛṣṇa. But we are however not concerned with the contents of the work which has only philological interest for us. Prof. Sen as well as the Calcutta University are to be congratulated for making this interesting and important work accessible to us in a suitable form.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XVII, pars II

H. H. FIGULLA.—*Manichäer in Indien und das Zeitalter des tamulischen Dichters Māṇikkavācager.*

J. GONDA.—*Monosyllaba am Satz-und Versschluss im Altindischen.*

W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Note on Śāktism in Java.* The Hinduistic sovereigns of Java used to build temples, enshrining in them images of their deified predecessors. An image of Prajñāpāramitā has been found representing Rājapatnī Gāyatrī, whose daughter ascended the throne. Thus Gāyatrī being the progenitor of the royal family of Majapahit attained the position of the Mother Goddess or Ādiśakti and the indigenous matrilineal conceptions paved the way for Śāktism in Java.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute vol. XIX, part iii (April, 1938)

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic Studies VII: The Oldest Extant Ms. of the Ādiparvan.* A ms. of the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* discovered from Nepal is claimed to have been more than seven hundred years old. In this paper the ms. has been described, and compared with the critical edition of the Ādiparvan published from Poona. The evidence of the ms. supports many of the emendations made in that edition.

O. C. GANGOLY.—*Non-Aryan Contribution to Indian Music.* The melody of Bhairavī, the *deśī* (folk) type of music, and some of the Rāgas mentioned in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī,* are conjectured to have been originated from the aboriginal tribes like the Mallas, Takkas, Śakas, Ābhīras and Bhīravas.

YEKANTAYOGI.—*Categories in Śrī Madhva's Dvaita Vedānta.*

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Śāgaranandin—Before A.D. 1431.*

PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI.—*Problems of Pañcadaśī.* The writer of this paper is of the opinion that the fifteen chapters of the *Pañcadaśī* were originally separate booklets arranged and given the collective name *Pañcadaśī* at a later date. The work can be divided into three well-defined groups of five chapters each, of which the first two groups are inferred to have been composed by Vidyāraṇya and the last by his teacher Bhāratī Tīrtha.

ADRIS BANERJI.—*Studies on Indian History.* Information is put together about the two little known dynasties that ruled from the 10th century A.C. over parts of Eastern Bengal,—the Candra in Harikela or Vaṅga and the Varmans in Vikramapura.

Anthropological Society of Bombay, Jubilee Volume, 1937

P. CADELL.—*Who are the Descendants of the People of Mohenjo-Daro?*

H. HERAS.—*Tree Worship in Mohenjo-Daro.*

Archiv Orientalni, vol. X, nos. 1-2 (June, 1938)

O. STEIN.—*Śilpaśāstra and Arthaśāstra IV.* This is a comparison of the directions contained in the Śilpaśāstra and the Arthaśāstra regarding the nature and form of the royal palace, the royal camp, stables and mechanical contrivances.

V. LESNY.—*Genealogische Strophen als älteste Bestandteile der epischen Sanskrit-dichtung.*

Ars Islamica, vol. V, pt. 1 (1938)

H. GOETZ.—*Sher Shah's Mausoleum at Sasaram.* The tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram and other connected buildings have been described, and their historical and artistic importance shown in this paper.

Aryan Path, vol. IX, no. 5 (May, 1938)

R. K. Mookerji.—*Education in Ancient India.*

Ibid., vol. IX, no. 7 (July, 1938)

G. HEARD.—*Karma: What its Realisation entails.*

G. R. MALKANI.—*Karma according to Hinduism.*

H. I. A. FAUSSET.—*Karma, Reincarnation and the Individual.*

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Man and Deity in Original Buddhism.*

Ibid., vol. IX, nos. 10 & 11 (Oct.-Nov., 1938)

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Warfare in Ancient India.*

H. G. CIMINO.—*Pharmacy and Fire Therapy in India and Assyria 4000 years ago.*

Brahmavidya, vol. II, parts II-IV

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Ṛgveda-vyākhyā.* Mādhava's commentary on the *Ṛgveda* is being published serially.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bhavasaṃkrāntiśāstra with commentary of Maitreyanātha.* The Tibetan version and an English Introduction are contained in instalments in these three parts of the journal.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra with Devasvāmibhāṣya.* Edited in part 2.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Sāmavedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmin.* The editing of the text continues.

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR.—*Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra with Devasvāmi-bhāṣya.* The English translation of the work has commenced with the 4th part of the journal.

Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, vol. VI, part II (July, 1938)

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Kṛṣṇas of Kerala.* Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* is the foremost among the Kerala Sanskrit writers with the name Kṛṣṇa. Villamaṅgalam (not Vilva°) was the designation of his family. As two other literary men belonging to the same family and bearing the identical name

flourished at different periods, some confusion arises about the Līlāśuka and Villamaṅgala traditions. The writer of this paper tries to distinguish these Kṛṣṇas by giving an account of their lives and works.

P. S. ANANTANARAYANA SASTRI.—*The Praveśaka.* It is a description of a Sanskrit grammar written in verse by Acyuta Pisharoti of Trikkaṇḍiyūr in the 16th century A.C.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*A Primer of Malayalam Phonology.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IV, pt. III

H. W. BAILEY.—*Hvatanica III.* In this instalment of the study is edited a short Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual text containing dialogues between the people of Kaṇṭsou and an Indian bhikṣu, who is represented as about to visit the abode of Mañjuśrī on the five-peaked mountain of U-t'ai-ṣan in China.

ALFRED MASTER.—*A Numismatic Contribution to Middle Indian Phonology.* The Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī legends on the coins of Nahapāna are found transliterated on the reverse in Greek inscription. This transliteration suggests in that period some phonological changes in the loss of final *a,* pronunciation of *ñ* and final *o.*

T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies I.*

Burlington Magazine, LXVIII, nos. 425, 426 (August, September, 1938)

H. GOETZ.—*Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting.* The paper contains a detailed analysis of the representations and misrepresentations of the Eastern themes and places including those of India in the Italian, German and Dutch paintings of four centuries (14th to 17th).

Calcutta Review, April, 1938

D. SEN.—*Pre-historic Cultures and Ancient Rivers in India.*

Ibid., June, 1938

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Viśveśvara, a Bengali Śaiva Saint of the Thirteenth Century.*

Ibid., October, 1938

S. AKHAND.—*Divyoka, a National Hero of Bengal.*

Ibid., November, 1938

PHANIBHUSAN MITRA.—*Introduction to the Philosophy of Kaṇāda.*

KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI.—*Exacavation at Bangarh.*

Dacca University Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (January, 1938)

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Outline of the History of Kaliṅga.* The paper deals with 'the main landmarks in the history of Kaliṅga for a period of more than seven hundred years, from the conquest of Samudragupta to the accession of Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga' in 1078 A.C.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*The Mahāpurāṇas.* The place of the Purāṇas in Hindu literature and the history of their development are discussed.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXII, part VIII

R. R. HALDAR.—*Chirava Inscription of the Time of Samarasiṃha of Mewar (Vikrama Saṃvat 1330).*

Ibid., vol. XXIII, pt. V

G. V. ACHARYA.—*A Grant of Gurjara King Jayabhaṭṭa III: Kalacuri year 486.*

N. G. MAJUMDAR.—*Mallasarul Copper-plate of Vijayasena.*

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Tandikonda Grant of Ammarāja II.*

M. M. NAGAR.—*Fragmentary Inscription of Queen Uddalladevī: V.S. 1294.*

V. V. AIYAR.—*The Vailur Inscription of Kopperunjengadeva.*

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI.—*Sangur Inscription of Yādava Mahādevarāya: Śaka 1168.*

—.—*Sangur Inscription of Devarāya-Mahārāya: Śaka 1329.*

B. CH. CHHABRA.—*A Note on the Tiriyaya Rock Inscription.*

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. III, no. 2 (July, 1938)

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.—*Buddhica.*

Illustrated London News, vol. CXCII, no. 5165 (16th April, 1938)

T. FEIGE.—*Mysterious Statues Found in a Borneo Cave: Relics of Hinduism.*

—.—*Sacred Images Hidden by Hindu Priests.*

Ibid., 23rd July, 1938

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.—*New Light on Buddhist Art: Bronzes from Malayalan Tin-Mines.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. XI, no. 2

RAGINI DEVI.—*Kathakali and the Classical Dance in India.*

PAUL MUS.—*Angkor in the Time of Jayavarman VII.*

M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI.—*Indian Links with Central Asia in Architecture.*

Ibid., vol. XII, no. 1

PERCY BROWN.—*The Art of Nepal*

JEANNINE AUBOYER.—*The Symbolism of Sovereignty in India according to Iconography (Parasols—Thrones).*

K. B. IYER.—*Kathakali, the Classical Dance-Drama of Malabar.*

Ibid., vol. XII, No. 2

YUSUF SYED.—*Paithan Excavations.*

Indian Culture, vol. IV, no. 4 (April, 1938)

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Theime and Pāṇinī.* The writer discusses in detail the *Pragṛhya sūtras* of Pāṇini and puts forward arguments

in reply to the criticism against his thesis that Pāṇini has borrowed from the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* even without understanding what he was appropriating.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Aditi and the Great Goddess.* Passages from the Vedic and Sanskrit literature have been put together in this paper to show that the Vedic deity Aditi has characteristics corresponding to those associated with the Mother Goddess.

HABIBUR RAHMAN KHUNDKAR.—*Pre-Gupta Chronology.*

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*Liṅga Purāṇa.* A discussion on the contents and character of the *Liṅga Purāṇa.*

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*Horse in Pre-Maurya Art.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Mādhva Influence on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.* According to the writer of this note, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas were only partially influenced by the Mādhva system of thought till the time of Jīva Gosvāmin, but Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇ became a close follower of that order and believed that the school of Caitanya directly descended from the Dvaita Philosophy of Madhva.

'ATINDRA NATH BOSE.—*The Date of the Arthaśāstra.* On account of the mention in the *Arthaśāstra* of some words and customs believed to have been prevalent in the 1st century after Christ, the work is assigned to that date.

P C. DHARMA.—*Musical Culture in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The Vissicitudes of the Marriage Age of Girls in Hindu Society.* This is an historical survey of the marriageable age of the Hindu girls, which varied in different periods of the Hindu Society.

B. A. SALETORE.—*Internal Security of the Vijayanagar Empire.*

P. K. GODE.—*Identity of Makkibhaṭṭa, the Author of a Commentary on Śrīpati's Siddhāntaśekhara with Makkibhaṭṭa,* the *Author of a Commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa.*

S. M. KATRE.—*Materials for a Dhātupāṭha of Indo-Aryan.*

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK.—*Vittapāla and Hari.* It is stated in the *Rāmacarita* that Bhīma captured by Rāmapāla was placed under the care of one Vittapāla while Hari continued the battle on behalf of Bhīma. The note identifies Vittapāla with one of the sons of Rāmapāla, and Hari with a son of Bhīma's elder brother.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Some New Light on Shujauddaula's Character and Policy.*

ADRIS BANERJI.—*The Muslim Occupation of Northern India.* The note points out that the conquest of India by the Muslims was not an easy affair, requiring, as it did, nine hundred years of continuous campaigns.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Date of Commencement of the Gāṅgeya Era.* The conclusion arrived at here is that the Gāṅgeya Era commenced on the day following the full-moon of the solar month of Āṣāḍha in the year 496 A.C.

K. P. JAIN.—*The Antiquity of Jainism in South India.* The contention of the writer is that Jainism had been prevailing in South India long before the Jain saints led by Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu in the time of Candragupta Maurya migrated to that region.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The Southern Kekayas.* The epigraphic evidences prove that a ruling dynasty called Kekaya existed also in South India in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore in the middle of the 5th century A.C.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJI.—*Ācārya Vasubandhu, the Teacher of Sthiramati.* The date of Vasubandhu is discussed to show that the Gupta Era is identical with the Vikrama Saṃvat of 58 B.C. and Fleets' epoch is based on wrong calculations.

A. D. PUSALKAR.—*One Bhāsa Verse and its Bearing on the Bhāsa Problem.* A suitable context is suggested in Bhāsa's *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka* for a verse quoted as Bhāsa's composition in the

Abhinavabhāratī, but not found in any of the Trivandrum plays ascribed to that poet

Ibid., vol. V, no. 1, (July, 1938)

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis.* Customs prevalent in South India but not looked upon with favour in other parts of the country have been shown to have the authority of the Dharmaśāstras.

AZIZ AHMAD.—*Central Organization of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Caste of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus.* The Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus of South India are regarded as Brāhmaṇas.

B. C. LAW.—*Telakaṭāhagāthā.* A Pāli poem of 98 stanzas containing religious exhortations showing the ills of the world has been translated here into English with explanatory notes.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*A Jain View of the Origin of Institutions.* How a great many institutions originated with Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, has been related from a legendary account of the Jains.

K. K. BASU.—*The Reign of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (1557 A.D.-1564 A.D.).*

S. K. DE.—*Gopāla Bhaṭṭa.* The paper deals with the life and career of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, one of the six revered Gosvāmins of the Caitanya sect of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJI.—*Some Important Officers of the Sultāns of Delhi.*

KSETRESH CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Theime and Pāṇini.* This is a rejoinder to the reply of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, who believes that Pāṇini has borrowed from the *Ṛkprātiśākhya.*

SUSI[illegible] K. BOSE.—*A New Type of Andhra Coin.*

AMARNATH RAY.—*Viṣṇu Purī, Author of the Bhaktiratnāvali.* The writer maintains that Viṣṇu Purī could not have been a disciple of a Mādhva teacher and that the origin of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavism was not influenced by Madhvaism.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE.—*The Hārāha Inscription of Maukhari Mahārājādhirājā Īśānavarman.* The discussion is followed by the writer's conculsion that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta Era is not correct.

M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI.— *About Anarkali.* The Anarkali tomb is not connected with the burial of any lady of that name.

K. L. BARUA.—*The Gupta Era.* The chronology of the Kāmarūpa kings shows that Mr. Dhirendranath Mookerjee's identification of the Gupta Era with the Vikrama Saṃvat of 58 B.C. cannot be maintained.

Ibid, vol. V, no. 2 (October, 1938)

N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA.—*The Date of the Rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against Sultān Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq. To* be continued.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The History of Svabhāvokti in Sanskrit Poetics.*

B. N. SALETORE.—*The Beḍars in Marāṭha Times.* The Beḍars were uncontrollable wild tribes helping as also harassing the Marāṭha powers in Southern India.

J. C. DE.—*Early (organised) English Traders in Bengal: Their Motives.*

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*The Aryan Colonies of Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Little-known Works of Celebrated Authors.* Descriptive accounts of five mss. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal are given in this note. Of these the *Tattva-kamalākara, Mimāṃsākutūhala* and *Mantrakama-*

lākara are by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and the *Tārāpradīpa* and the *Kālītattva* are by Lakṣmaṇa Deśika and Rāghava Bhaṭṭa.

N. N. Das Gupta.—*Vibhūticandra of the Jagaddala Mahāvihāra.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1938

W. N. Brown.—*An Old Gujarati Text of the Kālaka Story.* A short text entitled *Kālikasūrikathā* containing a version of the well-known Kālaka Story in Old Gujarati has been edited, and translated into English.

Ibid., June, 1938

F. Edgerton.—*Rome and (?) Antioch in the Mahābhārata.* A verse of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā, 31, 72 = Calcutta Ed. ii, 1175) when slightly emended may be interpreted to have a reference to Sahadeva's conquest of Antioch, Rome and Alexandria: अन्ताखीं (?) चैव रोमां च यवनानां पुरं तथा ।

Ibid., September, 1938

S. D. Atkins.—*A Vedic Hymn to the Sun-God Sūrya.*

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. XI, pts. 3 & 4 (January & April, 1938)

N. Venkataramanayya.—*Telugu Literature and History.* That a mass of historical information can be gathered from Telugu literary works has been indicated in the paper and some examples have also been given.

B. V. Krishna.—*The Māṭhara or Pitṛbhakta Kings of Kaliṅga.* Kings belonging to the Māṭhara dynasty with the legend Pitṛbhakta on their seals ruled over Kaliṅga for about 90 years up to the middle of the 5th century A.C. when the imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Andhra appropriated for themselves the sovereignty of Kaliṅga by relegating the Māṭharas to the level of a feudatory family.

R. N. Saletore.—*Features of Bedara Administration in South India.*

M. RAMA RAO.—*The So-called Regency of Śrī Narahari Tīrtha in Kaliṅga.* Narahari Tirtha, a religious teacher of the Madhva school lived in Kaliṅga in the 13th century of the Christian Era . Arguments have been put forward by the writer against Narahari's reputed regency for 12 years over the country of Kaliṅga.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Hindu Music under a Sultān.* The *Saṅgītaśiromaṇi* is a voluminous work dealing with dancing and music, vocal as well as instrumental. It was compiled by various Hindu scholars assembled at a conference held in the year 1429 A.C. under the direct patronage of the Muhammadan ruler of Kaḍa, a city on the Southern bank of the Ganges about 40 miles from Allahabad.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Epigraphic Notes.* Inscriptional evidences show that the reign of the Eastern Cālukya king Rājarājanarendra came to an end in October, 1061 A.C. when Vijayāditya VIII's reign commenced.

—.—*Three Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Reddi Dynasty.* Of the three records published here, one belongs to Kumāragiri of Koṇḍavīḍu and the remainder to his brother-in-law, Kāṭayavema of Rājamāhendranagara.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. III, no. 3
(June, 1938)

V. VRIDHAGIRISAN.—*Rājendra Cola III (A.D. 1246 to 1278).*

R. RAMANUJACHARI AND S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Nyāyakuliśa.* This instalment contains the concluding portion of the elaborate Sanskrit Introduction to Ātreya Rāmānuja's *Nyāyakuliśa*, a work on the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Vēdānta, edited in the previous issues of the journal.

—.—*Nītimālā.* The edition of Nārāyaṇārya's *Nītimālā* is completed.

Ibid., vol., VIII, no. 1 (October, 1938)

A. CHIDAMBARANATH CHETTIAR.—*The Passive Voice in Tamil.*

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhartṛhari à· Pre-Śaṅkara Advaitin.* Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya,* is shown to have been one of the earliest exponents of the doctrines of the advaita system of philosophy before Śaṅkara.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*The Daśaprakaraṇas.* Ten minor philosophical treatises by Madhva dealing with the various aspects of his Dvaita system are termed Daśaprakaraṇas, which have been described in this paper.

R. RAMANUJACHARI AND S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Nyāyakuliśa.* This is an English Introduction to the previously edited *Nyāyakuliśa.*

Journal Asiatique, Tome CCXXIX, Avril-Juin, 1937

L. RENOU.— *Notes sur les origines védiques de Gaṇeśa.*

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. VI, no. 1 (April, 1938)

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Utkocas of Kāmarūpa.* The Utkocas or Kāṃarūpī Rākṣasas mentioned in the Purāṇas lived on the Southern peak of the Devakūṭa mountain. They spoke an impure dialet and were followers of the Varayāna Buddhism. The writer of the note is inclined to think that the Śālastambha dynasty ruling over Kāmarūpa from the seventh to the tenth century belonged to the Utkoca tribe.

K. L. BARUA.—*Human Sacrifices in Assam.*—Sir Edward Gait's inference that human sacrifices were widely prevalent in Assam has been opposed in this note.

R. M. NATH.—*Early Vaiṣṇavism in Kāmarūpa.* It has been shown in the article that the Vāsudeva cult had gained currency in Kāmarūpa long before the advent of Śaṅkaradeva and that it had even been patronised by the State during the reign of Dharmapāla. Owing to the fall of the Pāla dynasty and the rise of Buddhist Tantricism in the country, the progress of the

Vaiṣṇava cult had received a set-back till Śaṅkaradeva came to revive it.

—.—*The Worship of the Jackal and the Dog in India.*

Ibid., vol. VI, no. 2 (July, 1938)

K. L. BARUA.— *Iran and Eastern India.* Legendary accounts in the *Ferista* indicate that in ancient times there was a close relationship between Iran and India. The writer is of the opinion that long before the Aryan invasion, Alpine tribes from Iran had migrated to India and settled along the foot-hills of the Himalayas. The people like the Kalitas or Kaltas of the Assam Valley and Northern Bengal are descendants of these immigrants and the languages spoken in Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa have originated from the Paiśācī tongue of the Alpo-Dinaric race.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. II, no. 2 (1938)

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*History of Buddhism in Tibet.*

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.—*The Meaning of Veda and the Significance of Vedic Yajñas.*

RAJ BALI PANDEY.—*The Purpose of the Hindu Saṃskāras.* The institution of the Hindu religious sacraments have been divided into two classes, one serving the needs of the popular faith and unsophisticated minds, the other originating from the conscious forces governing the development and evolution of society.

K. BHATTACHARYA.—*The Evidence about the Black Hole Tragedy.* An analysis of the contemporary records yields no conclusive testimony to prove the occurrence of the Black Hole Tragedy.

P. N. PATTABHIRAMA SASTRI.—भट्टभास्करयोर्मतभेदः . This paper in Sanskrit discusses the differences in the view-points of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara Miśra, regarding the problems of the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy.

Ibid., vol. II, no. 3 (1938)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Dress and Ornaments of the Hindu Women.* This study of the dress and ornaments of Hindu women of different times and regions is illustrated with plates of representative sculptures and paintings of the past.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*The Hindu Theory of Beauty: A Psychological Approach.*

RAJ BALI PANDEY.—*The Constituents of Hindu Saṃskāras.* Fire, prayer, sacrifice, orientation, symbolism etc. required in the performance of Hindu religious sacraments have been detailed, and taboos observed in that connection have been noted.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Cow in Hindu Life.*

BHAGAWAT SARAN UPADHYA.—*Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa.* Dress, ornaments, articles of toilet, social habits, popular beliefs and superstitions, festive occasions, amusements, morality, furniture and other household necessaries, vechicles and horticulture are the subjects discussed in the paper.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society vol. XXIV, pts. I-II (March-June, 1938)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The History of the Widow's Right of Inheritance.* The whole period of Indian history from the age of the Vedas down to the present times has been laid under contribution for determining the position of widows in Hindu society in regard to their right of inheritance.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Pre-Dravidian, Proto-Dravidian and Dravidian.* The identity of these people has been examined, and problems connected with the theory of their racial continuity in India and difficulties experienced in ascertaining the Dravidian origin of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation have been discussed.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*On the Cult of the Godling Bir Kuār in the Palamau District in Chota Nagpur.*

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—प्रमाणवार्तिकम्. Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika*, an important work on Buddhist logic has been edited from original mss. obtained from Nepal and Tibet.

Ibid., vol., XXIV, pt. III (September, 1938)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Punch-marked Copper Band from Patna* (With Plates).

J. C. GHOSE.—*Antiquity of Gayā.*

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Paternal 'Despotism' in Ancient India.*

A. K. COOMARSWAMY.—*The Pilgrim's Way—A Buddhist Recension.* The Nikāya adaptation of the Brāhmaṇa legend of Rohita is discussed.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV (1938)

H. D. VALENKAR.—*Rgvedic Similes.* With a view to arriving at the true meanings of the Ṛgvedic stanzas through an analysis of their rhetorical aspects, the writer has translated into English and annotated the similes of the Vāmadeva hymns contained in the 4th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda.*

H. HERAS.—*The Tirayars in Mohenjo-Daro.* Tirayars, meaning 'people of the sea', are said to have been mentioned in several inscriptions found in the Indus Valley. By an examination of these inscriptions it has been inferred that the Tirayars, divided into five sections, were a rich tribe in the proto-historic period of India carrying on trade with foreign lands.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. V, no. 2 (July, 1938)

WILHELM GEIGER.—*Contributions from the Mahāvaṃsa to our Knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon.*

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Kaṭāha.* In an attempt to locate the Kaṭāha country mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as also in the Cola records, the writer discusses the connected problems and identifies it with San-fotsi in the kingdom of Kaḍāram-Śrīvijaya.

U. N. GHOSHAL.—*Some Indian Parallels of Lokeśvara Types in Indo-China.*

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka of Aśvaghoṣa.* The *Vādanyāya* mentions a drama by Aśvaghoṣa with the title *Rāṣṭrapāla.* There exists also a Chinese translation of a musical composition by Aśvaghoṣa which is termed *Rāṣṭrapāla.* So, it may be inferred that Aśvaghoṣa did write a play about *Rāṣṭrapāla.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVII, pt. I (April, 1938)

P. C. DHARMA.—*Women during the Rāmāyaṇa Period.* Information has been given about the habits, customs, education, accomplishments, toilette, status and rights of women as can be gleaned from the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

P. L. PAUL.—*Buddhism in Ancient Bengal.*

DASARATHA SARMA.—*Is Candra of the Meherauli Pillar Inscription, Candragupta of the Maurya Dynasty?* The writer is not in favour of identifying the Candra of the inscription with the Maurya emperor.

V. VRIDHAGIRISAN.—*The Yādavarāyas.* This is an account of the feudatory chiefs belonging to the Yādavarāya family that ruled from the 13th to the 14th century over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.—*Tirumalaideva Mahārāya.* Evidences are discussed showing that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, the great emperor of Vijayanagara had crowned his son Tirumala as Yuvarāja when very young, but did not abdicate his throne as written by a Portuguese chronicler.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (from October 1757 to June 1758).

Ibid., vol. XVII, pt. II (August, 1938)

W. H. MORELAND.—*From Gujarat to Golconda in the Reign of Jahangir.* Information regarding the route from Gujarat to Golconda is given from the diaries kept by two Dutchmen who travelled from Masulipatam to Surat and back between the years 1615 and 1617.

S. K. BANERJ.—*Humayun's Religion.* The devout character of the parents, religious traditions in the family, the Shia influence through matrimony and a liberal education together with the beneficial company of his enlightened courtiers contributed much to make Humayun catholic in outlook and tolerant in heart.

D. B. S. REDDI.—*Medicine at the Moghul Court.* The condition of curative treatment detailed here relates Babar and his times.

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR.—*Viceroys of the Nayaks of Madura.*

ABDUL AZIZ.—*Thrones, Chairs and Seats used by the Indian Mughals.*

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (from July 1758 to September 1759).

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XV, part III

R. BRADDEL.—*An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malaya Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca: Pre-Funan.* The story is related from the Kedab Annals how the Indians were introduced into the Malaya Peninsula before the middle of the 3rd century A.C.

C. G. GRIFFITH WILLIAMS.—*Suggested Origin of the Malay Keris and of the Superstitions attaching to it.* The attribution of magical properties to the Malay Keris, a beautiful dagger, is said to have dated from the time of the Hindu-Moslem Wars in Java.

Ibid., vol. XVI, part I

C. N. MAXWELL.—*Language Affinities.* It has been shown that the technique of the Malay speech is related to the Sanskrit of India, the Bantu of Africa and the modern languages of Europe.

Journal of the Music Academy, vols. VI & VII

—.—संगीतसुधा This musical work composed by king Raghunāth in Sanskrit is being edited.

P. K. GODE. *The Chronology of the Works of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala of Karṇāṭaka.* Puṇḍarika who has written several treatises on music has been assigned to the 2nd half of the 16th century A.C.

P. SAMBAMURTI.—*Rāgas in South Indian Music—Their Origin and Evolution.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XII, part I (January-March, 1938)

M. HIRIYANNA.—*Pramāṇa.* The scope and significance of *pramāṇa* in Indian philosophy are discussed.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on the Amarakośa.* Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Amarakośa* lived in Bengal in the beginning of the 16th century. His commentary which has not yet been published is important inasmuch as it mentions a host of authors and works, many of which are little known. An account of some of them has been given here.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*The Founders of Vijayanagara before the Foundation of the City.*

A. SANKARAN.—*Poetry and Rasa.*

P. SREENIVASACHAR.—*The Yādavas of Devagiri—Chronology.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Greater Gītā.* Besides containing several discourses bearing the name *'Gītā,'* the *Mahābhārata* is interspersed with passages diffusing the spirit of the Gītā. A long list of the Gītā treatises is appended to the article.

Ibid., vol., XII, pt. II (April-June, 1938)

R. C. HAZRA.—*Purāṇa Literature as known to Ballālasena.* Ballālasena's remarks on the character and contents of the different Purāṇas as well as the Purāṇa quotations contained in his two works *Dānasāgarā* and *Adbhutasāgara* have been examined in this paper.

R. SATHIANATHIER.—*Historical Notes on the Mudrārākṣasa.* 'The close proximity of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the *Arthaśāstra*, its realistic picture of the maxims and methods of Kauṭilyan statecraft, its administrative terminology, its peeps into the criminal law and social life of the Maurya age, and its outline of the Nanda Candragupta conflict' corroborate the reliability of the tradition preserved in the plot of the drama.

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*The Siddhāntaśloka in the Iṣṭasiddhi.*

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM.—*Chidambaram Inscription of Acyutadeva Rāya.*

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*Ma'bar (from 1311 to 1323 A.D.).* Information has been put together about the political condition of Ma'bar just after the departure of Malik Kāfūr in 1311.

Ibid., vol. XII, part III (July-September, 1938)

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Brāhmaṇic Survivals in Siam.* The Brāhmaṇic influence is traceable in Siamese laws and the rituals in the court ceremonies of Siam.

K. G. SANKAR.—*The True Date of Buddha.* The conclusion reached here is that the Buddha died in 525 B.C.

G. J. SOMAYAJI.—*Some Words Denoting Relationship in the Dravidian Languages.*

M. VENKATARAMAYYA.—*Notes on the Ancient Political Geography of South India.* The country of Aśmaka is the subject-matter of this instalment of the Notes.

T. R. RAMKRISHNA SASTRI.—*Vālmīki, His Mind and Art.*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*History of Pūrvamīmāṃsā Literature.* It is being published as supplement.

Journal of the Osmania University, vol. III.

YUSUF HUSAIN.—*Nadir Shah's Invasion and Nizamu-l-Mulk's Rôle of a Mediator.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1938.

H. D. SANKALIA.—*The Earliest Jain Scriptures in Kāthiāwār.* Some rock sculptures at Dhank in Kathiawar representing figures of the Jain iconography are inferred to have belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Ibid., October, 1938

W. H. MORELAND.—*The Pargana Headman (Chaudhurī) in the Mogul Empire.* The position, emoluments and duties of the Chaudhuri in the times of the Mughal emperors have been ascertained in the paper. At a later time when his executive functions disappeared, the Chaudhuri had connection more with revenue.

E. H. C. WALSH.—*The Image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-Khank Temple at Lhasa.*

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Gopalpur Bricks.* Some bricks discovered long ago at Gopalpur in the United Provinces contain inscribed in them several Buddhist *Sūtras*. A transcription of the unpublished materials has been given here. The inscription is assigned to near about 500 A.C.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, vol. III, 1937, no. 1

SASANKA SEKHAR SARKAR.—*The Social Institutions of the Mālpāhāriās.*

KARUNAKETAN SEN.—*Notes on Rural Customs of Dinajpur District.*

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*A Sculptured Lintel of Gupta Date from Sarnath.*

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA.—*Location of the Land Donated by the Nidhanpur Grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa.* The writer of this note argues in support of his contention that the land donated by the Nidhanpur grant was in a place in Rangpur and not in Sylhet, the findspot of the grants.

P. C. SENGUPTA.—*Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata and their significance.* Some of the time references occurring in the *Mahābhārata* have been interpreted in the paper with the help of astronomy and the Kurukṣetra battle has been assigned to the year 2559 B.C.

Ibid., vol. III, 1937, no. 2

G. V. ACHARYA.—*A Resumé of Numismatic Research in India.*

M. F. C. MARTIN.—*Coins of Kidāra and the Little Kuṣāṇas.*

DURGA PRASAD.—*Observations on different Types of Silver Punch-marked Coins, their Periods and Locale.*

K. N. DIKSHIT.—*A New Coin.* The coin dealt with here belongs to Śivaśrī Āpilaka inferred to have been a scion of the Āndhra family ruling independently over a principality at the north-eastern extremity of the Andhra empire.

G. V. ACHARYA.—*Two Notes, on Western Kṣatrapa Coins, and Valabhi Coins.*

A. S. ALTEKAR.— *The Attribution of the Candragupta-kumāradevī Type.* The writer holds that the coins with figures and names of Candragupta and Kumāradevī supposed by some to have been issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of his father were really issued by Candragupta himself.

AJIT GHOSE.—*The rare Copper Coinage of Kumāragupta I.*

PRAYAG DAYAL.—*Two Gold Coins of Siddharāja (Jayasiṃha).*

C. R. SINGHAL.—*On Certain unpublished Coins of the Sultāns of Mālwa.*

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, vol. XI, part 1 (July, 1938)

N. N. SEN GUPTA.—*Religious Dancing.*

SANTIMAY BANERJI.—*Root Cause of Sher Shah's Attack on Māldeo.* It has been stated in the *Karmacandravaṃśotkīrtanaka*, a Sanskrit poem of the 16th century that Sher Shah had undertaken an invasion of Māḍwāḍ against Māldeo with the object of restoring Kalyānmal to his paternal throne of Bikaner which had been occupied by Māldeo.

HARI DEV PRADHAN.—*Social Economy in the Terai (the Tharus).*

V. S. AGARWALA.—*Ancient Indian Coins as known to Pāṇini.*

Ibid., vol. XI, part II (December, 1938)

VASUDEVA SHARANA AGARWALA—*Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.* This account of the Buddhist pantheon is based specially on the evidence of the Mathura sculpture.

S. K. BANERJI.—*Humāyūn's Flight to Lahore (1540 A.D.)*

P. BASU.—*Some Aspects of the Administration of Oudh under Asafuddaula (1775-1797).*

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*A Forgotten English Expedition against Prithvi Narayan.* The paper treats of the first English expedition to Nepal undertaken in aid of the Newar ruler Jayaprakash Malla who was sieged by the Gurkha chief Prithvi Narayan in 1767.

VASUDEVA S. AGARWALA.—*New Sculptures from Mathura.* A colossal statue of Bodhisattva, a parasol and a group of images with a dedicatory inscription of the 2nd century A.C. have been described.

N. N. DAS-GUPTA.—*A Note on the History of Tea.* Tea is men-

tioned in the Tibetan biography of the Buddhist scholar Atiśa as offered to him for a drink when he visited Tibet in the 11th century A.C.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol VI, part vi (May, 1938)

H. D. VALENKAR.—*Hymns to Indra by the Vāmadevas* (*Rv. 4, 16-32*). Translated and annotated.

V. V. GADGIL.—*The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārikās*. According to the writer, the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* contained in the Āgamaprakaraṇa of the *Gauḍapādakārikās* is a *Śruti* text and some explanatory ślokas therein are very old compositions. The remaining portion of this prakaraṇa together with the other three prakaraṇas is Gauḍapāda's work written in the nature of a commentary and an elaboration of the central doctrine of the Upaniṣad.

P. K. GODE.—*Date of the Vidikavaiṣṇavasadācāra of Hari-kṛṣṇa Miśra—between 1713 and 1744 A.D.*

H. R. KAPADIA.—*Outlines of Palæography* (with special reference to Jain Palæographical data and their evaluation).

M. R. MAJMUDAR.—*A 15th Century Gītagovinda Ms. with Gujarati Paintings.*

Ibid., vol. VII, part I (July, 1938)

H. HERAS.— *The Origin of the Sumerian Writing*. The purpose of the paper is to show that the Sumerian writing is a development of the Mohenjo-Daro signs in pictograph.

B. A. SALETORE.—*The Sthānikas and their Historical Importance*. The status and duties of the Sthānikas as mentioned in various records of different times have been discussed and the changes in their functions taking place with the change of times have been noted.

The Significance of Cauthāi in Maratha History.

Ibid, vol. VII, part II (September, 1938)

S. B. VELANKAR.—*Similes and Metaphors in Ṛgveda.* This is an English translation of Arnold Hirzel's paper in German on the Ṛgvedic similes.

S. A. TENKSHE.—*Viśvādarśa of Kavi Kānta Sarasvatī.* The *Viśvādarśa*, a small work of the 13th century on Dharmaśāstra has been edited.

H. R. KAPADIA.—*The Jaina Manuscripts.*

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Nārāyaṇa the Commentator of the Upaniṣads* (Between 1500 and 1700 A.D.)

Man in India, vol. XVIII, nos. 2 & 3 (April-September, 1938)

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*Caste, Race and Religion in India.* This instalment of the paper deals with the probable contributions of the Alpine racial element to the Indian caste and culture.

DAVID RAY.—*The Place of the Khasi in the World.*

Nagpur University Journal, no. 3.

V. V. MIRASHI.—*An Odd Copper-plate of the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II.*

S. P. CHATURVEDI.—भृङ्गदूतम्. The *Bhṛṅgadūta* of Kṛṣṇadeva written in imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* has been edited with an Introduction.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. I., no. 1 (April, 1938).

S. K. DE.—*The Buddhist Tantrik Literature (Sanskrit) of Bengal.*

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Southern India, Arabia and Africa.*

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Notes on the Kaṭha Upaniṣad.*

Ibid., vol. I, no. 2 (May 1938)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Notes on the Kaṭha Upaniṣad.*

SURENDRA NATH SEN.—*Sambhaji Angria: 1733-1741.*

W. NORMAN BROWN.—*A Manuscript of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra Illustrated in the Early Western Indian Style.*

A. M. GHATAGE.—*Parallel Passages in Daśavaikālika and the Ācārāṅga.*

HELMUTH VON GLASSENAPP.—*Buddhism in the Kāṭhaka-Upanisad?*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XIV, no. III (October, 1938)

B. S. NAIK.—*Theory Prediction in Vedānta.*

R. MAHADEVAN.—*The Conception of Personality in Indian Materialism.*

Polski Biuletin Orientalistyczny (Polish Bulletin of Oriental studies)
Vil-I Tom (1937)

SCHAYER.—*New Contributions to the Problem of the Pre-Hīnayānistic Buddhism.*

M. FALK.—*Indology from the Point of Comparative Religion.*

OTTO STRAUSS.—*The Task of Translating Scholastic Sanskrit Texts.*

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*A Note on Heruka Śambara.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. II, no. 4 (January, 1938)

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Vādirāja Tirtha.* Vādirāja Svāmin, a prolific writer on Dvaita Vedānta of the Madhva School and a disciple of Vyāsarāya has been assigned to the 16th century A.C. and some of his works have been described in the paper.

P. NAGARAJARAO.—*Problems relating to Verbal Testimony with special Reference to Dvaita Vedānta.*

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Some Unpublished Inscriptions of the Caulukyas of Gujarat.* Four inscriptions of the Caulukya kings reigning between the 13th and the 14th centuries of the Vikrama Saṃvat have been published.

R. N. SURYANARAYANA.—*The Exegesis of the Vedas with a special Reference to the 33rd Chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* In this paper which is to be continued, the legend of Śunaḥśepa as found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* have been analysed and given a new interpretation.

Ibid., vol, III, no. 1 (April, 1938)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra.* The turban and the umbrella are considered in this article as attributes and prerogatives of royalty rather than as utilities. Their symbolic significance has also been explained and their effect on iconography discussed.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Some unpublished Inscriptions of the Caulukyas of Gujarat.* Five inscriptions of dates between V.S. 1328 and 1346 are published here. Two of them belong to the reign of Arjunadeva and three to that of Śāraṅgadeva of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat.

PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI.—*Further Light on the Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.* The writer sticks to his opinion that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as available in its printed form could not have been composed earlier than the middle of the 10th century A.C. The fact that the work was abridged by Gauḍa Abhinanda does not stand in the way of fixing this date, because Abhinanda is also assigned to the same century.

Ibid., vol. III, no. 2 (July, 1938)

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*The Date of Umāpati's Pauṣkara-bhāṣya.* Evidences have been adduced to show that Umāpati Śivācārya, the author of the *Pauṣkara-bhāṣya* was different from and later than the author of the *Saṃkarpanirākaraṇa.* He is therefore not earlier than the 16th century A.C.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Some unpublished Inscriptions of the Caulukays of Gujarat.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Other Insufficiently known or Undatable Authors and Anonymous Works in Dvaita Literature.*

M. M. PATKAR—*Muhūrtaratna.* This is a description of a religio-astrological treatise composed by Īśvaradāsa in the reign of Aurangzeb.

—.—*Pratāpakalpadruma:* A work on medicine composed by Ananta for Pratāpasiṃha of Jaipur in 1792 A.C.

V. V. SOVANI.—*History of Guṇas in Alaṃkāra.*

Ibid., Vol. III, no. 3 (October, 1938)

SITARAM J. JOSHI.—*Śrī Dyā Dviveda—His place in Sanskrit Literature.* The profundity of Dyā Dviveda's scholarship is shown by a reference to his work *Nītimañjarī* which he composed in the year 1494 A.C. with a view to propounding some moral maxims through the help of the legends associated with the *Ṛgveda.*

FATAH SINGH.—*Agni and Soma—Celestial and Terrestrial.*

M. M. PATKAR.—*Moghul Patronage to Sanskrit Learning.* Several Sanskrit works composed under the patronage or during the reigns of Akbar and his three successors are described here.

P. K. GODE.—*Manuscripts of Commentaries on the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra.* The importance of a ms. of Yogghama's commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* is indicated in this note. The commentary is called *Nītinirṇīti.* The ms. in a fragment containing the first Adhikaraṇa and a portion of the second is deposited in the Saṅghavī Pāḍā Bhandar at Pattan.

Prabuddha Bharata, June, 1938

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Woman's Place in Hindu Religion.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXIX, no. 1. (July 1938)

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*History of Devotional Literature in Kannada.*

K. S. VIDYANATHAN.—*The Chronology of the Eastern Caulukyas.*

সাহিত্য-পরিষৎ-পত্রিকা

(Journal of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad), vol. XLV, no. 3

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY.—বৈদিক কৃষ্টির কাল-নির্ণয় (*The Age of the Vedic Culture*). Following the lines of Tilak and Jacobi, the writer assigns the Vedas to a greater antiquity. He shows that there are pieces of astronomical evidences in the *Ṛgveda* which point to different dates from the 9th to the 4th millennium B.C.

Visvabharati Quarterly, vol. IV, part II (August-October, 1938)

RENÉ GUINON.—*The Fifth Veda.* This is an English translation of Guinon's thesis on the Tantras in French with a foreword by David Mac Iver. The author is a supporter of Hindu traditional doctrines against modern scientific conclusions of the West.

MANILAL PATEL.—*A Study of Ṛgveda X, 71.*

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band 91, Heft 2

F. W. THOMAS.—*A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script.*

Ibid., Band 92, Heft 1

HEINRICH LÜDERS.—*Daśanāmaka.* A discussion on Vasantasenā's ten names uttered by Śakāra in the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika.*

JOSEF FRIEDRICH KOHL.—*Der Zodiak des Śiva-temples in Fort von Trichinopoly.*

PAUL THIEME.—*Ein iranisches Kulturlehnwort in der Vedischen Prosa?*

Bibliographical Notes

The Malers of the Rajmahal Hills by Sasankasekhar Sarkar. Calcutta 1938.

Slavery through the Ages by George Macmann. London 1938.

The Human Family and India by G. H. Mees. Bombay 1938.

A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri by M. Muhammad Ashraf Husain edited by H. L. Srivastava. Delhi.

Report on the Administration of the Archæological Department and the Summer Public Library, Government of Jodhpur, vol. XI. Jodhpur.

Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March, 1935. Madras 1938.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1933-34. Hyderabad.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1936. Bangalore 1938.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Baroda State, for 1936-37 by Hirananda Sastri. Baroda 1938.

Travancore Archæological Series, vol. VIII: Text of Inscriptions by R. V. Poduval. *Trivandrum* 1938.

A Guide to Sculptures in the Indian Museum, part II: The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra by N. G. Majumdar. Archæological Survey of India. Delhi.

Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa by A. H. Longhurst. Delhi 1938.

Buddha and Bodhisattva in Indian Sculpture by Raghu Vira and Chikyo Yamamoto. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1938.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1935-36. edited by J. F. Blakiston. Delhi 1938.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India:

No. 49 *Bijapur Inscriptions.*

No. 52 *A Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi.*

No. 56 *The Ānanda Temple at Pagan.*

No. 58 *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* by Bimala Churn Law. Government of India. Delhi.

Indian Sculpture and Painting by K. Khandalawala. Bombay 1938.

Indian Temples by O. Bruhl and S. Lévi. London.

Studies in Chinese Art and some Indian Influences (Lectures) by J. Hackin, O. Siren, L. Warner and P. Pelliot. London 1938.

Les Toiles Imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan by R. Pfister. Paris 1938.

A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam by R. Le May. Cambridge 1938.

Two Lamaistic Pantheons from materials collected by the late Baron A. von Staël Holstein. (2 vols.) Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass.

Indian und China (Art of construction and plastic) by Alfred Nawrath. Vienna 1938.

Buddhist Bibliography (Annual Supplement III) by A. C. March. London 1938.

Gautama the Buddha by S. Radhakrishnan. Oxford 1938.

Mahāyāna Buddhism by B. L. Suzuki. London 1938.

The Buddha's Secret by R. Daniel. London 1938.

Two Buddhist Books in Mahāyāna:

(1) *The Vow of Samantabhadra,* (2) *An Outline of the Land-doctrine* translated into English by Miss P. C. Lee. Hongkong.

उदान translated from the original Pāli into Hindi by Bhikṣu Jagadis Kasyap. Sarnath 1938.

Le Traité de l'acte de Vasubandhu (*Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*) by Étienne Lamottee.

La Somme du Grand Véhicule (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*) *d'Asaṅga:*

Traduction et Commentaire (chaps. 1 & 2) par Etienne Lamotte. Louvain 1938.

Zen Buddhism and its Influence on Japanese Culture by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Kyoto 1938.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine (les traducteurs et les Traductions), vol. II[e] par Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. Paris 1938.

What was the Original Gospel in Buddhism? by Mrs. Rhys Davids. London 1938.

Abhidhammapiṭaka with an essay on the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* by Nyāṇatilaka. Bombay 1938.

Dhāraṇī Texte (Kleinere) by Y. Iwamoto. Kyoto.

Vinaya-piṭaka (vol. I) translated into English by I. B Horner. London 1938.

Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, part III: *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. London 1938.

Samādhirājasūtra (Three chapters) edited by K. Régamey. Warsaw 1938.

Zum soghdischen Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra by Fr. Weller. Leipzig 1937.

A Buddhist Bible (2nd Edition) by D. Goddard. Colombo 1938.

La vie de Marpa suivie d'un chapitre de l'Avadāna de l'oiseau Nīla-kaṇṭha-Tibetan Text with French translation by Jacques Bacot. Paris 1937.

जैन बौद्ध तत्त्वज्ञान by Shital Prasad. Surat 1938.

Samantapasādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*) edited by J. Takakasu and Makoto Nagai. London 1938.

Papañcasudani (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*), part V, Suttas 131-153 edited by I. B. Horner. London 1938.

গৌতম বুদ্ধ by Bimala Churn Law. Calcutta 1938.

Mediæval Jainism with special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire by B. A. Saletore. Bombay 1938.

औपपातिकसूत्रम् of Caturdaṃśa Pūrvadhara with the Vṛtti of Abhayasūri edited by Droṇācārya. Bombay 1938.

प्रशस्ति संग्रह (Jain) compiled by Amritalal Maganlal. Ahmedabad 1938.

The Numeral Signs of the Mohenjo-Daro Scripts by A. S. C. Ross. Delhi 1938.

Decimal Tables for the Reduction of Hindu Dates from the Data of the Sūryasiddhānta by W. E. van Wijk. Hague 1938.

The Cōḷas, vol. II, by Nilakanta Sastri. University of Madras 1937.

थोरले माधवराव पेसवे (Life of Peswa Madhavrao I) by Sakharam Achyut Sahasrabuddhe. Bombay 1938.

The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad Bin Tughluq by Agha Mahdi Husain. London 1938.

A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa c. 200-625 A.D. by Bhavaraj Venkata Krishnarao. Rajahmundry 1938.

Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas by C. Minakshi. University of Madras 1938.

Humayun Badshah by Sukumar Banerji. London 1938.

The Grand Rebel: an Impression of Shivaji, the Founder of the Maratha Empire by D. Kincaid. London 1937.

हर्षवर्द्धन (in Hindi) by Gaurishankar Chatterji. Allahabad 1938.

Tripura Buranji edited by S. K. Bhuan. Gauhati 1938.

Buranjis (a chronicle of Jayantia) with chapters on the political relations of Assam with Cachar, Khyrim & Bhutan edited by S. K. Bhuan. Gauhati 1937.

Assam Buranji (1648-1681) edited by S. K. Dutta. Shillong 1938.

English Records of Maratha History—

Poona Residency Correspondence,

Vol. 3: *The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-1793* edited by N. B. Ray.

Vol. 4: *Maratha-Nizam Relations, 1792-1795* edited by V. G. Dighe.

Vol. 5: *Nagpur Affairs, 1781-1820* edited by Y. M. Kale. Bombay 1937, 1938.

Vedic India, part I (Aryan Expansion over India) by V. Rangacharya. History of Pre-Musalman India, vol. II. Madras.

Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation from Pre-historic Times to the Present day by A. S. Altekar. Benares 1938.

Greeks in Bactria and India by W. W. Tarn. Cambridge 1938.

Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity by H. N. Sinha. London 1938.

Outlines of Islamic Culture (2 volumes) by A. M. A. Shustery. Bangalore 1938.

Baharistān-i-gaybi of Mīrzā Nāthān (A history of the Mughal wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan) translated from the original Persian by M. J. Borah (2 vols.). Gauhati 1937.

Armenians in India from the Earliest Times to the Present day by J. Mesrorb Seth. Calcutta.

Islam in the World by Zaki Ali. Lahore 1938.

India in Portuguese Literature by E. M. Pope. Hyderabad.

Founders of Vijayanagara by S. Srikantaya. Bangalore 1938.

The Content of Indian and Iranian Studies by H. W. Bailey. Cambridge University Press 1938.

The Aryan Trail in Iran and India by Nagendranath Ghosh. University of Calcutta.

The Crescent in India—A Study in Mediæval History by Sri Ram Sarma. Bombay 1938.

Ancient India, vol. 1, by Tribhubandas L. Shah. Baroda 1938.

Der Vedische Mensch: Studien. zur Selbstau ffassung des Inders im Ṛg und Atharva-veda by R. N. Dandekar. Heidelberg 1938.

History of Hidu Mathematics, part II: Algebra by Bibhutibhusan Datta and A. N. Singh. Lahore 1938.

Futuh-us-Salatin—A Political History of the Sultans of India (A.D. 1000-1349) in Persian by A. Mahdi Husain. Agra 1938.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1933-34 (Supplement). Delhi.

Rāmāyaṇa in China: (i) *Jātaka of an unnamed King,* (ii)*Nidāna of King "Ten Luxeries"* translated into English from the Chinese by Chikyo Yamamoto. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1938.

Art and Archæology Abroad by Kalidas Nag. University of Calcutta 1938.

Studies in Indonesian Culture: Oirata, A Timorese Settlement in Kisar by J. P. B. De Josselin De Jong. Amsterdam 1937.

Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) by Sadananda. Calcutta 1938.

Early Persian Poets of India (A.H. 431-679) by Iqbal Husain. Patna University 1937.

Panjabi Ṣūfī Poets (A.D. 460-1900) by Lajwanti Ramakrishna. London 1938.

Court Poets of Iran and India by R. P. Masani. Bombay 1938.

Kālidāsa, vol. II: his genius, ideals and influence by K. S.Ramaswami Sastri. Srirangam.

Studies in Dhvanyāloka (Reign of Rasa in Sanskrit Criticism) by P. S. Subbarama Pattar. Trichur 1938.

Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Poetics in their Historical Development by P. C. Lahiri. Dacca.

Przyczynki do badañ nad Dziejami Redakcyj Rāmāyaṇy (contributions a L'Historie des Recensions du *Rāmāyaṇa*) by Eugeniusz Sluszkiewiscz. Krakow 1938.

A Critique of Nannichōḍadeva's Kumārasambhava by S. Lakshmipati. University of Madras 1937.

Stillistische Studie over Atharvaveda, I-VII by J. Gonda. Wageningen 1938.

चन्द्रालोकः (Poetics) of Jayadeva with a commentary edited by Anantaram Sastri. Benares 1938.

काव्यानुशासनम् of Hemacandra edited by Rasiklal Parikh with Sanskrit Notes (2 vols.). Ahmedabad 1938.

साहित्यदर्पणः of Viśvanātha with two commentaries edited by Karunakara. Lahore 1938.

Mṛcchakaṭika translated into English by Revilo Pendleton Oliver. Urbana 1938.

Meghadūta and Ṛtusaṃhāra of Kālidāsa (Text and French Translation) translated and annotated by R. H. Assier de Pompignan. Paris 1938.

हंससन्देश (Poem) edited by K. Sambasiva Sastri. Trivandrum 1938.

कृष्णकर्णामृतम् (of Līlāśuka) with Sanskrit commentaries of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Caitanyadāsa and Kṛṣnadāsa Kavirāja edited by Susil Kumar De. Dacca 1938.

महाभारतम् (उद्योगपर्व) edited by S. K. De. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1937.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms (Selections from the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Epics, Purāṇas etc.) translated into English by V. Raghavan. Madras 1938.

सूक्तिमुक्तावली (जल्हनकृता) edited by Embar Krishnamacharya. Baroda 1938.

रामायणम्(Vālmīki's Text in all its recensions) edited by Raghu Vira. Fascicule I. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1938.

श्रीमद्भागवतम् (2 vols.) edited by T. R. Krishnamachariar. Madras 1937.

राक्षसकाव्यम् of Kālidāsa edited with a commentary by Navakisorak Sastri. Benares 1938.

चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका edited by Trivikrama Tīrtha with Introduction by A. Avalon. Tantric Texts. London 1938.

L'Inde et e'Orient classique (Text et album) by G. Combaz. Paris 1938.

Hymnes et prières du Veda Text translated into French by L. Renou. Paris 1938.

रामचरितम् edited with Bengali Translation by Ayodhyanath Vidyavinod. Calcutta B.S. 1344 (1938).

वाररुचनिरुक्तसमुच्चयः edited by C. Kunhan Raja. University of Madras. 1938.

ऋग्वेदसंहिता with commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava (vol. I) edited by Lakshman Sarup. Lahore 1938.

अथर्ववेदसंहिता (Paippalāda Recension) compiled by Raghu Vira. Lahore 1938.

जैमिनीयब्राह्मणम् (Part I) edited by Raghu Vira. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1937.

जैमिनीयसामवेदसंहिता edited by Raghu Vira. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1938.

भाषाशास्त्रप्रवेशिनी (Compartive Philology in Sanskrit) by R. S. Venkatarama Sastri. Madras 1938.

जैनसिद्धान्तकौमुदी—स्वोपज्ञार्थप्रकाशिकाव्याख्योपेता (A Grammar of Ardhamāgadhī Prākrit) by Ratna Chandraji Jain Muni. Lahore 1938.

A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language by Wilhelm Geiger. Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. Colombo 1938.

Evolution of Awadhi (a branch of Hindi) by Balaram Saksena. Allahabad 1938.

हैमप्रकाशमहाव्याकरणम् edited by U. Krishnavijaya Gani. Bombay.

Prākṛtānuśāsana of Puruṣottama with French translation and notes by L. Nitti Dolci. Paris 1938.

Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, vol. II by G. Morgenstierne. Oslo 1938.

Introduction to Ardhamāgadi by A. M. Ghatage. Kolhapur 1938.

Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya, vol. III: English Translation by Mangal Deva Sastri. Lahore.

पाणिनीयशिक्षा (Phonetics) edited by Manomohan Ghosh. University of Calcutta 1938.

Das indogermanische Neujahrsopfer im Veda by J. Hertel, Leipzig 1938.

Les Grammairiens Prakrits by L. Nitti Dolci. Paris 1938.

Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda by Paul Theime. Leipzig 1938.

Indian Realism by Jadunath Sinha. London 1938.

La philosophie in Orient by P. Masson-Oursel. Paris 1938.

Śaivasiddhānta in the Meykaṇḍa Śāstra by Violet Paranjoti London 1938.

Upaniṣads for the Lay Reader by C. Rajagopalachari. New Delhi 1938.

Ten Principal Upaniṣads translated into English by Purohit Swami. 2nd Ed. London 1938.

Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion (2 vols.) by Sadhu Santinatha. Amalner 1938.

Māyāvāda or Non-dualistic Philosophy (Vedānta) by Sadhu Santinatha. Poona 1938.

Sādhanā or Spiritual Discipline by Sadhu Santinatha. Poona 1938.

Great Cremation Ground (Mahāśmaśāna: A Dissertation on Indian Philosophy) by Elizabeth Sharpe. London 1938.

Contribution to the Problem of Time in Indian Philosophy by St Schayer. Krakow 1938.

Thought and Reality: Hegelianism and Advaita by P. T. Raju. London.

Aphorisms of Yoga of Patañjali translated into English by S. Purohit Swami. London 1938.

Yoga of the Bhagavadgitā by Sri Krishnaprem. London 1938.

ब्रह्मसूत्रपाठः with Word Index edited by S. K. Belvalkar. Poona 1938.

Himālayas of the Soul Principal Upaniṣads translated into English by J. Mascaró. London 1938.

Nirguṇa School of Hindi Poetry by Pitambar Datta Barthwal. Benares 1938.

Oriental Mysticism (A Treatise on Sufistic and Unitarian Theosophy of the Persians) compiled from the Native sources by E. H. Palmer. 2nd Edition. London 1938

अद्वैतसिद्धिः (गुरुचन्द्रिकोपेता), vol. II edited by M.S. Vasavalingayya. Oriental Library Publications—Sanskrit Series. University of Mysore.

The Philosophy of Advaita with special Reference to Bharatitīrtha Vidyāraṇya by T. M. P. Mahadevan. London 1938.

Foundations of Living Faiths by Haridas Bhattacharya. Calcutta 1938.

Unsterblichkeit und Erlösung in den indischen Religionen by H. Glasenapp. Halle 1938.

Evolution of the Ṛgvedic Pantheon by Akshay Kumari Devi. Calcutta 1938.

उद्धारकोशः (तान्त्रिकमन्त्राभिधानम्) of Dakṣiṇāmūrti edited by Raghu Vira and Shodo Taki. Sarasvatī Vihāra Series. Lahore 1938.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, vol. XI for 1936. Leiden 1938.

Catalogue of the India Office Library, vol. 2, pt. 2: *Sanskrit Books* by Prana Natha and J. B. Chaudhuri. London 1938.

Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan compiled from Notes of C. D. Datal by Lalchand Bhagawandas Gandhi (vol. I. Palm-leaf Mss.) Oriental Institute. Baroda, 1938.

देशीनाममाला of Hemacandra (2nd Edition) with Introduction and Notes by Venkata Ramanujaswami. B. O. R. Institute, Poona 1938.

तन्त्राभिधानम् with *Bijanighaṇṭu, Bījābhidhāna, Mantrārthābhidhāna, Varṇabījakośa* and *Mudrānighaṇṭu* edited by P. Bhattacharya. (2nd Ed.) Calcutta.

Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol, II by G. P. Malalasekera. London 1938.

Hōbōgirin (Dictionnarie encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'apries les sources chinoises et japonoises), fasc. 3: Bussokuseki-chi. Paris.

A Dictionary of Sinhalese Language, vol. I, pt. 3. Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. Colombo 1938.

Verse Index to the Bhagavadgītā compiled by W. Kirfel. Leipzig 1938.

An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language, vol. I, pt. 1 by Gnana Prakasar. Ceylon 1938

Encyclopaedia of Islam (abridged edition) London 1938.

Encyclopædia Mundarika vols. 11 &12 (P &R) by Hoffmann and Emdin. Patna 1938.

नानार्थसंग्रहः of Ajayapāla edited by T. R. Chintamoni. Madras University 1937.

Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā of Vāgbhaṭa (pts. 5 & 6) ausdem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übertragen mit einleitung anmarkungen und indices von Luise Hilgenberg und Willibald Kirfel. Leiden 1938.

चरकसंहिता edited with Notes by Taradatta Pant. Benares 1938.

आयुर्वेददर्शनम् with a commentary by Narayandatta Tripathi. Indore 1938.

भावप्रकाशः of Bhāvamiśra edited with a Hindi commentary by Brahmasankar Misra with Botanical Notes by Ruplal Vaisya (part 1). Benares 1938.

रसेन्द्रसारसंग्रहः of Gopālakṛṣṇa edited with a Hindi Commentary by Prayagdatta Joshi. Benares 1938.

वैद्यकपरिभाषाप्रदीपः of Govind Sena edited with a Hindi commentary by Prayagdatta Joshi. Benares 1938.

Drapsa: the Vedic Cycle of Eclipses by R. Shamasastry. Mysore 1938.

जैनज्योतिर्ग्रन्थसंग्रहः edited by Kshamavijay Gani. Bombay 1938

काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयतन्त्रम्) with Introduction by Hemraj Sarma edited by Jadavji Trikamji and Samanātha Sarma. Nepal Sanskrit Series, No. 1. Bombay 1938.

संग्रहचूडामणिः (A treatise on Music in Sanskrit by Govinda) edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Adyar 1938.

The Rāgas of Karnatic Music by N. S. Ramachandran. University of Madras. 1938.



Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

INDEX

Abhidhāna-Rājendra, connotations of official titles explained in, 837ff.

Abhiṣeka-lakṣmī, numismatic representation of, 305

Ābhyudayika, worship of mother in rituals of, 829

Aditi, great goddess, 272

Advaita, dates of writers on philosophy of, 401-7; chronology of ācaryas of, 408

Adverbs, history of the formation of, 121ff ; in -taram, -tarām, 121-36

Āgamaśāstra (of Gauḍapāda), Buddha's silence about dhammas and jñāna mentiond in, 392f., 397

Agathokles, Indian female figure on copper coins of, 30

Aggabodhi III (Ceylonese ruler), Indian soldiers in service of, 511

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa characteristic of Vairājya in, 372; types of government in, 371ff.

Akalaṅka, Sureśvara earlier than, 401

Akbar, agricultural policy of, 714ff.; adoption of *Nasaq* by, 707; assessment and land revenue under, 705-34; collection of land revenue, systematised by, 725f.; condition of cultivators in time of, 723; experiments in revenue system made by 706; introduction of *Taqsim-ul-Mulk* by, 708; Muqaddam an official of, 714; position of Jagirdar in time of, 714-15; relation between state and cultivator in time of, 723; survey and measurement introduced by, 725; various revenue systems in operation in provinces of, 715-23, *Zabti* system introduced by, 709

Ali Quli Khan, career, of 817f.; murder of, 818; Nurjahan's marriage with, 817; See Sher Afghan

Aliwardi, discontent among officers in the army of, 90; relation of Raja Ramnarain with, 79-80, 83; services of Hindus preferred by, 757

Al'-Ma'mun, Chitor invaded by, 813, 815

Amaramāṇikya, Vaikuṇṭhavijaya written by, 745

Āṇ = Liṅga, 251

Ānandagiri, Anantānandagiri distinguished from, 406f.; identification of, 405; works attributed to, 407

Anantamāṇikya, Gandharvamāṇikya succeeded by, 741

Anantānandagiri, date of, 407

Ancient India, five divisions of, 747; identification of place-names of, 747-56; practice of divorce in, 666; widow in, 661-79

Angkor Thom, Causeway of Giants at, 607-12

Antarābhava, 812

Antialkidas, Indra on tetradrachm of, 298

Anupubbābhisamaya, views of Sarvāstivādins about, 805ff

Anuśayas, nature of, 809

Apadeśaśatakam, Candramāṇikya's century of gnomic verses in, 745

Āpastamba, remarriage of widow prohibited in, 665

Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra, rules of naming prescribed in, 229

Arabs, conflict of Pratihāras with, 815; Rajputana invaded twice by, 816

Arcot, immediate effect of capture of, 551f.; Nawab Muhammad Ali and siege of, 545-52

Arhat, 49, 51f.

Arhathood, Sarvāstivādins and Theravādins about, 120, 800-803

Aryans, Mohenjo-Daro and, 327-330

Asaṃskṛta, 112

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, Caitya sacri-

fice mentioned in, 444ff.; rules of naming mentioned in, 229
Ātman, 52
Avantivarman, date of, 596
Avijjā, saṃkhārā and, 113
Avyākṛta, 812
Azes, c ty goddess on coins of, 304; figure of Durgā-siṃhavāhinī on coins of, 305ff.
Azilises, abhiṣeka-lakṣmī on, 305; tutelary deity on coins of, 304
Bairām Khan, place of Mubarik's stabbing of, 456
Balahajātaka, Tun-huang manuscript containing version of, 399
Bālāji Bāji Rāo, 88
Ballāla II, Pāṇḍyas attacked by, 617f.; Kalacuryas and Kadambas defeated by, 618f.
Barabuḍur stūpa, 16
Basantaram, see Raja Ramnarain
Bashar, date of invasion of Chitor by, 816; invasion of Chitor by, 816
Baudhāyanīya Gṛhyaśeṣa-sūtra, rules of nāmakaraṇa in, 233-34
Becoming, meaning of, 811ff.
Bedara, defeat of the Dutch at, 536
Bengal, early Gupta kingdom in, 535; the Dutch in, 536-44; Nawab of, 91
Bhadrabāhu, commentator, 432
Bhāmaha, nature of bhāvika considered by, 787
Bhartṛhari, date of, 401
Bhāskara (vedantin), date of, 401
Bhāsa, question about genuineness of plays ascribed to, 633ff.; repetitions in plays of, 634-36; quoted passages not found in works of, 637-40; hall containing statues of ancestors described by, 646ff.
Bhava, evolution of Buddhistic meaning of, 311; original sense of, 312
Bhavabhūti, Śaṅkara earlier than, 401
Bhāvika, Bhāmaha's opinion about, 789; discussions in works of poetics on, 787-89; distinction between svabhāvokti and, 797
Bheda, explanation of, 265ff.
Bhīmadeva, Cāhamāna king, 571
Bhīmāsthāna, Bhīṣaṇā identified with, 752
Bhīṣaṇā, identification of, 751f.
Bhillama (Yādava king), death of, 625f.
Bhoja, Silhāra prince, 629
Bhuias, Gandharvamāṇikya's inclusion in the galaxy of, 741; Gandharvamāṇikya regarded as one of, 741
Bhulua, accounts of the chiefs of, 737-49; foundation of Śūra kingdom at, 737; literary works of the rulers of, 743-46
Bhumaka, 142
Bijjala, usurpation of, 614f.
Brahman, 52; idea of Īśvara and, 291; identity of Jīva with, 290
Brāhmī Inscription in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, 158-166
Bṛhaspatimitra, king of Magadha, 479; Khāravela's contemporaneity with, 484
Bṛhatkathā, Pañcatantra stories in, 65; version of, 57
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, see Kathāsaritsāgara
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and Kathāsaritsāgara, difference in proper names of, 71-73; divergence in stories of, 70-71
Bṛhatkathāśloka-saṃgraha, 57
Buddha, interpretation of original teaching of, 312f.; non-existence of jñāna and dharma according to, 393; significance of four bowls of, 7
Buddhibalasaptaka, date of, 275; game of double-handed chess dealt with in, 276
Budhagupta, date of, 533
Caityas, origin and early history of, 440-51; Brahmanic literature mentioning, 440-47; Buddhist and Jaina adoption of, 448ff. etymology and meaning of, 440-442
Cāhamānas, importance of Pṛthvirājavijaya in the reconstruction of history of, 844
Cālukyas, fall of, 621f.
Candrācārya = Candragomin, 256

Candragomin, 256-60; Buddhistic honorific of, 258; Cāndra school founded by, 256; date of, 257; different writers bearing name of, 288; early life of, 258f.; works of, 259

Candragupta I, Caṇḍasena of Kaumudimahotsava not to be identified with, 586ff.; Vaisāli conquered by, 535

Candragupta II, brother's widow married to, 670

Candramāṇikya, Apadeśaśatakam written by, 745; Vijayamāṇikya successor of, 745

Cāndra-school, Candragomin founder of, 256

Cāndra Vyākaraṇa, 260

Candraśekhara, Caitanya's disciple identified with, 579; Sūrjanacarita written by, 578f.

Caturaṅgadīpikā, authorship of, 275; game of chess described in, 275, 278, 279

Caturaṅgakerali, 279

Caturaṅgakrīḍana, 279

Caturaṅgapaddhati, 278

Caturaṅgaprakāśa, 279

Caturaṅgaracanā, author of, 277

Caturaṅgataraṅgiṇī, game of chess described in, 275

Caturaṅgavinoda, 277

Central Asia, early Chinese ambassadors in, 492ff.

Ceylon (Mediaeval), army and war in, 511-31; constituents of army in, 516f.; fortified camps in, 528ff.; naval battles in, 527f.; spies in 523f.; weapons in, 518ff.

Chanda Sahib (Nawab of Arcot), English attack on, 545ff.

Chang Ch'ien, Chinese envoy, 492ff.

Caula, rite of, 826

Chess, Sanskrit works on game of, 275-79; Triveṅgācārya's proficiency in, 279

China, beginning of intercourse between India and, 382; derivation of name of, 380; different names for, 381; early Indian contacts with, 416-502; early Sanskrit texts referring to, 380, 387; exchange of commodities between India and, 500ff.; maritime relations between India and, 384-87; Sanskrit *cina* as origin of name of, 310f.; temple Mṛgaśikhāvana for use of priests from, 532; Ts'in dynasty responsible for designation of, 381f.

Cīna, designation of China derived from, 380f.

Citrapaṭa, Jaina divinities in pre-Mughal, 430-31; mystic diagram of the Jainas illustrated in, 426; pre-Mughal specimen of, 425-31

Citsukha, date of, 404; different persons bearing name of, 404

Cochin, ancient history of, 503-10

Coin, bi-lingual, 295; cock on, 294; elephant on, 294, 301; Indian elements in devices of, 293-308

Colas, Pāṇḍyas fighting against, 631

Cosmos-house, 13ff., 55

Dahar, Muhammad bin Kasim's conquest over, 813

Dakṣiṇāpatha, ancient names of rivers flowing through, 780; early mention of countries belonging to, 779, 783; Purāṇic evidences regarding extent of, 780

Dalapati Rāya, patron of, 156f.

Daṇḍin, date of, 674

Daśakālika, Daśavaikālika as later name for, 437, 438; explanation of title of, 438

Daśavaikālika Sūtra, title of, 432-39; traditional story about composition of, 435-6

Dastur, meaning of, 709

Dattakhāsa, revolt against social reforms introduced by, 563

Deccan, struggle for supremacy in, 613-32; fall of Cālukya power in, 614ff.

Definition, function of *jātis* in, 354; function of *sādṛśya* (similarity) in, 358ff.

Demetrios, Indian feature in coins of, 295

Devara, meaning of, 663
Devasabhā, parts of Dewas State identified with, 747; places in the division of, 748
Devavarma, identification of, 534
Dhanyamāṇikya, Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya succeeded by, 744
Dharma, Buddha's silence about existence of, 393f.; relation between dharmin and, 356; true nature of, 396
Dharmas. See Khandhas.
Dharmakīrti, Saṅkara's contemporaneity with, 401
Dhava, meaning of, 661
Dhruvadevī, re-marriage of, 670
Dhruvānanda, a work on family history written by, 562
Dinika, derivation of, 138
Divyamālikā (on chess), 278
Dome, ideology of the construction of, 17; Rgvedic reference to, 2ff.; symbolism of, 1-56
Durgā-Simhavāhini, numismatic representation of, 306
Durlabhaka, marriage of another's wife with, 670
Durlabhanārāyaṇa, Tippera king's conflict with, 738
Dutch, Bengal visited by, 536ff.
Dvairājya, Aristotle on, 373; meaning of, 367ff.
Dveṣa, characteristic of, 287
Ekānaṃśā, description of goddess of, 906
Espionage, Ramnarain making use of system of, 761
Erlangga (king), statue of, 651
Eukratides, types of coin used by, 295
Folk Goddesses of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 101-109
Gaja-Lakṣmī, numismatic representation of, 305
Gaṇapati, inscriptional dates re., 340-343
Gaṇeśa (Raja), Hindu revival in time of, 563
Gandharvamāṇikya, copperplate grant of, 740; Isā Khān and Kedāra Rāya contemporaneous with, 741; penegyrics on military exploits of, 739
Gañjiphākhelana, game of card described in, 277
Gauḍapāda, interpretation of a line from Āgamaśāstra of, 392-97; Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and Kārikās of, 564ff.; similarity between Vedānta and Buddhism shown by, 568f.
Ghalla Bakhsh, land revenue system of assessment made by, 713
Gilgit, manuscript of Vinaya piṭaka from, 409-24
Giridhara, work on game of chess written by, 277
Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra, rules of naming prescribed in, 230
Gotamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, 138
Guhila Khommāna II, Arab invasion repulsed by, 813; confederacy with Nāgabhaṭa II and Govindarāja formed by, 816; date of, 814
Gujrat, characteristics of sculpture in, 556f.; pre-Mughal citrapaṭa from, 425-31; sculpture in, 553f., 561
Guṇāḍhya, 57
Guptas (Imperial), early home of, 532-35; territories possessed by 534f.
Gurutva, meaning of, 285
Hāmīr, widow married by, 671
Hamīradeva (Cāhamāna prince), career of, 574ff.
Haribhadra, commentator, 432f.
Hāritī, spread of worship of, 104
Harṣacarita (work of Bāṇabhaṭṭa), Kaumudimahotsava influenced by, 598ff.
Harṣadeva, date of, 843; Śrī Hariṣa of Prāgjyotiṣa wrongly identified with, 841f.
Hāthigumphā, 164
Hāthigumphā Inscription, historical value of, 460f.; mention of Bṛhaspatimitra in, 479; revised text of, 461-70; translation of text of, 470-82

Hayagriva, description of Dhyāna-śloka of, 846; Vādirāja as a devotee of, 846

Helārāja, bheda and saṃsarga according to, 264

Hinayāna, evolution in meaning of *bhava* in, 311; original teaching of, 312f.

Hindu Arts and Science, compendium of, 179-181

Hindu Science and Philosophy, Mediaeval indo-Persian literature relating to, 167-181

Hippostratos, city-deity on coins of, 304

Hiraṇyakeśī Gṛhyasūtra, time for naming a child prescribed in, 231ff.

Hittite, Armenian and, 204; formation of verbal noun in, 204; no feminine gender in, 204; non-Indo-European origin of, 223; non-primitive character of, 203, 206, 207; presence of root class verb in, 207; relation of Accadian spirant in, 201ff.; relation of Tocharian, Indo-European and, 201-23; unity of Tocharian with, 210-217

Hittite-Tocharian, common roots in, 216; loss of aspiration in, 210; medio-passives in, 215; morphological innovation in, 214ff.; no common historical origin of, 213, similarity in signification of participles in, 217

Hiuen Tsang, error in traditional reports recorded by, 535

House erection (gṛhanirmāṇa), ceremonies relating to, 19

Hoyaṣalas, expeditions against Kadambas led by, 616f.

India (Ancient), widow in, 661-679; See Ancient India.

India, Anglo-Dutch relations in, 540-42; beginning of intercourse between China and, 382; Ceylonese kings employing soldiers from, 511f.; Chinese names for, 490; coin devices of early foreign rulers of, 293-308; loss of Dutch possessions in, 542ff.; maritime relations between China and, 384-87; mediaeval art in, 554ff.

Indo-Arica, 324-326

Indo-China, Buddhist mission in, 384; spread of Brahmanical religion in, 383

Indo-European, Hittite as a developed form of, 209ff.; origin of word *vidhavā* traced to, 661; original home of, 222; relation of Hittite, Tocharian and, 201-223

Indo-Hittite, Indo-European and Hittite as branches of, 201ff.; theory, 201-210

Indra, identification of Greek Zeus with, 299

Indra-cult, predominance of Vāsudeva cult over, 298ff.

Indrapura, identification of, 749; Śvetavat-ālaya identified with, 298

Indus Valley, relation between Ṛgveda and civilisation of, 327f.

Islam Khān, Anantamāṇikya defeated by, 741

Iśvara, control of '*māyā*' by, 289; discussion of omniscience of, 280-292; distinction between *jīva* and, 290; idea of Brahman and, 291; merit and demerit perceptible to, 283f., 291; ***sarvajñatva*** of, 289; *svarūpajñāna* of, 291

Jahangir, misleading accounts of Nurjahan's marriage with, 817, 819; no early love for Meherunnisa shown by, 818, 820; Sher Afghan not murdered by, 818, 820

Jainas, cosmography in literature of, 388; mystic diagrams or Tantric *yantras* adopted by, 426

Jaisiah, Sind reconquered by, 813

Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, date of composition of, 390; names of sections in, 389

Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha, description of, 388-91

Jarā, similarity of Hāritī of Buddhist texts and, 102
Jarā Rākṣasī, description of, 101
Jātaka, widow re-marriage mentioned in, 670
Jāti, definition of, 354; Madhva's repudiation of Nyāya conception of, 355ff.
Java, custom of erecting statues in, 651
Jayacandra, king of Kānyakubja, 573
Jayakaumudī, description of chess in, 279
Jayasiṃha of Amber, Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by, 350ff.
Jayasiṃha Kalpadruma, date of, 350
Jayavarman VII, architectural representation at Angkor Thom made by, 608f.
Jeṭṭhatissa, Aggabodhi's war with, 511
Jinadāsa, commentator, 432f.
Jiva, distinction between Iśvara and, 290; identity of Brahman with, 290
Jñānaghana, date of, 403; Tattvasuddhi written by, 402
Jñānottamas, identification of, 403
Jyeṣṭhā, prevalence in South India the worship of, 104f., relation of Śītalā and Alakṣmī with, 107; Śītalā a form of, 106
Kadambas, struggle between Hoyasaḷas and, 616f.
Kākatīya Records, dates of, 340-344; theories about, 340
Kāla, Buddhist texts about the identity of Kālī with, 273; Dravidian derivation of, 267; Kālī identified with, 273; meanings of, 267, 270; non-Aryan origin of, 267; serpent forms of, 270; Śiva as incarnation of, 273; Vedic literature about, 268
Kalacuryas, struggle between Hoyasaḷas and, 616f.
Kālidāsa, Caityas mentioned by, 417
Kalka = Kaluṣa, 268
Kālaka (Skt.), similarity between Kūlaka (Pāli) and, 268
Kālakācaryākathānaka, second Śaka conquest mentioned in, 142
Kalki, Jain tradition about, 271; meaning of Kāla akin to, 269, 271; non-Aryan origin of, 272; Viṣṇu as incarnation of, 271, 273, 274
Kalyāṇavarman (Magadha king), Kaumudimahotsava giving account of, 586ff.
Kalyāṇi, fall of, 622f.
Kamalaśīla, criticism of advaita doctrine by, 401
Kamboja, custom of erecting statues in, 651
Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, Raja Gaṇeśa not identical with, 563
Kaṇiṣka, relation of Little Yüechi with, 148; statue of, 648
Kāntivatī, daughter of Jayacandra, married to Pṛthvīrāja, 573
Kāpiśa, deities associated with city of, 295f., 299
Kapiśā, Indrapura located near, 750
Karaṇḍavyūha, Tun-huang manuscript as fore-runner of, 398-400
Karṇāṭaka, boundaries of, 781, 786; early mention of country of, 781; Kuntala identical with, 780
Karuṇā, definition of, 330; Sarvāstivādins' remark about, 799
Kathāsaritsāgara, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī differs in the order of Lambakas from, 59; immediate source of, 57; opinion of scholars on the difference between, 61-63
Kathāsaritsāgara and Bṛhatkathā, difference in proper names of, 71-73; divergence in stories of, 70-71
Kathāvatthu, arguments of Sarvastivādins and Theravādins described in, 114-17
Kaṭuka, inscriptions containing name of, 836; significance of official title of, 837f.
Kaumudimahotsava, agreement of other works with, 595ff.; authorship of, 583, 603, 606; doubt about historicity of the story of, 586;

history of the Guptas not to be inferred from, 606; influence of Kālidāsa's writings in, 593f.; no evidence of contemporaneity of Kalyāṇavarman with the author of, 594f.; reference to Śaṅkarācārya in, 592f.; upper limit of date of, 593,603

Kauṭalya, caitya worship mentioned by, 447f.

Kauṭilya, *dravya-prakṛti* and *rāja-prakṛti* distinguished by, 357; type of king favoured by, 374ff.

Kauṭilīya, discussion on forms of government in, 366-79; *dvairājya* and *vairājya* forms of government in, 368ff.; meaning of *vyasana-cintā* in, 366; practice of divorce mentioned in, 666; rules and remarriage of women in, 669; type of king preferred in, 374f.

Kavirāja-mārga, boundaries of Karṇāṭaka described in, 781

Kavitārkika (Raghunātha), Kautukaratnākara written by, 743; Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya's patronage to, 742

Kāvyamīmāṃsā, reference to five divisions of India in, 747

Kautukaratnākara (farcical Sanskrit drama), 743; military exploits of Gandharvamāṇikya mentioned in, 739

Keśavācārya, ancestry of, 698; Vidyādhīśa as teacher of, 699; works of, 699

Khādira Gṛhyasūtra, rules of naming in, 231

Khaṇḍagiri Caves, inscriptions in, 164-166

Khandhas, 116-17

Khaṇḍapāla, explanation of the official title of, 839; inscriptions containing name of, 836; Khaṇḍarakṣa as equivalent of, 839

Khaṇḍarakṣa. See Khaṇḍapāla.

Khāravela, 160; revised text and translation of Hāthigumphā inscription of, 161-82

Khibīra, Hāthigumphā inscription mentioning city of, 474,483

Khola, inscriptions containing name of, 836; significance of official title of, 837

Khummana-Raso, invasion of Al-Ma'mun narrated in, 813

Kinnarī, numismatic representation of, 302

Kleśa, meaning of, 285; rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha as constituents of, 286f.

Kṣaharāta, meaning of, 139f.; time of disuse of designation as, 152

Kṣatrapa, significance of, 144f.

Kṣemendra, 58, 66, 68; style of, 67

Kujūla Kadphises, Śaka Era introduced in life-time of, 147

Kulatattvārṇava, doubt about genuineness of, 562f.

Kumāradevī, Candragupta's marriage with, 535; Candragupta I married to, 585

Kumārapāla, Jaina ruler of Gujarat, 425

Kumbhakarṇa (Rāṇā), architects and sculptors patronised by, 557

Kuṇḍalā, story of, 103

Kuśala, distinction between akuśala and, 316

Kuśaladharmas, Nāgārjuna's list of, 317-323; number of, 315

Kuśāṇas and Śakas, 137-152

Laghu Āśvalāyana-smṛti-sūtra, names prescribed in, 240

Laghunirṇayakaustubha. See Nirṇayakaustubha.

Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya, Dhanyamāṇikya successor of, 744; division of Bhulua in the time of, 742; literary activities of, 742; names of *pañcaratna* in the court of, 742; Sanskrit works of, 743f.

Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya's authorship of, 743

Lakṣmī, Hellenised representation of, 303, 306f.; numismatic representation of, 302

Laṅkā, Siṃhala different from, 756

Laṅkāvatārasūtra, reference to

Buddha's silence about nature of dharmas in, 394, 396
Laṅkeśvara, tutelary God of Kāpiśa, 297
Lilācarita, boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra described in, 781
Liṅgas, installation of, 651f.
Mādharīputra Iśvarasena, 239
Madhva, 'Definition' in epistemology of, 353-359; *nirvikalpa* stage of perception refuted by, 363; perception in epistemology of, 360-665; repudiation of Nyāya conception of *jāti* by, 355f.
Madhyadeśa, boundaries of, 747
Madhyamakārikā, Buddha's silence about nature of dharmas mentioned in, 393f.
Magadha, transfer of Gupta capital from Bengal to, 535
Maggasamaṅgī, 110f.
Mahābhārata, *caitya* and *yūpa* mentioned side by side in, 113; reference to re-marriage of women in, 664
Mahākṣatrapa, significance of, 144f.
Mahāmeghavāhana, 160
Mahommedan political terms, Sanskrit equivalents of, 154-55
Mahāpadma, Nava-Nanda as dynastic name of, 378
Mahārāja, significance of Mahārājādhirāja and, 100
Mahārāṣṭra, boundaries of, 782f.; early mention of, 781; extent of, 784-786; Rāṣṭika identified with, 785
Mahārāṣṭrakas, Pulikeśi's conquest over, 781, 789
Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism, doctrines of, 110-113
Mahāvaṃśa, work on family history of Bengal, 562
Mahāvastu, story of Kuṇḍalā, mentioned in, 103
Maitri, Sarvāstivādins' remark about, 799
Malakāpuram stone inscription, description of Vāmasambhu in, 96ff.
Mālava Vikrama Era, origin of, 146
Malayasundarikathoddhāra, Jaina work, 654
Mānava Gṛhyasūtra, rules for naming a child prescribed in, 233
Maṇḍana, treatises on architecture and sculpture written by, 557f.
Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, antiquity of, 567; Kārikās forming no part of, 565; views about extent of, 561f.
Manu, practice of *niyoga* in time of, 665, 672; re-marriage of widow prohibited in, 664; rules of naming in, 238-239
Matronymics, instances of, 239ff.
Maues, city goddess on coins of, 301; Indra coins of, 300
Māyā, numismatic representation of, 302
Mediaeval Indo-Persian literature, bibliographical survey of, 167ff.
Mediaeval Indo-Persian literature relating to Hindu science and Philosophy (1000-1800) A. D., 167-181
Meditation, Sarvāstivādins' views regarding, 810
Mīnāḍ, Bilara territory annexed to, 249
Mīnas, union of Velāḷas with, 252; Velāḷas subdued by, 251
Mohenjo-daro, art of writing in, 329; Aryans and, 327-330; cosmopolitan population in, 327; lack of evidence of Aryan character of, 328; people of Sumer and Mongolian types in, 327; phallic worship in, 328; priority of Ṛgveda civilization to, 328f.; Velāḷas mentioned in inscriptions of, 245-55; worship of great goddess in, 272; writing of vowels in, 245
Morā well, erection of *pratimā* mentioned in inscription of, 649
Mubarik, place of Bairām Khān's murder by, 456
Mudrārākṣasa, date of, 596
Mughal empire, disintegration of, 74

Muhammad bin Kasim, Sind conquered by, 813
Mustafa Khan, assaults on Patna by, 89
Mṛgaśikhāvana, Gupta's grant of land to, 531; location of, 533f.; Śrī-Gupta's construction of temple of, 532
Nāgabhaṭa II, clash between Arabs and, 815
Nāgānanda, Kaumudīmahotsava compared with, 596f.
Nāgārjuna, kuśaladharmas mentioned by, 317-323
Nahapāna, meaning of date of, 137
Nakṣatras, names derived from, 234ff.
Nalakuvera, tutelary god of Kāpiśa, 297
Nāma (name), deities as sources of, 237f.; *gotras* as sources of, 226; month of birth as sources of, 240; *nakṣatras* as sources of, 234ff.; *upapadas* (titles) added to, 238f.
Nāmakaraṇa (sacrament of naming), procedure of naming in, 224-44; rite of, 825; sacrificial names in, 224ff.
Nānāghāṭ, figures representing members of Andhra dynasty in cave inscription of, 647
Nasaq, Akbar's adoption of, 707; meaning of, 713f.
Nava-Nanda, meaning of, 378
Nawab Muhammad Ali, initiative in siege of Arcot taken by, 545, 552
Nawab of Bengal, relations between the Dutch and, 537ff.
Nepal Inscription, date of, 843; identification of king Harṣadeva of, 843
Nirṇayakaustubha, authorities quoted in, 347f.; date of, 348; description of, 345-52; different topics dealt with in, 346
Niraupamyastava, reference to Buddha's silence about nature of dharmas in, 394
Nirṇayasindhu, names in, 240
Nītimayūkha, description of chess in, 279
Niyoga, practice of, 665
Nurjahan, misleading accounts of Jahangir's marriage with, 817, 819
Nyāya school, view about perception in, 362f.
Orissa, culture of mediaeval art in, 554
Paccayas, problem of, 112f.
Pādānudhyāta, meaning of, 96
Padmanandi, details about, 390f.; Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha of, 388-91
Padmavāsinī, Hellenised Lakṣmī in figure of, 307f.
Pallava dynasty, reliefs of two kings of, 649
Pāmnyāsa Harṣaratnagaṇi, disciple of Jayaratnasūri, 426f.
Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, date of, 335
Pāṇḍyas, Ballāla II's march against, 617f.
Pāṇini, rules of naming in, 236
Pantaleon, Indian female figure on copper coins of, 301
Pāragū, evolution in meaning of, 311ff.
Parakkamabāhu, army of, 515ff.; celebration of victory over Rohaṇa by, 527
Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, rules for naming a child prescribed in, 232
Pārthasārathimiśra, explanation of *bheda* and *saṃsarga* by, 265
Paryavasthāna, distinction between anuśayas and, 809
Pāṭaliputra, Licchavis and Guptas in possession of, 535
Patraprašasti, 153-157
Patronymics, instances of, 226
Perception, kinds of, 360-61; nirvikalpa stage of, 363; view of Nyāya school about, 362f.
Periplus, Nahapāna identified as Manbanos in, 143
Peukolaos, Indian goddess on copper coins of, 303

Phallic worship, no connection of Rudra-Śiva cult with, 328
Pilusāra, meaning of, 296
Plato, classification of government by, 373
Po-fa-to, location of, 752; Parvata identified with, 754f.
Prabhācandra, Bhāskara mentioned by, 401
Prabandhacintāmaṇi, re-marriage with sister's husband mentioned in, 671
Prabandhakośa, fight between Govindarāja and the Moslems mentioned in, 815; genealogy of Cāhamāna kings given in, 814
Prāci (river), Khāravela's royal palace on both banks of, 478, 484; identification of, 478fn.
Prakāśātman, arguments on omniscience of God discussed by, 284
Pratāpārka, date of, 350; extracts from, 349
Pratāparudra, inscription of time of, 343
Pratimāgṛha, Bhāsa's mention of statues of ancestors contained in, 646-657; Malayasundarīkathoddhāra referring to, 654f.; nature of, 646, 650, 653f.
Pratimā (statue), prevalence in India of the custom of erection of, 657
Prola, inscription of, 344
Pṛthvīrājavijaya, historical information in, 844f.; reference to Durlabharāja's assistance to Vatsarāja in, 845
Pṛthvīrāja, Cāhamāna king, 572f.
Puṃs, significance of, 835
Puṃsavana, both male and female signified by 'puṃs' in the name of, 831ff.; object of performance of, 833; rituals of, 823
Purāṇa, relation between Vāyavīya and Śaiva, 331ff.
Puṣkalāvatī, tutelary goddess of, 303, 304
Puthujjana, discussion about position of, 807f.
Rāga, aspects of, 287
Rājā, Śaṅkarārya's interpretation of, 367
Raja Janaki Ram, 92
Raja Ramnarain, 757-78; battle between Kamgar Khan and, 775; character of, 81; early life and family history of, 75ff.; education of, 84-86; home and birth date of, 78ff.; honour conferred upon, 758; importance of letters addressed to Nawab by, 762ff.; official career of 86-95; relation of Raja Janakiram with, 92ff.; rivalry between Raja Sundar Singh and, 773; services to Aliwardi rendered by, 757, 760
Rājamālā, accounts of Tippera kings given in, 738
Rājaśekhara, location of Siṃhala in Deccan by, 756
Rājavallabha, Tippera king's conquest over, 738
Rājataraṅgiṇī, instance of woman's re-marriage in, 670
Rājya, Bṛhaspati's different interpretation of, 367; Śaṅkarārya's interpretation of, 367
Rāma Varmās, two kings of Cochin, 503ff.; dates of, 507ff.
Rāmacandra Tīrtha (pontiff), ancestry of, 692; date of, 692f.; works of, 693f.
Rāmamāṇikya, Amaramāṇikya succeeded by, 746
Rāmāyaṇa, *caitya* and *yūpa* described in, 443f.
Rangal, chieftain, 75-76
Ranjuvula, representation of Gajalakṣmī on coins of, 305
Rāṣṭikas, Mahārāṣṭra as later name of, 785; reference in Aśoka Edicts to, 783
Rbhus, 2ff.
Revenue, Akbar's system of assessment and collection of, 705-734
Reviews. Brāhman-Roman-Kāthalik-Sambād, 865; Brhattara Bhārater Pūjā Pārvan, 148; Concepts of Buddhism, 182; Dharmakośa, 817;

Greeks in India and Bactria, 857; Guide to Fatepur Sikri, 188; Iṣṭa-siddhi, 849; Les Grammairiens Prakrits, 850; Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama, 850; Pāṇiniya-Śikṣā, or the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga, 855; Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar state, 856;

Ṛgveda, art of writing unknown to, 329; no chronological relation can be established between Mohenjo-daro civilisation and, 329; phallic worship not favoured by, 328; posteriority of Mohenjo-daro civilisation to, 328f.; relation between Indus civilisation and, 327; superior position of daughter mentioned in, 834

Rohaṇa, Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against province of, 525

Roof plate, significance of opening in, 33ff.; 47ff.

Rudramāṇikya, last scion of Bhulua chiefs, 746

Rudrāmbā, inscriptional dates of time of, 341, 342

Rudra Śiva, no connection of phallic worship with, 328

Rūpamaṇḍana, images of Viṣṇu and Śakti described in, 559f.; Jaina iconography in, 559

Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh, 87

Sahasraliṅga Talāv, numerous Śiva temples on banks of, 456

Śaka conquest, date of, 141f.

Śaka Era, originator of, 147

Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, 137-152; date of, 137

Saltpetre, Bohras of Gujrat famous for production of, 680; Government's control over industry of, 681ff; Indian industry of, 680-691; result of the Government control over, 687; Shahjahan's military needs of, 682

Samādhi, 54

Samāvartana, greater respect shown to mother after, 827

Samavāya, separate category of, 364

Saṃkhārās, Avijjā and, 113

Saṃsarga, explanation of, 265-266

Saṃskāras (rituals), position of mother in Vedic, 822-830

Samyakatvanyāma, opinions of Sarvāstivādins regarding, 803-805

Śaṅkara, date of, 401

Śaṅkarācārya, date of, 593

Śaṅkarārya, terms rājā and rājya explained by, 367

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra, rules of naming mentioned in, 231

Śāntirakṣita, criticism of Advaita doctrine by, 401

Sanskrit works on the game of chess, 275-279

Sarasvatīpurāṇa, date of, 457

Śarman, Varman's father entitled as, 239

Sarvajñatā, identity of Svarūpajñāna with, 291

Sarvajñātman, Bhāskara earlier than, 401

Sarvānanda, authorship of Kulatattvārṇava attributed to, 562

Sarvāstivāda, doctrines of Buddhist school of, 114-120, 799-812; Maitri and Karuṇā in doctrines of, 799; position of Arhats according to, 800

Sarvāstivādins difference of Theravādins from, 114

Śaśāṅka, representation of Gajalakṣmī on coins of, 305

Śaśimukhī, Rudramāṇikya's estate managed by, 746

Satabala (Jaina king), father's statue erected by, 654f.

Śātakarṇi, Hāthigumphā inscription mentioning Khāravela's campaign against, 475

Satarañjakutūhala (on game of chess), 276

Satarañjinī, 276

Satkārya-ratnākara, Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya's authorship of, 744

Satyanidhi Tīrtha, Bhedojjīvana written by, 704

Saunaka Kārikās, names derived from months of birth mentioned in, 240
Saunders (English Governor), Muhammad Ali's help to, 546ff
Sculpture (Mediaeval Indian), Western School of, 553-61
Seleukos, elephants on coins of, 294
Sher Afghan, see Ali Quli Khan.
Sher Shah, land revenue system introduced by, 705ff.
Shih Chi, account of India contained in, 490f.
Siddharāja-Saras, identification of, 452-58; Sarasvatīpurāṇa giving description of, 452-455
Śilāditya, Hiuen Tsang's error about date of, 533
Silas, Mahāsaṅghika school on nature of, 110ff.
Silpaśāstras, broad contents of, 555
Siṃhagiri, identification of, 403
Siṃhala, Laṅkā different from, 756 ; Deccan identified with, 755f.
Singhana, Yādava power restored by, 627ff.
Sinhalese kings, espionage of, 523f.; military strength of, 516ff.
Śiva, numismatic representation of, 303
Śivapura, identification of, 751
Śiva Purāṇa, relation between Vāyu and, 332ff.
Somadeva, 60,66,68
Someśvara II, Vikramāditya VI fought against, 613
Someśvara IV, Cālukya power revived by, 619ff.
Sophytes, cock on coins of, 294
Soratur, battle of, 624f.
Śrāddha, respect for mother shown in rites of, 828
Śrī-Gupta, date and identity of, 532ff. Murshidabad ruled by, 535
Śrī Hariṣa, Harṣadeva of Nepal inscription wrongly identified with, 841f.
Śrīkṣetra, father of Maṇḍana, 557
Śrīnivāsa (Śarkarā), accounts of, 704, works of, 704
Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha (Bidarahaḷḷi), career of, 701 ; works of, 701-704
Śṛṅgeri, list of pontiffs in Maṭha of, 402
Stavorinus, position of the Dutch described by, 536ff.
Sthapati, 12
Stūpa, origin of, 14-15
Sun, significance of rays of, 7-9
Sūras, Viśvambhara Rāya of Bhulua belonging to the family of, 737
Sureśvara, Akalaṅka later than, 401
Sūrjana (Cāhamāna king), Surjanacarita containing account of, 570-578
Sūrjanacarita, contents of, 570-578; historical kāvya by Candraśekhara, 580
Suttee, earliest smṛti injunction about, 676; existence among the princely class the rite of, 675ff.; Greek accounts of, 676; Gṛhyasūtras silent about, 672; Herodotus about, 675; Mahābhārata mentioning two instances of, 676; no reference in Manu and Yājñavalkya to, 673; no reference in Vedic literature to the rite of, 672; Ṛgveda recommending the rite of, 674; symbolical performance of, 673ff.; Thracians performing the rite of, 675
Svabhāvokti, distinction between bhāvika and, 797
Svapnavāsavadatta, Bhāsa's original adapted in available play of, 633f.
Svetavat-ūlaya, a city, 296; Indrapura, identified with, 298, 750
Sword, sacrificial origin of, 24ff.
Symbolism of the Dome, 1-56
Taila III, condition in Cālukya dominions during the reign of, 513f.
Tanasuli, same as Tosali, 483f.
Tantrasāra, Madhvācārya giving dhyāna-śloka of Hayagrīva in, 846
Taqsim-ul-Mulk, meaning of, 708
Tathāgataguhyasūtra, Buddha's silence about dharmas mentioned in, 383, 395

Tirthaṅkaras, symbolic representations of, 427
Tirumal (king), statue of, 650
Tithitattva, discourse on chess in, 279
Tocharian, affinity of Slav and Armenian with, 218; dialectical grouping of, 217-23; difference of Indo-Iranian from, 219; original home of, 221-22; relation of Indo-European, Hittite and, 201-223; Slav and Baltic correspondences with, 220
Todar Mal, Akbar's land revenue system reformed by, 728-731; amount of land revenue in time of, 727ff.; contribution of Todar Mal to the Land Revenue System of, 728-731
Tokrī Ṭilā (near Mathurā), statues of historical personages found in, 648
T'sin, name of China derived from dynasty of, 330, 381f.
Tun-huang manuscript, analysis of, 398f.; date of, 400; exaltation of Bodhisattvas in, 399
Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, minor old Brāhmī inscriptions in, 158-166
Udayagiri Caves, inscriptions in, 158-164
Upadeśataraṅgiṇī, Vastupāla's donation mentioned in, 425
Upanayana, importance of mother in rituals of, 826
Unniyaṭi (Kerala princess), svayamvara of, 504ff.
Usavadāta, meaning of, 138f.
Vācaspati, author of Prakaṭārtha preceded by, 402
Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra, rules of nāmakaraṇa in, 235
Vaikuṇṭha-vijaya, Amaramāṇikya's authorship of, 745
Vairājya, etymology of, 371; nature of, 371f.
Vajra, see sword.
Vāmadeva, ancestry of, 97; association of royal titles with, 99f.; Mahārājādhirāja as an epithet of, 99; Śaiva saint, 96-100; same as Vāmasambhu, 97
Vāmaśambhu, Vāmadeva identified with, 97f.
Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra, rules for naming a child in, 233.
Varman, Śarman's son entitled as, 239
Vasantavilāsa, secular pictures in, 425
Vastupāla, contributions towards copying Jaina works made by, 425
Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi, 239
Vāsudeva Cult, Indra cult superseded by, 298f.
Vātsyāyana, remarriage of widow neither enjoined nor prohibited in, 669
Vāyu Purāṇa, antiquity of, 331; contents of, 333ff.; dates of the different chapters in, 334ff.; discussion on, 331-39; divisions in, 333; interpolated verses in, 336; later additions to, 333ff.; quoted verses on Śrāddha not found in, 336; quotations in Nibandhas from, 322, 335, 337ff.; similarity between Mārkaṇḍeya and, 334; Śivapurāṇa as second name of, 331f.; verses quoted from, 337-39
Vedas, remarriage of widow mentioned in, 663
Vedic literature, Adverbs in, 121ff.
Velakkāras, conquest of Ceylon by Dravidian clan of, 512f.
Veḷāl, meaning of, 246
Veḷāḷa, seal of king of, 249
Veḷāḷas, Bilavas subdued by, 249; clouds of, 250f.; habitat of, 248; identification of mountains belonging to, 246ff.; Mohenjo-daro inscriptions mentioning names of 245, 255; names of kings of, 250; practice of sun-worship by, 254f.; two sorts of, 249f.; Velan, the god of, 252, 253
Velan=Murugan, 253
Vivāha, functions of mother in time of, 827

Vidhavā, etymology of, 655; Indo-European origin of the word, 661; words in other languages corresponding to, 661

Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha, Appaya Dīkṣita criticised by, 691, 698; life of, 696; mass conversion to the faith of Madhva in time of, 696ff.; period of pontifical rule of, 694f.; works of, 697f.

Vidyāśaṅkara, identification of, 406

Vigraharāja II, Bārappa of Lāṭa defeated by, 845,

Vigrahavyāvartanī, kuśaladharmas in Nāgārjuna's commentary on, 314

Vijjikā, authorship of Kaumudīmahotsava attributed to, 583, 603, 606, identity of, 603f.; date of, 605

Vijñānakāyas, views of Sarvāstivādins about, 811

Vikhyātavijaya, description of, 744

Vikramāditya VI, Someśvara II overthrown by, 613

Vilāsamaṇimañjarī, game of chess dealt with in, 278

Vimāna-Ratha, 3, 10

Virāja, meaning of, 372

Vinaya (Sanskrit), division of, 410

Vinaya Piṭaka, Gilgit manuscripts of, 409-424; Sanskrit text of first four leaves of, 411-424

Viśeṣas, difference between viśeṣas of Nyāya school and Madhva's category of, 364; Madhva's assumption of, 356f.; nature of, 365

Viṣṇu, variety of forms of, 558ff.

Viṣṇusmṛti, earliest injunction of suttee in, 676

Viśvakarmā, 12f.

Viśvambhara Rāya, date of, 737; foundation of kingdom at Bhulua by, 737

Viśveśvara, genealogy of, 352; identity of, 350

Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, ancestry of, 348; authorities quoted by, 349f.; date of composition of, 348; Nirṇayakaustubha of, 345-52

Vṛddhi Śrāddha, honour shown to mother in ceremony of, 829

Vyāḍi, dravyas and jātis according to, 262; Vājapyāyana differs in views from, 261ff.; work of, 261

Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, Helarāja refers to difference in views of, 263ff.; interpretation of *bheda* and *saṃsarga* by, 263ff.

Vyāsarāya Maṭha, Rāmacandra Tīrtha as pontiff of, 692

Widow, brother-in-law's marriage with, 670; conflicting statements in Manu and Parāśara on remarriage of, 667ff.; inauspiciousness of, 678; prevalence of remarriage of, 663; references in Jātakas to remarriage of, 670; rigid rules for, 662; śāstras on remarriage of, 665-68

Wu Ti, Chang Chien sent to Yüe-chi by, 492f.

Yādavas, struggle between Kalacuryas, Cālukyas and, 614ff.

Yājñavalkya, meaning of caityas according to, 447

Yantrapaṭa (Jain mystic diagram), description of illustration contained in, 427ff.

Yaugandharāyana, Bhāsa's original adopted in available play of, 636f.

Yavanaparipāṭi-Anukrama, 153-57; analysis of, 153f.; author of, 156; contents of, 153; date of, 156; divisions of, 153; kinds of deeds mentioned in, 154

Zabti, Akbar's adoption of system of, 709f.



965/IND
143162

The first issue of the journal appeared in 1925 and for nearly four decades, it served the savants, scholars and students of Indian history becoming an indispensable tool in their research. This mine was unfortunately abandoned without being fully exploited with the publication of two issues in 1963.

The Quarterly dealt mainly with Archaeology, Art and Architecture, Religion and Philosophy Epics and Puranas, Epigraphy and Numismatics, Grammar and Linguistics, History of India and the world, Law, Polity and Administration, Literature, Science, Social and Economic Institutions and so on. In short it is a journal no student of Indology can afford to miss.

Rs. 450 *(each volume)*